

1

THE MYSTICISM OF ḤAMZAH FANṢŪRĪ

by

Syed Muhammad Naguib al-Attas, M.A. (McGill)

Thesis submitted for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

in the University of London

School of Oriental and African Studies

May 1966

# ABSTRACT

This thesis is presented in two Parts: Part I forms the full exposition of the mysticism of Ḥamzah Fanṣūrī, a Malay Ṣūfī of the 16th century who lived in Barus in North Sumatra; Part II contains his three extant prose works edited in romanised Malay and translated into English; both the edition and the translation are annotated.

A general picture of the spiritual climate of the period in which Ḥamzah lived, together with a brief biographical sketch attempting to establish his place of birth and the span of the period in which he lived - both of them problematic questions - is presented in the first chapter. Then in the second chapter allegations concerning the "heresy" in his ideas levelled against him by Nūru'l-Dīn al-Rāhīrī of Gujerat, who was in Aceh in North Sumatra in 1637, are critically examined. A conclusion that the allegations were unfounded is submitted. Chapter three deals with Ḥamzah's mystical doctrines in the domains of ontology, cosmology and psychology. Similarities with the doctrines of Ibnu'l-'Arabī and 'Abdu'l-Karīm al-Jīlī are noted. Chapters four and five introduce methodological concepts in a modern semantic analysis which is employed to ascertain the meanings of important concepts in Ḥamzah's mystical system. These concepts - the Divine Will, Being, Existence,



the Self - are couched in Malay, and comparison with Arabic, Greek, Persian and Sanskrit terms with a view to establishing equivalents is attempted. In the conclusion Ḥamzah's contributions in Malay classical literature, both in the field of poetry as well as that of rational inquiry is stated. It is further suggested that Ḥamzah was the first man to set down in Malay the Ṣūfī doctrines; that he was the first man to produce systematic speculative writing in Malay. A theory on the islamization process in the Malay-Indonesian Archipelago, in which it is suggested Ḥamzah played an important and hitherto undiscovered role, is also presented.

The Appendices contain material already given in the table of contents. The most important material there is the Index of the Semantic Vocabulary of Ḥamzah's mystical system, which supports everything that has been said with reference to the concepts in Ḥamzah's teachings - in particular with concepts explained in Chapters four and five.

TO MY MOTHER

Al-jannatu tahta aqdāmi'l-ummahāt.

### ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

My thanks are due to Mr. E.C.G. Barrett, Lecturer in Malay, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, and to Dr. M. Lings, Assistant Keeper of Oriental Manuscripts and Prints, the British Museum, London, for their supervision which they rendered with care and attention; to Dr. R. Roolvink, Assistant Curator of the Bibliotheca Academiae Lugduno-Batava, Rijksuniversiteit, Leiden, for his co-operation and permission in getting some of the Malay and Javanese texts, which form the subject of this thesis, photographed for my use.

My thanks are also due to the Asia Foundation, Kuala Lumpur, Malaya, for financial assistance rendered in 1963 and 1966; to the British Council: the Visitors Department in London and the Office in Kuala Lumpur, Malaya, for financial assistance rendered in 1963 and 1966; to the Government of the State of Johore, Malaya, for financial assistance rendered in 1964; and to the Central Research Fund, University of London, for a research grant in connection with research in Leiden in 1963.

Last but not least, my grateful thanks are due to

my wife, Maureen, whose perseverance, patience, courage and cheerfulness in the midst of the most trying circumstances, have been a great source of encouragement in the fulfilment of this thesis.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Page

PART I

A comprehensive and detailed account of Ḥamzah  
Fanṣūrī's mystical ideas and teachings.

INTRODUCTION.....		11
CHAPTER I : Ḥamzah Fanṣūrī.....		19
CHAPTER II : Ḥamzah contested by Nūru'l-Dīn al-Rānīrī.....		59
CHAPTER III : Ḥamzah's metaphysics and teachings:		111
(a) Aspects of Oneness.....		112
(b) The world of created things....		124
(c) Creation and the doctrine of perpetual creation.....		130
(d) The Fixed Essences ( <u>al-a'yānu'l-thābitah</u> ).....		136
(e) The Spirit (Nyawa : <u>al-rūḥ</u> ) and the Soul (or Self ( <u>Diri</u> : <u>al-nafs</u> ) .....		145
(f) The Divine Attributes ( <u>al-ṣifāt</u> ).		156
(g) The meaning of 'extinction' ( <u>fanā'</u> ), and its relation to gnosis ( <u>ma'rifah</u> ) and freedom ( <u>ikhtiyār</u> ).....		163

CHAPTER	IV : Ḥamzah's concept of the Divine Will ( <u>irādah</u> ) as demonstrated in his application of the Malay word <u>hendak</u> - a semantic analysis:	186
	(a) Conceptual structure of the word <u>hendak</u> .....	188
	(b) Derivatives and their conceptual structures.....	199
	(c) Conceptual distinction between <u>hendak</u> and <u>mahu</u> .....	211
	(d) Ḥamzah's concept of the <u>irādah</u> ..	214
CHAPTER	V : Key words in Ḥamzah's mystical system - a semantic analysis:	238
CHAPTER	VI : Conclusion.....	295

## PART II

An annotated romanized Malay edition of Ḥamzah's three prose works and an annotated English translation of the texts.

INTRODUCTION.....	340
CHAPTER VII : <u>Asrāru'l-'Ārifīn</u> .....	382
CHAPTER VIII : <u>Sharābu'l-'Āshiqīn</u> .....	474
CHAPTER IX : <u>Al-Muntahī</u> .....	520
CHAPTER X : The Secrets of the Gnostics.....	564
CHAPTER XI : The Drink of Lovers.....	683
CHAPTER XII : The Adept.....	742

# APPENDICES

	<u>Page</u>
I Passages of texts quoted in Chapter I from an anonymous Malay work of the 17th century (Marsden Collection no.11648, Library, S.O.A.S., University of London) rendered into romanized Malay.....	786
II Passages of texts quoted in Chapter II from Rānirī's <u>Tibyān fī Ma'rifati'l-Adyān</u> (Cod. Or. 3291, Library, University of Leiden) rendered into romanized Malay.....	791
III Passages of texts quoted in Chapter III from Rānirī's <u>Jawāhiru'l-'Ulūm fī Kashfi'l-Ma'lūm</u> (Marsden Collection no.12151, Library, S.O.A.S., University of London) rendered into romanized Malay.....	802
IV Passages of texts quoted in Chapters II and IV from Rānirī's <u>Hujjatu'l-Siddiq li daf'i'l-Zindiq</u> (Maxwell Collection no.93, Library, R.A.S. London) rendered into romanized Malay..	804
V Passages of texts quoted in Chapter III from Hamzah's <u>Sha'irs</u> (Cod. Or. 2016, Cod. Or. 3374, Cod. Or. 3372, Library, University of Leiden) rendered into romanized Malay.....	812
VI Facsimile of the text of Hamzah's <u>Al-Muntahī</u> (Cod. Or. 7291 (iii), Library, University of Leiden) .....	828
VII Alphabetical index of the semantic vocabulary in Hamzah's mystical system.....	850
Cited Bibliography.....	875

PART I



## INTRODUCTION

The aim of this thesis is to give an expository account, comprehensive and detailed, of the mystical ideas and teachings of Ḥamzah Faṣṣūrī. Although parts of this Malay Ṣūfī's ideas and teachings have been commented upon by several Dutch and British scholars in various ways and different contexts, their comments have been selective, brief and extremely limited in scope. Of these comments, one deserving mention as being above the others is perhaps that of Hendrik Kraemer of Amsterdam.<sup>1</sup> But even this account is very sketchy, and Kraemer's book is not meant to deal exclusively with Ḥamzah's mystical ideas and teachings, but with a general account, as far as North Sumatra is concerned, of the mysticism that prevailed there in the first half of the seventeenth century.<sup>2</sup> The subject proposed in this thesis has not been attempted before.

The method by which I propose to pursue this subject is twofold. In the first instance the usual methods of commentary will be applied. The basis from which Ḥamzah's mysticism is deduced will be his three prose works and

1. In his doctoral dissertation presented to the Faculty of Letters and Philosophy, University of Leiden, 1921, entitled Een Javaansche Primbon uit de Zestiende Eeuw.
2. See Kraemer, op.cit., pp. 21ff. For comments on the contents of Ḥamzah's prose works (notes 4 and 5 below) see ibid., pp. 34-46.

selections from his verses.<sup>3</sup> The three prose works are the Asrāru'l-ʿArifīn,<sup>4</sup> the Sharābu'l-ʿAshiqīn,<sup>5</sup> and the Muntahī.<sup>6</sup> So far as I know, these are the only prose works of Ḥamzah still in the original Malay. I also use verses from his various Shaʿirs<sup>7</sup> dealing with the nature of Unification (tawḥīd), Gnosis (maʿrifah) and the Science of the Path (ʿilmuʿl-sulūk);<sup>8</sup> the Shaʿir Perahu<sup>9</sup> and the Shaʿir Dagang.<sup>10</sup> My method of commentary, in which explanation of the mystic's ideas and teachings is largely guided by comparisons with similar ideas and teachings found in the writings of earlier mystics - perhaps even linking them as sources of origin - is a method that is generally employed in such expositions. But such a method by itself cannot necessarily claim

- 
3. My annotated romanized Malay edition of these three prose works appears in Chapters VII, VIII and IX. My annotated English translation of the works appears in Chapters X, XI and XII. An annotated romanized Malay edition of the writings of Ḥamzah Faṣṣūrī, in which is included a large selection of his verses and two of his prose works has been presented by Doorenbos. But for all this see below, pp. 340-363.
  4. Cod. Or. 7291 (I), Bibliotheca Academiae Lugduno-Batava, Leiden. Formerly in no. 66 of the Snouck Hurgronje Collection. Hereafter cited as Asrār.
  5. Cod. Or. 2016, Leiden. Another version in Cod. Or. 7291 (II). Hereafter cited as Sharāb.
  6. Cod. Or. 7291 (III). Fragment of another version in Cod. Or. 1952, Leiden. Hereafter cited as Muntahī.
  7. Shaʿir is the Malayized form of the Arabic Shiʿr.
  8. Cod. Or. 2016; Cod. Or. 3374, Leiden, and Cod. Or. 3372. See also Doorenbos, J., De Geschriften van Hamzah Pansoeri, (diss.), Leiden, 1933, pp. 16-119. Hereafter cited respectively as 2016, 3374 and 3372. Doorenbos' work will be cited hereafter as Doorenbos.
  9. A fragment from 3374. Hereafter cited as Shaʿir Perahu.
  10. A fragment from 3374. Hereafter cited as Shaʿir Dagang.

guarantee against the commentator's reading too much into what the text says, or too little, or inserting his own ideas in place or absence of those given in the texts. Objectivity in the interpretation of the texts - and therefore the ideas - is not guaranteed. For this reason I am introducing, as part of my method, a general linguistic and semantic approach.<sup>11</sup> To the best of my knowledge this latter method, in the manner in which I am applying it here, has not been applied before in any study of Malay (Indonesian) mysticism. By means of this method of approach it becomes possible to discover the conceptual system of Hamzah's mysticism not merely as its component parts, but as a whole. Selection of

- 
11. For orientation to this approach, see the following: in General Linguistics: Sapir, E., Language, an introduction to the study of speech, New York, 1949; Whorf, B.L., Language, thought and reality, edited by J.B. Carroll, New York - London, 1956; in introduction to Semantics: Ullmann, S., Principles of Semantics, Glasgow - Oxford, 2nd. edition, 1959; Semantics, an introduction to the science of meaning, Oxford, 1962; in General Semantics: Korzybski, A., Science and sanity, Lakeville, 4th edition, 1958; Ogden, C.K., and Richards, I.A., The meaning of meaning, London, 1923; Chase, S., The tyranny of words, London, 1938; Henle, P., Language, thought and culture, Michigan, 1958; in Philosophy of Symbolism: Cassirer, E., The philosophy of symbolic forms, New Haven, 1953, 3 vols., vol. I; Language and myth, translated by S. Langer, New York, 1946; Langer, S., Philosophy in a new key, Cambridge, Mass., 1942; Wittgenstein, L., Tractatus Logico-philosophicus, translated into English by C.K. Ogden with an introduction by B. Russell, London, 1962; Philosophical Investigations, in 2 parts, translated by G.E.M. Anscombe, Oxford, 1963; in Semantics of the Qur'an: Izutsu, T., The structure of the ethical terms in the Qur'an, Tokyo, 1959; God and Man in the Koran, Tokyo, 1964; in Islamic Semantics: al-Ghazzālī, Tahāfut al-Falāsifah, translated by S.A. Kamali, Lahore, 1958; Ibu Rushd, Averroes' Tahāfut al-Tahāfut, translated by S. Van den Bergh, London, 1954.

key words in the vocabulary of Ḥamzah's mystical system, and analysis of their underlying concepts and relations with one another become a matter of prime importance in such a study as this. With respect to this, there is no systematic method of selection of key words. But neither is selection done arbitrarily, if 'arbitrary' is to imply lack of discrimination. A selection of key words as intended here must presuppose full knowledge of the language, full comprehension of the meaning structure and full participation in the linguistic consciousness. In dealing with mystical literature such as this, where the author was not only a Ṣūfī, but a Ṣūfī poet as well - the best and greatest representative of Malay Ṣūfism - it is not sufficient merely to expound its concepts and to describe its history. Indeed, one must plunge into the depths of its emotional currents, be at one with its sentiments, feel one's way into its symbols. Only after having imbued oneself in these can one seek to impart a scientific exposition. In this the motto should be not merely scholarship, but life as well.

I have referred to selection of key words in the vocabulary of Ḥamzah's mystical system. By vocabulary I mean the semantic sense of the term, not a mere gathering together of words - unorganized, except perhaps in alphabetical form used in dictionaries; I mean an organized, systematic gestalt, an arrangement in meaningful pattern. In this sense, then, a

vocabulary is not single or homogeneous, but has its own sphere of conceptualization, a network interrelated. In Ḥamzah's system the vocabulary employed does not mainly consist of new words; they are Malay words that were all existing even perhaps in pre-Islamic times. But it will be demonstrated that the conceptual network imposed upon these already existing words is new and significant. It is part of the aim of this thesis to discover how in Ḥamzah's system the vocabularies and sub-vocabularies are used and organized.

This method will show that, since words do not reveal the objective reality of the things described, but rather concepts of them, what is important is to comprehend the meanings of words not standing alone, but within their particular fields. Furthermore it will show that meanings of words are affected by the whole system. Part of the study is to make a distinction between what words in Ḥamzah's system have basic meanings and what have relational meanings. This bears a close relationship with the distinction between context and semantic field. In Ḥamzah - as we shall see - certain words which may be regarded as basic, have acquired relational meanings, and as such they became important 'technical' terms in his system. One of Rānīrī's main pitfalls in his comprehension of Ḥamzah's mysticism is precisely failure to distinguish the difference between these distinctions. As the results of this method will appear in Chapters

III, IV and V, I trust that it needs no further elaboration here.

I have mentioned my method as being twofold, and that in the first instance the method of commentary will be applied to primary sources. That these sources are authentic is for me beyond doubt. I suggest three main proofs of their authenticity. The first is the fact that Rānīrī, Ḥamzah's vehement denouncer, had quoted them, in some cases verbatim, in others paraphrased or summarized. The second is the fact that the texts reveal the author to have mastery over the subject, and this mastery is revealed not in the subject matter of the texts, but in the manner the texts present the subject matter. In the period contemporaneous with Ḥamzah - and I would go so far as to suggest that even in the periods before and after Ḥamzah - we are unable to find any other mystical writing in Malay that can be attributed to any Malay mystic, whose style in prose as well as in poetry reaches the stature achieved by Ḥamzah. With the exception perhaps of Shamsu'l-Dīn of Pasai, mystical writing in Malay, during the period following Ḥamzah's, is rigid, awkward, unintelligible to the uninitiated as the subject matter is usually couched in a language that is forced into an Arabic crucible. These indications reveal that the authors of these works were not masters, either of their subject matter or of their language. But in Ḥamzah's works the texts reveal a language that flows

effortlessly, in prose as well as in poetry; a succinct demonstration that the author, having instilled into his mind and heart the mystical doctrines he learnt in a foreign tongue, and having imbued himself completely with those doctrines, translated his thoughts into his native tongue of which he was a unique master. In the period before Ḥamzah, we know of no instances of Malay writings such as Ḥamzah's; and in the period following that of Ḥamzah, the only notable authors who wrote on mysticism in good Malay were Shamsu'l-Dīn of Pasaī, Rānīrī and 'Abdu'l-Ra'ūf of Singkel. It is true that even in Ḥamzah there are instances when the language is employed rather awkwardly, but it must be pointed out that such instances only occur in translations of some Quranic texts, Ḥadīths, or passages in Arabic or Persian from some Ṣūfī poets and writers on doctrine. These instances are insignificant as they are not many. Furthermore, it is understandable that this should happen, especially where Quranic texts are involved, as even to this day extreme caution is exercised in translation, so that the results become literal in an exaggerated sense, for fear lest the original meanings be lost. The third main proof of the authenticity of the texts, which to my mind is the best proof of this kind and the most indisputable, is the proof resulting from the semantic approach already outlined. Words in a system of this nature do not scramble by themselves Munchausen-like to form a

semantic vocabulary, to associate purposefully with one another in meaningful patterns forming semantic fields of their own. Behind the conceptual structure prevailing as a whole throughout the system, we cannot help but conclude that its author knew exactly what he was writing about and how to express it.



## CHAPTER I

### HAMZAH FANŞŪRĪ

Neither the date nor the place of Ḥamzah Fanşūrī's birth has been established, and the span of the period in which he lived and flourished is still a problematic question. There are no known records, or even chronograms and other such literary devices that enable us to determine Ḥamzah's date of birth. As regards the place where he was born, this has been discussed by several scholars in the past, and almost all seem to have taken it for granted that he was born in Barus, a place situated on the east coast of North Sumatra. Barus is identical with Fanşūr, an earlier Arabic name for the same place, and the fact that Fanşūrī (of Fansūr) is part of Ḥamzah's name has no doubt given rise to the belief that he was born there. This question now seems to have been a closed matter, and it has never been reopened. Yet it seems to me that from Ḥamzah's own verses there is enough indication to make one doubt even this, and to urge one once again to review the question of his place of birth as problematic, and to forward a more satisfactory solution. In what follows presently, I propose to present this more satisfactory solution, and in so doing to try to establish the fact.

In his verses Ḥamzah always refers to himself as

from both Barus and Shahr Nawī in Siam.<sup>12</sup> These two places must have been of such significance to Ḥamzah that he should attach himself to them in a manner - it would seem - that his readers and posterity might be duly reminded of their importance in his life. He had visited various places more well known, in the Middle East, in the Malay Peninsula, in Java - including centres of religion and of learning - and yet he did not choose to call himself after any of them. In the Sharābu'l-ʿAshiqīn, Ḥamzah refers to himself as al-Mudunayn (of the two cities),<sup>13</sup> which according to Doorenbos might have been a mistake for al-Haramayn (of the two holy cities),<sup>14</sup> referring to Makkah and Madīnah, both of which Ḥamzah had visited. But the fact that Ḥamzah had been to these two holy

---

12. Shahr Nawī (or Shahr-i-Naw) is the Persian for New Town. Formerly known as Ayut'ia, it was founded in 1350. The master navigator (mu'allim) Shihābu'l-Dīn Aḥmad ibn Mājid, in his navigational tract entitled Hāwiyyat al-ikhtisār fī 'ilm al-bihār (dated 1462), mentioned Shahr Nawī in the section on sea routes of China. Several other navigational tracts were written by the master navigator Sulaymān bin Aḥmad al-Mahrī who died before 1553. Two of these, the 'Umdat al-mahriyyah fī ḍabt 'ilm al-bahriyyah and the Kitāb al-minhāj al-fākhir fī 'ilm al-baḥr al-zākhir, contain directions for mariners coasting the Malay Peninsula and also mention Shahr Nawī. Until as late as 1740 Shahr Nawī still appeared on early European maps under the form Sornau. (See Wheatly, P., The Golden Khersonese, Kuala Lumpur, 1961, pp.233-243). Shahr Nawī is also mentioned in the Maṭla'u'l-Sa'dayn of 'Abdu'l-Razzāq of Samarqand (see Browne, E.G., A literary history of Persia, Cambridge, 1956, 4 vols., vol.III, p.398. Also pp.428-430.) Hereafter cited as Literary history of Persia.

13. See my edition, last page of the treatise. See also 7291, p.110.

14. Doorenbos, p.204, note 6.

cities does not entitle him to adopt the sobriquet of al-Haramayn. Doorenbos is clearly incorrect in his conjecture, for to my mind al-Mudunayn (it should in fact read al-Madīn-atayn) is correct, referring not to Makkah and Madīnah, but to Barus and Shahr Nawī. That one should link one's name to that of a place is a tradition that is widely known, and the name of the place thus linked is usually one's birthplace. Hence Shabistari, Jāmi, Baghdādī, Shīrāzī, Bisṭāmī, Jīlānī - and a host of others made famous by the Ṣūfīs who were born there. Obviously then, either Barus or Shahr Nawī is Ḥanzah's birthplace. But which?

Barus has been famous for its camphor. In earlier times the Chinese referred to this place as Pin-su, or Pan-ts'ūt in Cantonese,<sup>15</sup> which form represented the sound Pansor or Pansur. The mediaeval Arabs and European writers referred to Pansor or Pansur as Fanṣūr or Fansur. The name Barus was used by later writers to distinguish its main product, camphor, from that of Japan.<sup>16</sup> Camphor is a substance found in a species of pine-like trees. The best quality resembles crystal, but there are others that are flaky, balmy and greasy depending upon the species of the trees and the places where they are grown. Usually it is obtained by

---

15. See Hirth, F. and Rockhill, W.W., Chau Ju Kua on the Chinese and Arab trade in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, St. Petersburg, 1911, pp.193-194, also note 1. Hereafter cited as Chau Ju Kua.

16. Chau Ju Kua, p.194, note 1.

splitting open the heart of the tree.<sup>17</sup> It is important to know something about camphor as such knowledge throws some light upon a number of Ḥamzah's verses where he speaks about himself. In the first two lines of a verse he says:

Ḥamzah Faṣṣūrī dinegeri Melayu,  
Tempatnya kāpūr didalam kayu ...<sup>18</sup>

Here he is simply saying that in the "land of the Malays" (referring to Sumatra) his dwelling place is in Barus, where "camphor [is found] in the wood." Another verse begins:

Ḥamzah nin asalnya Faṣṣūrī ...<sup>19</sup>

revealing the fact that he is originally of Faṣṣūr (Barus). But note that in both these two verses the words tempat and asal merely mean a place of origin; and origin can mean not necessarily that he was born there, but that his family came from there, that his relatives and his ancestors came from Barus, that he himself might not have been born there. But it may be argued that in another verse he seems to give the impression that he was born in Barus:

Ḥamzah Shahr Nawī terialu hapus,  
Seperti kayu sekalian hangus;  
Asalnya Laut tiada berharus,<sup>20</sup>  
Menjadi kāpūr didalam Barus.

Literally: Ḥamzah of Shahr-i-Naw is truly effaced.  
Like wood, all burnt to cinders;  
His origin is the Ocean without currents,  
He became camphor in Barus.

17. 3374, pp.193-194, notes 1 and 2.

18. 2016, p.71.

19. 3374, p.13.

20. 2016, p.89.



his activity, of his whole life. This is the same as saying that Barus is his dwelling place. The second meaning has a mystical connotation and in order to interpret this a little digression is necessary to explain the relevant part of the Ṣūfī cosmology. In Islamic eschatology the Kursī is the Footstool under the Divine Throne (al-'Arsh). According to Ibnu'l-'Arabī and other Ṣūfīs, and to Jīlī in particular, the manner in which God creates His creation is that first the creatures are individualized in the Divine Knowledge ('ilm) in a transcendental manner without any differentiation. They are then made to exist synthetically and virtually in the 'Arsh, and are manifested analytically as potential existents in the Kursī. All these individualizations occur spiritually and the creatures have not yet received the name "creation", for they are not yet separate, as it were, from the Divine Essence (Dhāt). The first objective individualization occurs in the Highest Pen (al-Qalamu'l-A'lā), and here the Creator and the creatures become distinguished. The Pen "imprints" the creatures' forms of existence on the Guarded Tablet (al-Lawḥu'l-Maḥfūz) as the mind, so to speak, imprints ideas on the soul.<sup>23</sup> So then, to apply this idea to menjadi kāpūr didalam Barus, the line does not convey the meaning that

---

22. 'Abdu'l-Karīm al-Jīlī, Al-Insānu'l-Kāmil, 2 vols. in 1, Cairo, 1956, vol.II, pp.6-12. See also Nicholson, R.A., Studies in Islamic mysticism, Cambridge, 1921, pp.111-112 and note 3 on p.112..Jīlī's work will hereafter be cited as Insānu'l-Kāmil. Nicholson's work will hereafter be cited as Studies.

23. See Asrār, p.34.

Ḥamzah was born in Barus, rather - taking the similitude of the camphor in the tree - it refers to Ibnu'l-'Arabī's doctrine of original potentialities (isti'dād aṣlī) which Ḥamzah endorses. In this case it means that it was of Ḥamzah's potential nature (i.e. when he was in the state of the Kursī) to be a Malay of Barus, irrespective of where he would be born. This mystical interpretation fits in well with the preceding lines of the verse as it then means that he mystically attains to his original state in Barus. But if we are to apply a more mundane interpretation, then it would even be possible to imagine that Ḥamzah was conceived by his mother in Barus! In this case we must accept it as most probable that his mother, perhaps together with his father, left Barus for a time and gave birth to him elsewhere, returning to Barus when he was still an infant. Or having been born in the foreign place, Ḥamzah remained in that place, returning to Barus after the death of his parents. Seen in this light, the significance of Shahr Nawī is clearly revealed. In the first two lines of this verse:

Ḥamzah nin asalnya Fanṣūrī,  
Mendapat wujud ditanah Shahr Nawī ...<sup>24</sup>

Ḥamzah is originally of Fanṣūr,  
He acquired his existence in the land of  
Shahr-i-Naw ...

Ḥamzah is telling us that originally he was of Barus, but that he acquired his existence in Shahr Nawī. The word

---

24. 3374, p.13.

existence (wujūd), generally speaking, refers either to the state of being, or existing, pertaining to non-beings - in which case it exists only in thought; or it refers to Real Being, pertaining to the Self-existent Essence of God. In the sense in which Ḥamzah uses this word in the above quotation, he is referring to his own existence, not to a mystical state, and this means that he acquires his human form and qualities. This can mean none other than reference to his birth into this world. Two other verses support this conclusion:

Ḥamzah Shahr Nawī terlalu hapus,  
Seperti kayu sekalian hangus; ...

This is the first two lines of the verse already quoted in connection with the analogy of the camphor in the tree. Now if we take aside the expressions terlalu hapus (truly effaced) and sekalian hangus (all burnt to cinders), we get Ḥamzah Shahr Nawī ... seperti kayu (like wood) ... emphasising the physical Ḥamzah. Bearing this in mind let us move on to the next verse which begins:

Ḥamzah Shahr Nawī ẓāhirnya Jāwī ...<sup>25</sup>

Ḥamzah of Shahr-i-Naw is born [also: 'has the appearance of'] a Malay ...

There is no need to go further. Apart from the fact that he tells us he was born a Malay, we must not consider it a mere coincidence that he connects his birth (ẓāhirnya) with Shahr Nawī by mentioning Shahr Nawī along with ẓāhir. In this

---

25. Loc. cit.



and in the quotation immediately preceding it, both referring to Ḥamzah as a physical entity (ẓāhirnya Jāwī and seperti kayu) Ḥamzah, I suggest, purposefully links himself with Shahr Nawī and not with Barus - another strong indication that he was in fact born in Shahr Nawī.

Having begun this chapter on the question of Ḥamzah's place of birth, it is appropriate that I should now attempt to present a worthwhile sketch of Ḥamzah's life and times, as far as it is possible from the scanty bits and pieces of information gleaned again solely from his verses. As far as I know, whatever information of this sort that exists is exceedingly scanty. What I shall attempt here will be full of gaps impossible to bridge on account of the absence of recorded facts; nevertheless, it is hoped that it will throw some light upon several important points hitherto unknown in the study of Ḥamzah's teachings and ideas.

To begin with, if we are to accept his Sha'ir Dagang<sup>26</sup> as part of an early autobiography, such writing being not uncommon among Ṣūfī poets,<sup>27</sup> then it seems that his parents died when he was still young, leaving him in straitened circumstances which eventually forced him to lead the wandering life of a trader in many lands. During this period of travelling he must have made his acquaintance with Ṣūfism

---

26. Ibid., pp.18-25. Dagang conveys both meanings of 'trader' and 'traveller'.

27. Take, for example, Sa'dī. Literary history of Persia, II, pp. 526ff.

into which he finally became fully initiated. From the life of a wandering trader Ḥamzah now passed onto the life of a wandering mystic learned in the doctrines of the Ṣūfīs. He had travelled in the Middle East and in Java. He had been in Siam and in Malaya. He tells us that, notwithstanding the fact that he had journeyed far and wide in quest of God - his travels extended from Makkah to Kudus - he finally discovered God within his self:<sup>28</sup>

Ḥamzah Fanṣūrī didalam Makkah  
Menchari Tuhan di Baytu'l-Ka'bah;  
D[ar]i Barus ke Kudus terlalu payah,  
Akhirnya dapat didalam rumah.<sup>29</sup>

Ḥamzah Fanṣūrī in Makkah  
Searches for God in the House of the Ka'bah;  
From Barus to Kudus he wearily goes  
At last he finds [Him] in his house.

Ḥamzah spoke and wrote fluently Malay and apparently also Arabic and Persian, and perhaps other languages of the Indonesian Archipelago. Dutch scholars who have touched upon matters relating to Ḥamzah have considered the question as to

28. Doorenbos thinks that didalam rumah refers to Barus (see Doorenbos, p.1), but I think his guess is incorrect. In this case rumah refers to the self, and this interpretation is more in line with the spirit of the verse. Generally the Ṣūfīs use the word dār (house or mansion) to refer to the self. See for example Sa'du'l-Dīn Maḥmūd Shabistārī's Gulshan-i-Rāz (The Mystic Rose Garden), the Persian text, with an English translation and notes, chiefly from the commentary of Muḥammad bin Yaḥyā Lahijī, by E.H. Whinfield London, 1880, pp.68 and 76. The Gulshan-i-Rāz will hereafter be cited as Shabistārī. See also Jalālu'l-Dīn Rūmī's Mathnawī, edited from the oldest manuscripts available, with critical notes, translation, and commentary, by R.A. Nicholson, London, 1926 (4 Books in 2 vols.), Book IV 1358. This work will hereafter be cited as Mathnawī.
29. 2016, p.76.

where he learned his Persian a very puzzling one indeed, for as far as is known, there has been no indication to show that he had ever been to Persia. In view of his close connection with Shahr Nawī, a name which must be regarded as a 'witness term' reflecting Persian predominance in the Muslim population there, the puzzle can now be unravelled. The fact that Ḥamzah lived in Shahr Nawī for a considerable period means that there was a sizeable Muslim population there. As I have suggested above, the Persians predominated in the composition of that Muslim population - otherwise why would the place be known to the Muslims under a Persian name? Another significant fact is the possibility that there existed in Persia a town bearing the same name of 'New Town'. In one of the verses in the Ta'rīkh-i-Guzīda,<sup>30</sup> composed in 1330 by a Persian historian Ḥamdu'llāh Mustawfī al-Qazvīnī,<sup>31</sup> there occur these lines:

Chū majdu'l-Mulk az taqdīr īzīd  
Shahādat yāft dar ṣaḥrā Naw Shahr  
Biqasdi Ṣāhibi Dīwān Muḥammad  
Ki dastūri mamālik būd dar dahr ...<sup>32</sup>

---

30. An accurate ms. transcribed in 1453 was published in facsimile in 1910 in the E.J.W. Gibb Memorial Series (vol. xiv, 1) followed in 1913 by an abridged English translation, with full indices, by E.G. Browne and R.A. Nicholson (vol. xiv, 2). For a summary of its contents, see Literary history of Persia, III, pp.90-95.

31. Ibid., p.87.

32. Ibid., p.30. The text is in Arabic script. The transliteration is mine. Browne's English translation on p.31:  
 Since Majdu'l-Mulk, by God-sent destiny,  
 A martyr in Naw Shahr's plain did die,  
 By the Ṣāhib-Dīwān Muḥammad's spite,  
 Who ruled the land with unrestricted might ...

Naw Shahr was a town situated not far from Marāghā in the province of Ādharbāyjān. As I have noted earlier, Shahr Nawī was known to the Persians and one of their historians made mention of it along with others as an important trading centre.<sup>33</sup> Not only was Shahr Nawī famous to the Muslims under a Persian name, but it was also known among Europeans in its Persian form appearing in various europeanized versions for until as late as 1740.<sup>34</sup> It should not be surprising, therefore, if Ḥamzah should have learned his Persian in Shahr Nawī from the Persians.<sup>35</sup>

The knowledge of Arabic and Persian and his particular bent of mind and poetic talents opened for him the threshold of Ṣūfism in a manner never before - or perhaps even after - experienced by any other Malay. Ḥamzah can with justification, boast:

Ḥamzah miskin orang 'uryanī,  
Seperti Ismā'īl menjadi qurbānī;  
Bukannya 'Ajamī lagi 'Arabī -  
Senantiasa wāṣil dengan Yang Bāqī.<sup>36</sup>

Ḥamzah the poor is a 'naked' person.  
Like Ismā'īl he becomes a sacrifice;  
He is not a Persian, nor is he an Arab -  
But he is constantly united with the  
Enduring One.

---

33. See above, note 12; Literary history of Persia, III, p.398.

34. See above, note 12. Wheatley, op.cit., p.235, note 3.

35. For a discussion on Shahr Nawī and other significant matters, see my Note on the opening of relations between China and Malacca, 1403-05, Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, vol.38, pt.I, 1965, pp.260-264. The Journal will hereafter be cited as J.M.B.R.A.S.

36. 3374, p.12.

In another verse he reveals that he belonged to the Qādiriyyah Order:

Ḥamzan nin asalnya Fanṣūrī  
Mendapat wujud ditanah Shahr Nawī;  
Beroleh khilāfat 'ilmu yang 'ālī  
Daripada 'Abdu'l-Qādir Sayyid Jīlānī.<sup>37</sup>

Ḥamzah is originally of Fanṣūr,  
He acquired his existence in the land of  
Shahr-i-Naw;  
He achieved his lofty spiritual knowledge  
From 'Abdu'l-Qādir Sayyid of Jīlān.

It seems to me that during his travels Ḥamzah visited Baghdād, the great centre of the Qādiriyyah Order, where 'Abdu'l-Qādir was and still is regarded as the patron saint. There he obtained his bay'ah<sup>38</sup> and perhaps his ijāzah from the Shaykh of the Qādirīs:

Shaykh al-Fanṣūrī terlalu 'ālī,  
Beroleh khilāfat dibenua Baghdādī ...<sup>39</sup>

The Shaykh of Fanṣūr is most lofty [in learning]  
He attained to his spiritual knowledge in  
the land of Baghdād ...

and he reports that this Shaykh of the Qādirīs was also called 'Abdu'l-Qādir after the founder:

Ḥamzah nin 'ilmunya zāhir,  
Ustādhnya Shaykh 'Abdu'l-Qādir ...<sup>40</sup>

Ḥamzah's knowledge [learning] is clearly manifest,  
His teacher was Shaykh 'Abdu'l-Qādir ...

37. Ibid., p.13; 2016, p.53.

38. For this term see the Encyclopaedia of Islam, edited by M. Th. Houtsma, T.W. Arnold, R. Basset, and R. Hartmann, Leiden, 1913-1938, 4 vols. and supplement, articles Bāy'a and Idjāza. The Encyclopaedia of Islam will hereafter be cited as E.I.

39. 2016, p.91.

40. Ibid., p.47.

But this may not refer to an actual person called by that name who personally taught Ḥamzah; it may well refer to the founder to whom he is linked through the spiritual geneology.

It has been said in the beginning that Ḥamzah's dates of birth and death are unknown and have not yet been established. Since there is, as far as I know, no way of establishing these dates, it would be futile to speculate upon this question. Furthermore this question is, fortunately, of no great importance. But it is important at least to establish the span of period in which he lived and flourished. It appears to me that he lived and flourished in the period preceding and during the reign of Sulṭān 'Alā'u'l-Dīn Ri'āyat Shāh of Aceh (1588-1604), and that he was most likely dead before 1607. My opinion is based upon a short poem by Ḥamzah entitled Ikat-ikatan 'ilmu'l-nisā'.<sup>41</sup> From this poem it is evident that he was ordered by that Sulṭān to compose the poem - or at least he dedicated the poem to the same Sulṭān:

Hamba mengikat sha'ir ini  
Dibawah ḥaḍrat raja yang walī ...<sup>42</sup>

Your slave composed these verses  
By the command [literally : presence] of the  
saintly king ...

There is no doubt that the "saintly king" referred to in the last line quoted was 'Alā'u'l-Dīn Ri'āyat Shāh, who was known

41. Ibid., pp.93-97.

42. Ibid., p.97.

as Shāh 'Ālam,<sup>43</sup> and who in Acehnese tradition was famous under the title Sayyid al-Mukammal;<sup>44</sup> for immediately following the above lines he says:

Shāh 'Ālam raja yang 'ādil,  
Raja guṭub sempurna kāmīl;  
Walī Allāh sempurna wāsil.<sup>45</sup>  
Raja 'ārif lagi mukammīl.

Shāh 'Ālam the just king,  
The Pole whose perfection is complete;  
The saint of God who is eminently united [with God],  
The gnostic king, moreover the most excellent.

The last word in the stanza is read mukammīl to fit into the rhyme scheme. The correct form is mukammal and it refers to Sayyid al-Mukammal. But there is still a puzzle, as in the same poem Sultān Iskandar Muda, who reigned from 1607 to 1636, is also mentioned by his title Mahkota 'Ālam.<sup>46</sup> This would give the impression that Hamzah was still alive at least during the early part of Iskandar Muda's reign, for the prince could assume the title only when he has attained to the Sultānate and not before. Such titles were to be used posthumously, but it became a tradition for the Sultāns to assume their respective titles as soon as they were installed as Sultān. However, it seems to me that the line of reasoning

43. See Teuku Iskandar, De Hikajat Atjeh, The Hague, 1959, text, pp.243, also p.192 of the book. Hereafter cited as Hikayat Aceh.

44. See Djajadiningrat, R.H., Critisch overzicht van de in Maleische werken vervatte gegevens over de gescheidenis van het Soeltanaat van Atjeh, B.K.I., 65, Leiden, 1911, p.213; also Hikayat Aceh, p.74.

45. Ibid., p.97.

46. Ibid., p.96.

accepting that Ḥamzah lived in the early part of Iskandar Muda 's reign, by virtue of the fact that the Sulṭān's posthumous title is mentioned in this poem, is untenable. Why should Ḥamzah insert Iskandar Muda's royal title when the poem was written for Shāh 'Ālam? Furthermore, Iskandar Muda, at the time the poem was composed, could not have been Sulṭān and could therefore not have used the title. There seems to be an anachronism here. My solution to this puzzle is that the reference to Mahkota 'Ālam in the poem is a later interpolation. Interpolations of this nature are not unusual in Malay works of historical and cultural significance. The Hikāyat Raja-Raja Pasai and the Sejarah Melayu have been subject to interpolations of this nature. Rānīrī's Bustānu'l-Salāṭīn (the author died in 1666) interpolates mention of 'Ināyat Shāh, who reigned in Aceh from 1678 to 1688.<sup>47</sup> Ḥamzah's poem in question may not be excluded from such a possibility in this respect. But a more convincing indication that interpolation has occurred is to study carefully the problematic stanza itself:

Berkatalah faqīr ḍa'īf yang budiman,  
amat 'ajā'ib maqam diluar pun; [ada  
ia khabar ditanah Jawa, dari Aceh  
marḥūm Mahkota 'Ālam dihimpunkan]  
sekalian sharat dinazarkan kepada  
rasanya yang ni'mat diturunkan ...<sup>48</sup>

- 
47. See Winstedt, R.O.W., A history of classical Malay literature, J.M.B.R.A.S., vol.31, pt.3, June 1958, p.120.  
48. 2016, p.95. See also Doorenbos, p.68. For this purpose I have used Doorenbos' edition of the passage and have not altered the form in which it is presented. The square brackets are mine. The purpose of my inserting the brackets where they are now will shortly become clear.



It can be seen at once that the whole stanza as it appears in the form presented is nothing but a jumble of incoherent, meaningless phrases having neither relation nor relevance, both in thought and form, to the preceding and succeeding stanzas and to the poem as a whole. But if the words I have enclosed in square brackets were to be removed, and the arrangement of the form slightly rearranged, their meaning, relevance, and relationship to the whole poem is established:

Berkatalah faqīr da'īf yang budiman,  
 Amat 'ajā'ib maqām diluarpuan;<sup>49</sup>  
 Sekalian sharaṭ dinazarkan  
 Pada rasanya yang ni'mat diturunkan.

In this reading, not only the form but the spirit it conveys run in conformity with the spirit and tone of the whole poem. From this analysis it may be concluded that - if my judgment is correct - Ḥamzah Faṣṣūrī lived and flourished in the period preceding and during the reign of Shāh 'Ālam, and that it is unlikely that he lived to witness Iskandar Muda ascend the throne in 1607.

Ḥamzah's writings reveal that he had a masterly grasp of the Arabic and Persian languages apart from his own Malay. In that too is revealed a marked influence of Muḥyī'l-Dīn ibnu'l-'Arabī, from whom he undoubtedly derived much influence. But influence also from 'Abdu'l-Karīm Jīlī - though he did not mention Jīlī - is not lacking. He must also have been well acquainted, from what is revealed in his writings, with

---

49. The text in fact reads diluar puan and not diluar pun.

the thoughts of al-Bisṭāmī (261/874), al-Baghdādī (298/910), al-Ḥallāj (309/922), al-Ghazzālī (505/1111), Mas'ūdī (515/1121 or 525/1131), 'Aṭṭār (616/1229), Rūmī (672/1273), 'Irāqī (658/1289), Sa'dī (682/1291), Shabistarī (720/1320), Maghribī (809/1406), Shāh Ni'matu'l-Lāh (834/1431), Jāmī (898/1492) - and others not as famous. Quotations from each of these can be found in Ḥamzah's prose works, and ideas from each are clothed - and there are good reasons to believe, for the first time - in the Malay language "in order that those having no knowledge of Arabic or Persian may understand"<sup>50</sup> the Divine mysteries. Ḥamzah was not merely translating what these Ṣūfīs had written, connecting them together to form an intelligible whole, for he demonstrated in his writings that he had a total grasp of their ideas and put them, for the most part, in his own phraseology. There are of course passages which were translated almost literally, but even here Ḥamzah adds his own modifications to suit his audience, as one example here will suffice:

Jika seorang orang bertanya: "Jikalau dhāt Allāh kepada semesta sekalian lengkap, kepada najis dapatkah dikatakan lengkap?" Maka jawāb: "Seperti panas lengkap pada sekalian 'ālam, kepada busuk pun lengkap, kepada baik pun lengkap, kepada jahat pun lengkap, kepada Ka'bah pun lengkap, pada rumah berhala pun lengkap - kepada semesta sekalian pun lengkap; kepada najis tiada ia akan najis; kepada baik tiada ia akan baik; kepada jahat tiada ia akan jahat; daripada Ka'bah tiada ia beroleh kebajikan; daripada rumah berhala

---

50. Sharāb, p.1 of the treatise.

tiada ia beroleh kejahatan. Selang panas lagi demikian, istimewa Allāh Subḥānahu wa Ta'ālā, Suchi daripada segala suchi, dimana Ia akan najis dan busuk?" Maka fahamkan olehmu kata ini.<sup>51</sup>

Should someone ask: "If the Essence of Allāh is all-pervasive and immanent in all things, can it be said that it is also immanent in impure and foul things?" Then answer: "In the same way as the sun's light is all pervasive and sheds itself over the impure and the foul, the good and the evil, over the Ka'bah and the idol-worshipper's Temple - over everything: without itself being affected by the impurity and the foulness, the goodness and the evilness of the things it pervades; from the Ka'bah it does not gain goodness, from the Temple it does not acquire evil; so it is even more with respect to Allāh Most Exalted, Who is the Purest of the pure. How can the impure and the foul affect Him?" Comprehend this well.

And this comes from the Lawā'ih,<sup>52</sup> where Jāmī says:

Although the light of the sun illuminates at once the clean and the unclean, yet it undergoes no modification in the purity of its light; it acquires neither the scent of musk nor the colour of the roses, the reproach of the thorn nor the disgrace of the rugged rock.

When the sun sheds his light for all to share,  
It shines on foul things equally with fair;  
Fair things do not augment its radiance,  
Nor can foul things its purity impair.<sup>53</sup>

It is significant that Ḥamzah drew his inspiration from the classical Ṣūfīs whose ideas were still pure, still untainted by degeneration and corruption that were to follow

51. Ibid., pp.13-14.

52. Lawā'ih fī bayān ma'ānī 'irfāniyyah, by Nūru'l-Dīn 'Abdu'l-Raḥman Jāmī (898/1492). See the facsimile of an old manuscript and the English translation by Whinfield, E.H. and Kazvīnī, M.M., Royal Asiatic Society, London, 1906, p.36. Hereafter cited as Lawā'ih.

53. Loc. cit.

after the period of Jāmī in the fifteenth century. In Mamlūk Egypt the corruption and degeneration in the understanding of Ṣūfism had set in just before the period of the Ottoman conquest.<sup>54</sup> In Mughūl India Ṣūfism gave way to all kinds of modifications brought about under the pressure of the circumstances; its influential "exponents" sought a reconciliation with the Hindu doctrines and with those of the Vedānta, as was advocated, for example, by Dārā Shikūh, a son of the Emperor Shāh Jahān.<sup>55</sup> It would seem to me that in the higher levels of the metaphysical doctrines of the Ṣūfis and those of the Hindu doctrines according to the Vedānta, reconciliation was not really a need, as in most cases the Ṣūfis and the Vedantic philosophers already saw eye to eye in these matters.<sup>56</sup> The so-called reconciliation sought was rather of the type to appease the politicians of the day and the masses - at the level not of the speculative doctrines, but of the practical ritualistic doctrines. Much asceticism and forms of yogistic exercises became more and more evident in the Ṣūfī practices. The exercise of restraining the breath, for example, crept into a certain system of Qādiriyyah practice which was not a peculiarity of that Order. Dāra

---

54. See Arberry, A.J., Ṣūfism, London, 1950, p.120 and his note 2.

55. See Majma'u'l-Bahrayn, by Dārā Shikūh; text and translation by Mahfuz-ul-Haq, M., Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta, 1929.

56. See Guènon, R., Introduction to the study of the Hindu doctrines, London, 1945, and Man and his becoming according to the Vedānta, London, 1945.

Shikūh himself, who belonged to this Order, engaged assiduously in such practice.<sup>57</sup> The influence of Indian life in the Indonesian Archipelago, in court as well as in the realm of mystical speculation and practice is quite well known that it needs no further elaboration. It is also well known that in decay Ṣūfism tended to produce various forms of charlatanry, and the credulous masses confounded these with lofty speculation. A scandalous life, impudent actions and unintelligible speech were the means to fame, wealth and power. It would not in the least be a stretch of the imagination to guess that when Ḥamzah returned from his travels and quest for esoteric knowledge to the land of his countrymen, he found these very same abominations rampant in the society of the day. In Acheh in particular, place names and names of objects bear witness to what must have been a 'democratization' of the Ṣūfī doctrines and way of life. The palace of Sulṭān 'Alā'u'l-Dīn Ri'āyat Shāh (Sayyid al-Mukammal) was called "The Abode of the World" (Dāru'l-Dunyā).<sup>58</sup> An old seat of the Kingdom was called "The Abode of Perfection" (Dāru'l-Kamāl).<sup>59</sup> A place in Greater Acheh was called "The Abode of Purity" (Dāru'l-Ṣafā).<sup>60</sup> A fort was called "The Town of Seclusion"

---

57. Dārā Shikūh; op.cit., introduction, pp.8-9.

58. Hikāyat Acheh, ms. pp.164, 174, 181, 185, 229.

59. Ibid., pp. 16, 17, 18, 20, 21, 75, 76, 80, 146.

60. Ibid., pp. 25, 26.

(Kota Khalwat).<sup>61</sup> An island was called "The Island of Mercy" (Pulau Rahmat).<sup>62</sup> A plain was called "The Plain of Imagination" (Medan Khayyālī).<sup>63</sup> A bay was called "The Bay of the Threshold of Love" (Teluk 'Ishqīdar).<sup>64</sup> The mouth of a river was called "The Mouth of the Sweetness of Love" (Kuala Merdu 'Ishqī).<sup>65</sup> A river was called "The Abode of Love" (Dāru'l-'Ishqī).<sup>66</sup> Another river was called "The River of Purity" (Wādī al-Ṣafā).<sup>67</sup> Many other places bore mystical names - even Sultān 'Alā'u'l-Dīn's flagship was called "The Mirror of Purity" (Mir'ātu'l-Ṣafā).<sup>68</sup> All these witness words reveal much of the spiritual climate of the day. To Ḥamzah, who drew deep draughts from the fountains themselves - not from the rivulets, whose teachings bear no traces of Indian - or even Ḥaḍramī - influences, what he found everywhere about him of the young and old among the devotees of that 'spiritual wine' must have evoked in him supreme contempt:

Segala muda dan sopan,  
 Segala tua berhuban,  
 'Uzlatnya berbulan-bulan -  
 Menchari Tuhan kedalam hutan!

Segala menjadi "Sūfī",  
 Segala menjadi "Ṣhawqī",  
 Segala menjadi "Ruhī" -  
 Gusar dan masam diatas bumi!

---

61. Ibid., p.146.

62. Ibid., pp.140, 141, 143, 145.

63. Ibid., pp. 164, 167, 168, 173, 174, 182, 185, 228, 229.

64. Ibid., pp. 60, 63.

65. Ibid., p.28.

66. Ibid., pp. 33, 146, 234.

67. Ibid., p.147.

68. Ibid., pp.259, 260, 274.

Segala pandai dan utus,  
Segala lapar dan kurus, ...<sup>69</sup>

Every young and well-bred,  
Every old and white-haired,  
Go forth for months in seclusion -  
Searching for God in the wilderness!

Everyone becomes a "Sūfī",  
Everyone becomes a "Passionate Lover",  
Everyone becomes a "Spirit",  
Going about wrathful and sour-faced!

Everyone is "intelligent" and "wise",  
Everyone is hungry and thin, ...

Ḥamzah makes fun of those "Seekers" after Truth whose  
peculiar practices undoubtedly betray Indian influence:

Sidang "Ṭālib" kedalam hutan,  
Pergi 'uzlat berbulan-bulan,  
Dari muda datang berhuban -  
Tiada bertemu dengan Tuhan.

Oleh riyāḍat tubuhnya rusak,  
Hendak melihat serupa budak,  
Menghela nafas kedalam otak -  
Supaya minyaknya jangan orak!

Karāmatnya terlalu sangat,  
[Suaranya] pun besar amat,  
Angan-angannya sekalian larat -  
[Se]makin dapat wāṣilnyaangat! ...

'Ilmu Allāh jangan kan gantung,  
Diparu-paru dan balik jantung, ...

'Ilmu Ḥaqīqat tiadakan sukar -  
Bukan dimata kaupusar-pusar!  
Urat pusat kauputar-putar,<sup>70</sup>  
Olehnya itu Maḥbūbmu gusar!

Companies of "Seekers" into the wilderness  
Go forth for months in seclusion,  
Until the young turned white-haired -  
Still they do not meet with God!

69. 2016, p.89.

70. Ibid., pp.73-74.





Our Lord is the Possessor of Being,  
How can He be restricted to the crown of the  
head? ...

... Do not seek Him in the crown of the head!

Meanwhile, we must imagine that, in this state of affairs, the representatives of 'orthodoxy' - the Doctors of Theology ('Ulamā) - continued to combat, by means of authoritative writing and polemics, all forms of mysticism that were held in suspicion. In the administrative sphere, where official opposition against the suspect doctrines could be better combated by practical measures, the Judges (sing. Qādī) were constantly vigilant and quick to take action. The Qādī's dominance in these matters can be seen from the implications in several of Ḥamzah's verses.<sup>74</sup> In view of the preceding quotations from Ḥamzah, one must interpret that antinomian and dubious forms of mysticism held sway at that time. This being the case, it would follow that even if a true form of Ṣūfism were to exist or to be propagated then, it would still be regarded equally suspect by the 'orthodox' who had been in the habit of encountering pseudo-Ṣūfism everywhere. Hence we must not be surprised, on the contrary, we must understand and sympathize, when many years later we find Nūru'l-Dīn al-Rānīrī the champion of 'orthodoxy' claiming to speak on behalf of true Ṣūfism and condemning the Ṣūfism of Ḥamzah as if it were immersed in Vedāntic speculations.<sup>75</sup>

---

74. See below, pp. 45-47.

75. This will be discussed in detail in the next chapter.

According to my interpretation of the way things happened in this conflict of ideas, Rānīrī, by the time he arrived in Aceh in 1637, had understood Ḥamzah from what he saw of those mystics who claimed, implicitly or explicitly, to be the latter's disciples or followers, who were themselves mistaken in their interpretation of their master's teachings. Of course Rānīrī himself had misunderstood Ḥamzah in many important points, and this lack of comprehension on the part of Ḥamzah's "disciples" or "followers" as well as on Rānīrī's part is due largely to the fact that they did not understand Ḥamzah's terms, which were employed as technical terms, and which were so employed for the first time in the writing of Malay.<sup>76</sup> We must imagine, then, that Ḥamzah in his own country confronted not just one formidable opponent in the way of his ideas and teachings - the 'Ulamā' - but also another perhaps more difficult opponent - those who had stolen the Ṣūfī's name, who were now masquerading as true Ṣūfīs. On the one hand Ḥamzah, as may be gleaned from what I have interpreted from his verses, deplored the activities and ideas of the pseudo-mystics, and on the other he equally deplored the treatment meted out against them by the 'orthodox', for, as we well know, such treatment rather than stamp out the cause of the trouble, often perpetuates and increases the trouble and makes martyrs out of charlatans.

---

76. This will be discussed in Chapters IV and V.

That Ḥamzah deplored the manner in which the 'orthodox' handled religious affairs is perfectly clear. In one verse he exhorts those who would follow the path of true Ṣūfism not to be deterred by the wrath of the Qāḍī, so that they might attain to the object of their sublime research:

Jangan kautakutkan gusar Qāḍī,  
Mangkanya dapat da'wāmu'ali ...<sup>77</sup>

Don't you be afraid of the wrath of the Judge  
Then can your claim be truly lofty ...

In one of his verses in which, for the benefit of the public ('awāmm), he explains the meaning of mystical 'nakedness' ('uryān) - the stripping off of all sensual passions from the body<sup>78</sup> - he warns them not to extend this meaning to physical nakedness which the Qāḍī condemns:

Wa 'ārū ajsādakum - jika hendak kauchari,  
Jangan pada 'uryān dihukumkan Qāḍī.<sup>79</sup>

"Strip your bodies naked" - if you want to find  
out [the meaning],  
Don't understand it as the nakedness condemned  
by the Judge.

This verse is also to be interpreted as showing Ḥamzah's contempt for the Qāḍī, who is seen as incapable of understanding what mystical nakedness means and who only knows and understands physical nakedness. In the same taunting strain he tells the Qāḍī, in another verse, that the drink he is celebrating is the clear and pure vintage whose intoxicating

---

77. 2016, p.81.

78. Cf. 2016, p.70: ... Buangkan wujūdmu, chari yang lain,  
Inilah 'uryān pada Ahlu'l-Bāṭin.

79. 3374, p.15.

potency causes the inebriant to be at one with the eternal Beloved:

Khabarkan ini pada Mawlānā Qādī:  
Shurbat nin hening warnanya sāfī;  
Barang yang meminum dia mabok dan gānī  
Mendapat Maḥbūb yang bernama Bāqī.<sup>80</sup>

Tell this to our master the Judge:  
The colour of this pure drink is clear;  
Whosoever drinks it is intoxicated and annihilated  
And he wins the Beloved Who is called the  
Enduring One.

And to add further insult he goads the Qādī to acquaint his unaccustomed palate with it:

Minuman itu terlalu sāfī,  
Yogyakarta shurbat Mawlānā Qādī ...<sup>81</sup>

This drink is most pure  
It ought to be the drink of our master the  
Judge ...

The Qādī became for Ḥamzah an object of ridicule, and the most biting ridicule, in which, having quoted the Qur'ānic passage about God being nearer to man than his neck veins, he feigns wonderment at the ill luck of the Qādī in not profiting by this Divine proximity:

Subḥānī itulah terlalu 'ajīb,  
Daripada ḥabli'l-warīd Ia qarīb;  
Indah sekali Qādī dan Khaṭīb -  
Demikian hampir tiada beroleh naṣīb!<sup>82</sup>

"Glory be to me!" - it is such a wonder,  
'He is nearer than the jugular veins';  
How amazing that the Judge and the Preacher  
[of sermons]  
Should be so close - and yet so luckless!

---

80. 2016, p.75.

81. Ibid., p.71.

82. 3374, p.14.

Against the 'Ulamā' Ḥamzah's polemics revolve, as we shall see in the succeeding chapters, around the central argument about the creation of the world. But apart from this there are verses which reveal that Ḥamzah incites the people not to practise blind faith in religious matters and follow without question what the 'Ulamā' tell them (taqlīd):

Aho segala kita bernama 'Abīd!  
Sembahyang dan shahādat jangan kautaqlīd ...<sup>83</sup>

O we all who are called Slaves of God!  
Do not pray and make your confession of  
faith blindly ...

This verse can be taken in two senses; the first is that Ḥamzah does not criticize the 'Ulamā', but warns the people not to pray and pronounce the confession of faith without knowing what the prayers and the confession mean;<sup>84</sup> but the second sense is the one I have shown above, in which the 'Ulamā' are implicated.<sup>85</sup>

Apart from the fact that Ḥamzah puts himself in a difficult situation by antagonizing two groups of opponents, he also seeks to quarrel with yet a third group - the rich and the powerful, by which I take it to mean the aristocracy including even the Sultān himself. Of the rich and the powerful Ḥamzah says that they are not to be trusted with true friendship:

83. 2016, p.41.

84. Cp. how taqlīd is used in ibid., p.28.

85. Ḥamzah also directs his attacks against well known fiqh books such as the Kitāb Maḥallī and the Kitāb Muḥarrar (2016, pp.32, 35).

Jikalau bersahābat dengan yang kaya  
Akhirnya engkau jadi binasa.<sup>86</sup>

If you make companions of the rich  
In the end you will be destroyed.

and that their Islām is merely nominal:

Iqrārnya tiada ditaʿdīqkannya,  
Kerana tiada dengan sebaiknya ...<sup>87</sup>

Their verbal profession of faith is not  
accompanied by belief,  
Because they do so not with a pure intention ...

Like a true Ṣūfī, Ḥamzah denounces the divisions of master  
and slave in society as contrary to the teachings of the  
Prophet:

Aho segala kamu anak 'ālim!  
Jangan bersuhbat dengan yang zālim;  
Kerana Rasulu' Llāh sempurna ḥākim.<sup>88</sup>  
Melarangkan kita sekalian khādīm.

O you all learned men!  
Do not take the unjust as companions;  
For the Messenger of God who  
is the perfect Judge  
Has forbidden us all to be slaves [of the  
unjust].

No doubt the orang zālim referred to above is aimed at the  
master class. At a time when kings and princes held sway  
over the lives of the people, it is a man of courage who  
would forbid his followers to bow down to them or to curry  
their favour:

Aho segala kamu yang menjadi faqīr!  
Jangan bersahābat dengan raja dan amīr;  
Kerana Rasulu' Llāh bashīr dan nazīr.<sup>89</sup>  
Melarangkan kita saghīr dan kabīr.

86. 3374, p.19.

87. Loc. cit.

88. 2016, p.62.

89. Ibid., p.39.

O you all who have become poor!  
Do not take kings and princes as companions;  
For the Messenger of God who brings glad tidings  
and [preaches] equality  
Has forbidden us divisions into small [low] and  
big [high].

Such is Ḥamzah Fansūrī.

From this brief sketch about Ḥamzah and his times which I have constructed out of the scanty bits and pieces of insights based solely upon his verses, many things are implied which are of the utmost historical significance in the study of Ḥamzah's ideas and personality. From now on we must see Ḥamzah not as the exponent of the pedestrian brand of the Wujūdīyyah mysticism,<sup>90</sup> nor of the antinomian brand to which he has been consigned by those who opposed or failed to understand him. We must see him instead as a spiritual reformer; one who exhorts his fellows not to believe merely in the letter, but to have knowledge and understanding also of the spirit; to love God truly; to abandon superstition and to establish reason. His constant appeal is to the use of the intellect, for man is a noble creature and must first know himself in order to know his Creator and his lofty origin, and thence to true faith culminating in Divine love. He combines in his teachings both the asceticism and fervent ardour of the early Ṣūfīs and the metaphysics and theosophy that characterize the Ṣūfism of Ibnū'l-'Arabī. In the light of what has been said we must

90. See note 129.

interpret the fact that Ḥamzah's name has been left out of the official chronicles, even during his lifetime, not to Ḥamzah's absence from the land due to his travels, but rather to his antagonism of the three groups mentioned and to his resulting unpopularity in the circle of the powers that be. Ḥamzah was ignored. Even the Ḥikāyat Acheh that records contemporaneous events does not make mention of Ḥamzah - it were as though he never existed! He became known only posthumously as his influence, or influence attributed to him, made itself left with increasing persistence. Even the 'orthodox' 'Abdu'l-Ra'ūf of Singkel (c. 1620-c. 1693)<sup>91</sup> seeks eagerly to associate himself with Ḥamzah by publicizing the identity of their place of origin<sup>92</sup> as though to impress upon his readers' minds that he too ought to be as popular. One must not merely guess that many a pedestrian mystic quoted Ḥamzah as though he were his follower, proclaiming the high worth of his teachings. It is not surprising if the so-called disciples or followers of Ḥamzah whom Rānīrī later denounced and condemned were precisely from this group who made use of Ḥamzah's fame and learning by quoting him and

---

91. See E.I. (new edition), London, 1960, p.88, article 'Abd al-Ra'ūf al-Singkilī.

92. 'Abdu'l-Ra'ūf in his Malay translation and commentary of the Qur'ān based on that of al-Bayḍāwī's refers to himself as a man of Fanṣūr (al-Fanṣūrī). In a manuscript in the Marsden Collection emphasis is laid on the fact that 'Abdu'l-Ra'ūf was "of the same race as Ḥamzah of Barus" - cf. Winstedt, R.O., The Malays, a cultural history, London, 1956, p.35.



pretending to comment upon his ideas and teachings. One example will suffice to demonstrate my point.

In the Marsden Collection<sup>93</sup> there appear several passages of anonymous authorship purporting to expound certain mystical doctrines. The ones that are relevant in the pursuance of my aim quote four of Ḥamzah's verses in support of what is expounded,<sup>94</sup> thus giving the impression - no doubt purposely - not only that the author<sup>95</sup> was a follower of Ḥamzah, but that what he expounded is Ḥamzah's teachings and that Ḥamzah himself would have endorsed it. One passage begins by explaining the meaning of the well-known Prophetic Tradition that "whosoever knows his self knows his Lord", and this because "wujūd Tuhannya dengan wujūd dirinya ini esa jua" - "the Being of his Lord and the being of his self is one and the same!"<sup>96</sup> To know oneself means to know one's inward Self in the state of the "treasure hidden" in God's Knowledge. The formula is that when this inward Self is that which is the known (ma'lūm) in God's Knowledge ('Ilmu) - and the known is not separate from His Knowledge - it follows that, since His Knowledge is not separate from His Being (wujūd), the Self (by implication) is not separate from His

---

93. No. 11648, Library, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, London. Hereafter cited as 11648.

94. 11648, pp. 95, 96, 108-119.

95. There might well be more than one author.

96. 11648, p. 108.

Being:<sup>97</sup>

The true significance of knowing one's self is to know one's self as existing in God's Knowledge, i.e. to know one's self as an object of His Knowledge. When one has realized one's self to be the object of God's Knowledge - and the object of God's Knowledge is eternally at one with His Knowledge and His Knowledge is eternally at one with His Being - then one has certainly grasped the relationship with God and understands one's oneness with God, the Glorious and Exalted.<sup>98</sup>

To know what has been explained, and to know that one's outward self returns to one's inward Self - this is to attain gnosis (ma'rifat).<sup>99</sup> When it is said that one's outward self returns to one's inward Self it means that the outward self originates in and comes from the inward Self. But in reality there is no such thing as "coming" and "returning". What is meant by "coming" is from the overflow

97. Johns has written a doctoral dissertation, submitted to the University of London, which deals with an anonymous collection of 17th century tracts on Malay Sūfism and which was subsequently published. (Johns, A.H., Malay Sufism as illustrated in an anonymous collection of 17th century tracts, J.M.B.R.A.S., vol.30, pt. 2, 1957). The passage which I have summarized and translated above, and the ones which I am referring to in note 94 are also included in John's dissertation (pp.56-57). But Johns' work is full of errors of all kinds and must be read in conjunction with Professor Dr. G.W.J. Drewes' review of the book, in which some of the errors are exposed, which appears in the Bijdragen Tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde, Deel 115, 3e AFL, The Hague, 1959, pp.281-304.
98. See Appendix I, (i). Cf. Asrār, p.33; Insānu'l-Kāmil I, p.60; Studies p.128.
99. 11648, pp.111-112.

(limpah)<sup>100</sup> of the Absolute Being (wujūd maḥḍ) upon this World of Possibilities ('ālam mumkināt). The Possible Beings (wujūd mumkināt) that comprise the World of Possibilities are the Theatre of Manifestation (maẓhar) of the Truth (God), Who is the only Being that exists. The existence of the Many, its manifold attributes and acts, all these are nothing but the manifestation of the One and Its Attributes and Acts which are not distinct from Itself.<sup>101</sup> So far so good. Then the teachings in the passage conclude:

Whosoever comprehends what has been said, he will certainly know that his coming is from God and, likewise, his return is to Him; and he will certainly know that the being (wujūd) of his outward self is none other than the Being of God, in which [His] Attribute of Knowledge subsists. [This is so because] in His Attribute of Knowledge that which is known to Him subsists. Hence Man's outward attributes are none other than his inward attributes, his outward acts are none other than his inward acts, for indeed the outward manifest (menyatakan) his inward attributes. This being the case, Man's being, his attributes and his acts are indeed the same as the Being of God the Glorious and Exalted ...<sup>102</sup>

Non sequitur! The argument in all the passages summarized and quoted - with the final conclusion formulated in the

100. Limpah means profusion, abundance, bounty, and in this case can even mean mercy. But the sense in which it is used here seems to me to be the equivalent of Ibnu'l-'Arabī's ḥayḍ, i.e. overflow.

101. 11648, pp.113-117, 95, 96.

102. Ibid., pp.117-119. For my romanized Malay transcription of all the passages treated here, see below Appendix I, (iii).

above quotation - is this: Since man's outward self is at one with and the same as his inward self because the former self is the manifestation of the latter self, and since his inward self is that which God knows and that which God knows is eternally at one with His Knowledge which is eternally at one with God, therefore man's outward self is the same as the Being of God. The anonymous author here, like many other "advanced mystic" or "adept" of his day, has not succeeded in balancing himself upon the edge of the pantheistic abyss into which Ḥamzah did not fall. In the first instance, Ḥamzah never advocated the idea that because man's outward self is the manifestation of his inward self, the two are therefore identical. In Ḥamzah the inward self would correspond with the higher, spiritual self, and the outward self with the lower, sensual self. The two are never conceived as identical. The word nafsahu in man 'arafa nafsahu ... refers to the inward self, and this does not refer in any way to sensual qualities:

Hai Ṭālib! mengetahui man 'arafa nafsahu  
bukan mengenal jantung dan paru-paru,  
dan bukan mengenal kaki dan tangan. Ma'nā  
man 'arafa nafsahu [itu ialah] adanya dengan  
Ada Tuhannya esa jua.<sup>103</sup>

Note that what Ḥamzah speaks of as ada (existence) appears in an altered form in our author's version of the same discussion as wujūd (being).<sup>104</sup> It is also extremely important

---

103. Ḥamzah in Muntahī, p.117.

104. See above, p. 51 and note 96.

to note that Rānirī, refuting this same passage of Ḥamzah, though he quoted verbatim,<sup>105</sup> did not grasp the distinction Ḥamzah makes between ada and wujūd which are extremely important key words in Ḥamzah's system. However, I am reserving my discussion and elucidation of this to its proper context in another chapter. Suffice it to point out here that the meanings they convey are by no means identical. Further, what does Ḥamzah mean by the word diri (self) used in the context we are discussing?

Erti "mengenai Tuhannya" dan "mengenai dirinya"  
ya'nī diri kuntū kanzan makhfiyyan [itu]  
dirinya ...<sup>106</sup>

The inward, higher spiritual self (diri) is the Self (diri) of the Hidden Treasure (kanzan makhfiyyan) in God's Knowledge. By the Hidden Treasure is meant the Potentialities of the Known (isti'dād ma'lūmāt) in God's Knowledge, and the Self of the Hidden Treasure is the Predispositions of the Divine Essence (shu'ūn Dhāt).<sup>107</sup> Now man's inward, higher spiritual self in the sense meant here is not something individualized, to which names and attributes are given, it is not a thing

---

105. Tibyān fī Ma'rifati'l-Adyān, Cod. or. 3291, Leiden, p.98. For my romanized Malay transliteration of passages from the above mentioned treatise of Rānirī, in which the author claims to expose Ḥamzah's heresies, including the passage referred to in this note, see below, Appendix II. This work will hereafter be cited as Tibyān.

106. Ḥamzah in Muntahī, p.111. Cf. Asrār, p.57.

107. The Hidden Treasure is also referred to as the Inmost Self or Secret (Rahasia : sirr) of the Essence: the Divine Consciousness. See note, 375 and pp. 145-151.

created as it is not yet separate from the Divine Essence. But the outward, lower sensual self (also diri) is already separated from the Divine Essence, it has already come under the sway of the Creative Word Kun and is therefore a thing created.<sup>108</sup> The outward self never can be, and is never mentioned by Ḥamzah ever to be, the same as the Being of God, which our anonymous author here asserts. The word diri as used by Ḥamzah is also a very important key word in his conceptual system, and this will be treated in detail, as I have promised, in a separate chapter together with other important key words.

A most important point to note is that our anonymous author, in quoting Ḥamzah to support what he expounded, quotes only his poetry, not his prose.<sup>109</sup> Now to adduce authority in support of the high worth of one's teaching by "scattering in" a few lines of poetry is a method very highly susceptible to false representations as it gives the anonymous author free rein to insert his own ideas and to claim them to be the same as what is conveyed in the poems. Only if one is fully conversant with Ḥamzah's ideas as a whole covering the entire range of his works can one be entitled to attempt such a thing. If we but study Ḥamzah's own line-by-line commentary on his fifteen verses,<sup>110</sup> we can see clearly

---

108. See, for an example of what I have summarized here, Asrār, pp.29-30, 34-37; and Sharāb, pp.15-19.

109. See below, Appendix I, (i) (ii).

110. See Asrār, pp.17-20, ff.

that each line leaves much unsaid and without the help of the commentary it would be impossible to reproduce the author's thoughts conveyed in them. It can be seen how unreliable it is merely to quote poetry - especially this kind of poetry. But although our anonymous author quotes Ḥamzah's poetry, I suspect that the entire substance of what he expounds is all derived from Ḥamzah's Muntahī, in which the same Prophetic Traditions and Qur'ānic passages are treated.<sup>111</sup> In my opinion the Muntahī taken by itself by one who is uninitiated is not a good representation of Ḥamzah's mystical ideas; on the contrary, if not read in conjunction with his two other prose works already mentioned, it will certainly convey misleading interpretations and give the impression that the writer was indeed a heretic. If one reads through the Muntahī it would give one the impression that the treatise was hastily written - ideas on the mystery of the gnosis of God were crammed into an impossible nutshell. It were as though the Muntahī was meant for the highly advanced mystic, the adept, never to be divulged to profane ears. In fact it was so intended, as the very title "The Adept" (al-Muntahī) indicates.<sup>112</sup> To give a configuration of Ḥamzah's ideas from this one treatise is - in a certain sense - like giving a configuration of Ghazzālī's ideas from

---

111. Cf. Muntahī, passim.

112. See the Introduction to pt.II, below, p. 368.

the Mishkāt al-Anwār. This is precisely what Rānīrī has done to Ḥamzah. In refuting Ḥamzah, Rānīrī quoted him almost entirely from the Muntahī. From the order in which Rānīrī quotes Ḥamzah he evidently read the treatise from beginning to end, methodically putting aside each point from the first to the last page.<sup>113</sup> But the Muntahī is a treatise not so much of discourse, but one of quotations, and as such, Rānīrī, in concentrating his refutation upon them is merely leading himself to false conclusions, as will be demonstrated in the next chapter.

---

113. See Tibyān, pp.97-101.



## CHAPTER II

### ḤAMZAH CONTESTED BY NŪRUL'L-DĪN AL-RĀNĪRĪ

Rānīrī's refutation of Ḥamzah's teachings and ideas which he considers "heretical" and which he uses as evidence for branding Ḥamzah with infidelity is based upon several points. These points he has selected in a manner calculated to expose and condemn the "heresies" which to him are scattered in Ḥamzah's writings disguised, so to speak, in the garb of true Ṣūfism. In these points of Rānīrī's criticism, we will be able to obtain an idea of the manner in which he represents Ḥamzah's ideas and teachings, as well as the way in which - to achieve maximum credence from his audience - he couches his attacks. The points may be summarized thus:

a) That Ḥamzah's ideas regarding God, the World, Man and the relationship between them, in short, Reality, are identical - to mention some - with those of the Philosophers, the Zoroastrians, the Metempsychosists, the Incarnationists, the Brahmins.

b) That Ḥamzah's belief is pantheistic in the sense that God's essence is completely immanent in the World; that God permeates everything that is seen.

c) That, like the Philosophers, Ḥamzah believes that God is Simple Being.

d) That Ḥamzah, like the Qadariyyah and the Mu'tazilah, believes the Qur'ān to be created.

e) That, like the Philosophers, Ḥamzah believes in the eternity of the World.

We shall go over all these points in detail, quoting Rānīrī at length where he quotes Ḥamzah and comparing the quotations with the original to evaluate the true worth of these charges. This is important not only from the point of view of a critical study of Rānīrī and his ideas, but also from that of elucidation of Ḥamzah's ideas. It will be an apt introduction to the next chapter in which his mysticism will be discussed in greater detail. In comparing Rānīrī's quotations of Ḥamzah with the original I mean not always that the quotations are verbatim, for in several instances Rānīrī does not indicate where he quoted from. But failing verbatim quotations I have traced and shall present passages which I am certain, from the point of view of the subject matter, are the ones referred to by Rānīrī. Further proof of this is not necessary here as the matter will become self-evident as we go along.

Speaking of a sect of the Zoroastrians, Rānīrī says:

The third sect of the Zoroastrians<sup>114</sup> is called the Sumanīyyah.<sup>115</sup> They worship all kinds of light; the sun, the moon, the stars, fire and the like. They say that all light

---

114. For the Majūsī, see E.I. article Madjūs.

115. Cf. Watt, W.M., Free will and predestination in early Islam, London, 1948, p.103. Hereafter cited as Watt. Consult also the relevant sections in Al-Farq bayn al-Firaq of al-Baghdādī, translated by A. Halkin, Tel Aviv, 1935.

originated from one light [i.e. source] even before God created creation (i.e. the Throne, the Tablet, and the Seven Layers of Heaven). When God Most Exalted created these things, all light became separated from their source; that is, it is so only to outward perception, for in reality all light is one - and that is the Light of God. Such is the belief of Hamzah Fansūrī. He says, in the book Āsrārū'l-Ārifīn, that the first light to separate from the Essence of God is the Light of Muḥammad. 116 From this saying [it is clear that] he tends towards the Tanāsukhiyyah school. 117 Furthermore, it amounts to the same thing as what the Falāsifah 118 say; that the Truth Most Exalted is Simple Monād [or Simple Atom, or Simple Being]. And this is also the belief of the Wathaniyyah from among the Barāhimah, and the Samiyyah who inhabit the land of Tibet. The same is true also of the Ḥulūliyyah, who dwell in the land of Halwāniyyah and the continent of India. Such is their belief. 119

Notice how, in the passages quoted, Rānīrī connects Ḥamzah with the various groups mentioned. In fact these expertly woven connections are all of them questionable - even false - except perhaps in the case of the connection with the Philosophers. But even in this latter case, we should not be led to believe in the kind of connection Rānīrī creates for us. What Ḥamzah actually says on the point in dispute is:

Between Knower and known, that is when the Light of Muḥammad first separates from the Essence of God. One expression is that it is called the Relational Spirit; another

---

116. Āsrār, p.41.

117. For this school, see E.I. article Tanāsukh.

118. Falāsifah i.e. Philosophers, usually refers to Ibn Sīnā (Avicenna), al-Farābī, al-Kindī and Ibn Rushd (Averroes).

119. Tibyān, pp. 17-18. For my romanized Malay transcription of the text, see Appendix II, (i).

is the Universal Intellect; another is Light; another is the Most Exalted Pen; and another is the Tablet ... Because Knowledge is living, it is called Spirit; because by Knowledge the things known are manifest it is called Light; because Knowledge patterns the ideas of the things known it is called Intellect; because in Knowledge is inscribed the forms of the things known it is called Tablet; because Knowledge becomes letters of the things known it is called Pen ...<sup>120</sup>

Now what Ḥamzah is saying here is the well-known Ṣūfī doctrine which Ibnu'l-'Arabī, Jīlī and other famous and sanctified Ṣūfīs also hold. It is strange that Rānīrī should single out Ḥamzah and accuse him of "heresy" for holding a doctrine which he learnt, most of all, from Ibnu'l-'Arabī and Jīlī whose names Rānīrī mentions reverently. Ḥamzah does not distort the teachings of his masters, so that Rānīrī cannot accuse him of this in order that he may interpret the teachings of these Ṣūfī masters according to his own 'orthodox' brand. Rather it would seem that it is Rānīrī who distorts the teachings of the Ṣūfī masters to suit his own ideas. What Rānīrī wants to convey in the passage quoted is not that part of the point which deals with this particular aspect of the Ṣūfī doctrine (i.e. the idea of Nūr Muḥammad), but that he wants to focus the attention of his readers on the point that Ḥamzah, like the Zoroastrians, worships light. Rānīrī wishes to convey to his readers the notion that the word 'light' used by Ḥamzah is meant not in the metaphorical,

but in the real sense. In fact Rānirī even resorts to the use of the word 'fire' (api) so as to make his intention clear. In fact from Ḥamzah's passage quoted, there is no implication whatsoever in connection with the Zoroastrian belief in the worshipping of light or fire. This word 'fire' he uses again in another passage where he elucidates the salient features of the doctrines of the Tanāsukhiyyah school to which Ḥamzah has already been assigned. Note in this passage that the meaning of the word 'fire' is taken in the real sense:

They [i.e. the Tanāsukhiyyah school] say that all spirits and every single thing are parts of God by virtue of His doing and creating them all. His doing and the like come from [i.e. have their origin in] fire and return to it. This is the strayed opinion of Ḥamzah Fanṣūrī and Shamsu'l-Dīn al-Sumatrānī.<sup>121</sup> Some of the Tanāsukhiyyah say that the Production (takwīn) and the Producer (mukawwan),<sup>122</sup> the Doer (fā'il) and the Thing Done (maf'ūl), are identical. Likewise in the opinion of Ḥamzah Fanṣūrī and Shamsu'l-Dīn al-Sumatrānī; they really adhere to the true meaning of what the Tanāsukhiyyah believe: that God in His Essence is incarnate (ḥulūl) in every thing that is seen.<sup>123</sup>

---

121. Died 1630. For this mystic see van Nieuwenhuijze, C.A.O., Samsu'l-Din van Pasai (diss.) Leiden, 1945.

122. The text reads mukawwin (see Appendix II, (ii)). Al-Ash'arī too seems to have identified the two. See McCarthy, R.J., The theology of al-Ash'arī, Beyrouth, 1953, p.168. This work contains al-Ash'arī's Kitābu'l-Luma' and Risālatu'l-Istihṣānī'l-Khawḍi fī 'ilmi'l-Kalam (Arabic texts and annotated translations), and relevant Appendices. Hereafter cited as al-Ash'arī.

123. Tibyān, pp.26-27. Appendix II, (ii).

In this passage, apart from the point mentioned, Ḥamzah is accused of adhering to the real meaning of what the Tanāsukhiyyah believe; that is, the diffusion and distribution of the Divine Spirit among the beings of the World. Rānīrī here accuses Ḥamzah of pantheism. But what kind of pantheism? "There is a form of pantheism which, starting from the assumption that God is an absolute, infinite and eternal being, who is the source and ultimate ground of all that is, was, and will be, gradually assumes a form of acosmism according to which the Phenomenal World is but a passing shadow of the Reality which lies behind it."<sup>124</sup> Then there is another form of pantheism which asserts that the Essence of God or the Absolute is completely immanent in the World; God, so to speak, exhausts Himself in the World, so that transcendence is denied Him. It is to this somewhat crude type of pantheism - the extreme type - that Rānīrī refers in his accusation of Ḥamzah's conception of the relationship between God and the World. But this accusation is false. Had Rānīrī read Ḥamzah carefully and understood what he read, then he would know that it is absurd to label Ḥamzah's system as pantheistic in the sense he means. It has been said that in any pantheistic doctrine either God is bound to suffer in the sense that He is a fabrication of the human mind - that

---

124. 'Affīfī, A.E., The mystical philosophy of Muhyid Dīn-Ibnul 'Arabī, Cambridge, 1939, p.54. Hereafter cited as 'Affīfī.

only the Phenomenal World is real, or that the Universe suffers in the sense that it is mere illusion - that God alone is the Real Being. Ḥamzah - if we can call this Ṣūfī system 'pantheistic' - certainly holds the latter view, although Rānīrī would have us believe that he holds the former. Like Ibnu'l-'Arabī,<sup>125</sup> Ḥamzah conceives Reality as having both aspects of transcendence (tanzīh) and immanence (tashbīh),<sup>126</sup> and takes care to assert repeatedly that God is not everything and all things in the sense of being an aggregation of existents, for in the Ṣūfī doctrine of waḥdatu'l-wujūd, or 'Unity of Existence', there is no such thing as "aggregation of existents" as God is the only Existent. It must be pointed out that the very label 'pantheism', used by many western orientalists to describe this Ṣūfī doctrine, is very misleading.<sup>127</sup> If this doctrine can be labelled by a mere word, the word familiar to the western mode of thinking that best describes it is perhaps

125. Cf. 'Affīfī, pp.18-24.

126. 2016, pp.27-30. For a romanized transcription of the verses, see Appendix V, (ii).

127. The term 'pantheism' used to describe this Ṣūfī doctrine is not only misleading, but erroneous. Nicholson has given an illuminating account of this in his three lectures delivered in the University of London, subsequently published as The idea of personality in Sūfism, Cambridge, 1923 (see pp.21, 22, 27, 31, 52, 73. See also Whinfield's introduction to Shabistari (p.viii); and further Burckhardt, T., An introduction to the Ṣūfī doctrines, Lahore, 1959, pp.22-25; and Lings, M., A Moslem saint of the twentieth century, London, 1961, pp.125-126, note 3. Burckhardt's work will hereafter be cited as Burckhardt; Lings' work will hereafter be cited as Lings.

panentheism.<sup>128</sup> Rānirī's attacks on Ḥamzah's 'pantheism' is nothing but his own fallacy of jumping to conclusions in identifying what Ḥamzah means metaphorically with what Ḥamzah considers to be real. In this way it is the metaphors that are attacked, and the picture of the real caricatured.

Rānirī makes mention of Ḥamzah's book entitled Muntahī from which he deduces evidence to denounce the author as belonging to the false brand of the Wujūdiyyah.<sup>129</sup>

Now I shall expose to you some of the beliefs of the false Wujūdiyyah, that is, the Wujūdiyyah of Ḥamzah Fanṣūrī and Shamsu'l-Dīn al-Sumatrānī and all those who follow them both. Ḥamzah Fanṣūrī, in his book called Muntahī, in explaining the saying of the Prophet: "Man 'arafa nafsahu faqad 'arafa rabbahu" "Whosoever knows his self knows his Lord" - says that:

"... the meaning of knowing one's Lord and knowing one's self is [this:] that the Self of the Hidden Treasure is none other than one's self, and every thing is in God's Knowledge; like the seed and the tree; the tree resides in its completeness within the seed."

It is clear from this saying of that [false] Wujūdiyyah that the World together with all

128. Nicholson, op.cit., p.27.

129. Wujūdiyyah refers to those who hold the doctrine of wahdatu'l-wujūd, or Unity of Existence. There are two groups of the Wujūdiyyah. The one is the true (i.e. muwahhidah) Wujūdiyyah, and the other the false (i.e. deviating or mulhidah) Wujūdiyyah. See for this Rānirī's Hujjatu'l-Siddiq li'daf'i'l-Zindiq, Maxwell Collections, text no.95, Royal Asiatic Society, London, pp.9-24. Hereafter cited as Hujjah. A romanized Malay edition with critical notes, English translation, and commentary of the work is now in print under the auspices of the J.M.B.R.A.S.



its parts actually resides, existing in its completeness in the Truth Most Exalted. The World proceeds from Him like the tree proceeding from the seed. Such belief is infidelity.<sup>130</sup>

Rānīrī's charge here is formulated in the last sentence - the implication being that Ḥamzah holds the World to proceed from God out of its own necessity without any act of willing on God's part. This is the doctrine of the Philosophers which al-Ghazzālī so vehemently rejects.<sup>131</sup> It will be noticed that Rānīrī formulates his refutations on the basis, as he so often does, of identifying his victim's analogies with the latter's conceptions. Here he identifies Ḥamzah's analogy with what Ḥamzah actually conceives. The meaning conveyed in this analogy of the seed and the tree is not what Rānīrī implies. What Ḥamzah means to convey is precisely the opposite of what the Philosophers believe, for by this analogy he is actually revealing what he understands by God's creative will (irādah). Rānīrī has quoted the passage from the Muntahī faithfully, although there it serves a different context. In that context the key words ada (to be, to exist, existence) and diri (self) plays a very important part. But I shall reserve their treatment to Chapter V, where

---

130. Tibyān, p.97. See also Muntahī, p.111; Appendix II, (iii).

131. See al-Gazzālī's Tahāfut al-Falāsifah, translated by S.A. Kamali, Lahore, 1958, the Third Discussion, entitled: The demonstration of their confusion in saying that God is the agent and maker of the world and that the world is His product and act, etc. This work will hereafter be cited as Tahāfut.

these key words and others are discussed. The meaning of the analogy of the seed and the tree is to be found not in the Muntahī, but in the Asrār where, speaking of what he understands by God's creative will, Ḥamzah says that it is

... Willing the potentialities in His Knowledge to become the World. As the Holy Tradition says: "I was a hidden treasure and I loved to be known" - that is, the World together with all its potentialities in His Knowledge is related within it [i.e. His Knowledge] as the hidden treasure about to bring forth the things known from within His Knowledge. Thus it says: "I was a hidden treasure and I loved to be known." The treasure [i.e. as a whole] is likened to a tree within its seed. The seed is the treasure, the tree within it is the content of the treasure; hidden in its completeness: its roots, trunk, branches, boughs, twigs, leaves, flowers, fruits - all complete within the seed. The seed wants to bring forth the growth of the tree within itself on a field of vast expanse. The seed says: "I was a hidden treasure and I loved to be known." All this is an allusion to [God's act of] willing. Further, God the Most Exalted, says:

Verily His command is, when He is in the state of willing a thing, to say to it "Be thou!" - and it becomes.<sup>132</sup>

This too is an allusion to [God's act of] willing.<sup>133</sup>

Ḥamzah's concept of the irādah need not deter us here as it is discussed at length in another chapter. Suffice it to say, however, that it is not the same as what the Philosophers believe.<sup>134</sup> Rānīrī then goes on to say:

---

132. Qur'ān, 36:82.

133. Asrār, pp.29-30.

134. Rānīrī gives an outline of what the Philosophers believe in Hujjah, pp.7-8; consult in conjunction with the reference in note 131.

Furthermore, he says:

"Do not relate [yourself with] God as wet cloth with water, for cloth is distinct from water. God, Glorious and Exalted, is far above such similitudes!. But if [the relationship is] likened to [that of] the sea and its waves, then it is admissible. You must not let yourself be veiled [from Him] by all the forms that resemble His Self, for all forms are as veils to God. But [you are] together with the eternal sea, i.e. that eternal sea, when it heaves, it is called by the name 'waves' - but in reality it is the sea, for the waves and the sea are not two things, but one and the same." It is clear from this that the Being (wujūd) of God and the being of the creatures are one. Such belief is infidelity.<sup>135</sup>

This quotation by Rānirī is not altogether a faithful one, as in Ḥamzah a large part of the passage consists of quotations from other poets:

But you must not see [the relationship between God and yourself] as [that which is] likened to [the condition of] wet cloth, for the cloth is distinct from the water that permeates it. God, Glorious and Exalted, is most pure from such a similitude! But if [the relationship is] likened to the sea and its waves, then it is admissible. As the verse says:

"The sea is the sea, as it was before,  
The 'new' are waves and rivers;  
Let not forms that resemble them veil thee,  
For the shapes they form are but veils."

But [the waves] are together with the eternal sea. As the distich says:

The sea is eternal; when it heaves  
It is then called by the name 'waves' ...

---

135. Tibyān, pp.97-98; Appendix II, (iv).

But its real essence (haqīqatnya) is the sea, for sea and waves are not two [entities], but one and the same.<sup>136</sup>

Nevertheless it must be conceded that Rānīrī has brought out the spirit conveyed in the passage more or less faithfully. But Rānīrī's conclusion, drawn from this passage - that the Being of God and that of His creatures are one - is false. This will be made clear, when we come to discussing the concept wujūd in Ḥamzah's system, in Chapter V. Strangely, in this passage, Rānīrī passes over the analogy of the wet cloth which is in fact very significant in throwing light upon Ḥamzah's denial of the doctrines of ḥulūl (incarnation) and ittihād (union) - the very things Rānīrī accuses Ḥamzah of.<sup>137</sup> Rānīrī continues:

Furthermore, he says:

"The analogy is like the sun with its light and its heat; their names are three, their forms are three, but in reality they are one."<sup>138</sup>

This belief is like that of the Christians

136. Muntahī, pp.111-112.

137. Tibyān, pp.26-27, 100.

138. "... but in reality they are one." Rānīrī quotes Ḥamzah verbatim here. I have rendered the above phrase from: "... [tetapi] haqīqatnya suatu jua." From the point of view of the context of Rānīrī's passage I have rendered haqīqatnya as in reality because this is the meaning he chooses to understand. But if I were translating Ḥamzah, I would render the phrase: "... but their real essence is one." - which conveys a different sense than what Rānīrī imputes. Pada haqīqatnya means in reality, but haqīqatnya means its (or their) real essence.

Rānīrī is guilty of word-twisting here!

[who believe] that Being is three; the first the Being of the Father, the second the Being of the Mother and the third the Being of the Son - though three names, yet they are in reality One Being. O all ye who have faith! - see such belief and utterances which are downright infidelity, like the belief of the Philosophers mentioned previously.<sup>139</sup>

That Ḥamzah should employ his kind of analogy involving the number three is unfortunate as it allows Rānīrī to pounce upon this and to construe and insinuate its identity with the doctrine of the Christian Trinity. But it is clear that Ḥamzah does not mean such a thing! Furthermore in Rānīrī's attack he himself says that the Christian Trinity involves three beings, whereas in Ḥamzah's analogy the notion of three beings is entirely excluded - there is only One Being. Rānīrī continues:

He says further:

"O Seeker, to understand [the meaning of] 'whosoever knows his self knows his Lord' is not to know the heart and lungs, or the limbs. The meaning of 'whosoever knows his self knows his Lord' is [to know] that his existence and the existence of his Lord is one."

Such belief is infidelity, for it represents the Truth Most Exalted as being one (united) with [ittihād] the creatures. Pure is the Most High Truth from such saying of that infidel!<sup>140</sup>

Again, Rānīrī has misconstrued Ḥamzah, and this is due to Rānīrī's misconception of the term ada (to be, exist,

---

139. Tibyān, p.98. See also Muntahī, p.112; Appendix II, (v).

140. Tibyān, p.98. See also Muntahī, p.117; Appendix II, (vi).

existence) used here by Ḥamzah. We shall see in Chapter V that the relational meaning of this term does not apply to the existence of creatures, but rather to the fixed essences (al-  
/a'yānu'l-thābitah) which, still in the Divine Knowledge, are modes or predispositions (shu'ūn) of His Being. The question of ittihād, then, does not arise when seen in this interpretation which is what Ḥamzah means to convey. Rānīrī goes on to say:

And he says further:

"The analogy is like rain water in a plant. The water permeates the entire plant. Varied are its taste: in lemon, sour; in sugar-cane, sweet; in the mumba plant,<sup>141</sup> bitter; each conveying its own taste. But their real essence is water."

Such a belief is infidelity, for he believes that the Truth Most Exalted permeates the creatures just as water permeates earth.<sup>142</sup> Pure is the Most Exalted Truth from the saying of that infidel!<sup>143</sup>

As before, Rānīrī here identifies the analogy employed with the meaning intended, and he charges Ḥamzah with crude pantheism. But the context in which the passage occurs does not admit of such a charge. It must be pointed out that Rānīrī passes silently over the passages preceding the one he quoted. These passages are in fact meant to explain the

141. For mumba plant, see Wilkinson, R.J., A Malay-English dictionary, Singapore, 1903, p.655. Hereafter cited as Wilkinson.

142. This is not true. This point Ḥamzah conclusively denies in a passage already quoted on pp. 69-70, above.

143. Tibyān, pp.98-99. See also Muntahī, p.119; Appendix II, (vii).

meaning of what Ḥamzah means by "the meaning of 'whosoever knows his self knows his Lord' is [to know] that his existence and the existence of his Lord is one".<sup>144</sup> To explain the meaning of "his existence and the existence of his Lord is one" Ḥamzah quotes Junayd, 'Irāqī, Ibnu'l-'Arabī, again Junayd, the Qur'ān - all to the effect that God's existence is everywhere, and because His existence is everywhere it is concealed, giving existence to all things. Since we do not possess real existence, deriving what existence we possess from God, our existence is in reality God's existence. Ḥamzah then quotes Jāmī:

In neighbour, friend, companion, Him we see,  
In beggar's rags or robes of royalty;  
In Union's cell or in Distraction's haunts,  
There's none but He - by God, there's none but He.<sup>145</sup>

This verse concludes Jāmī's Flash XXII, where he says:

The substance of each individual thing may be described either as the epiphany of Very Being<sup>146</sup> in the 'intelligible world', according to the particular facet whereof such thing is the monstrance, or as Very Being Himself made manifest immediately,<sup>147</sup> in the same intelligible world and according to the same facets. Consequently, each existing thing is either an epiphany of Very Being with the colour imparted to its exterior by the particular properties of its substance, or the Very Being

144. See above p.71 (passage preceding the one in question).

145. Lawā'ih, p.38; Muntahī, pp.118-119.

146. "Epiphany of Very Being" is Whinfield's rendering of ta'ayyun-i-wujūd, i.e. the Determination of Absolute Being.

147. "Very Being Himself made manifest immediately" is Whinfield's rendering of wujūd-i-muta'ayyin, i.e. the Being of the Determinate One. For notes 146 and 147, cf. ibid., p.37, notes 4 and 5.

Himself immediately made manifest with the same colouring.

The real substance of everything always abides, though concealed in the inner depths of the Very Being, while its sensible properties are manifest to outward sense. For, it is impossible that the Divine 'Ideas'<sup>148</sup> in the intelligible world should be susceptible of evanescence, as that would involve atheism. [God is too exalted for such evanescence to be ascribed to His 'Ideas'.]

We are the facets and the modes of Being  
Evolved from Mind - yea, accidents of Being,  
We're hidden in the cloak of non-existence,  
But yet reflected in the glass of Being.

Consequently, everything is in reality and in fact either Being made manifest or an accident of Being thus manifested. The manifested accident is a quality of the manifested Being, and though in idea the quality is different from the thing qualified, yet in fact it is identical with it. Notwithstanding the difference in idea, the identity in fact justifies the attribution.<sup>149</sup>

The substance of all this is clearly embodied in Ḥamzah's analogy of the rain water and the plant, the full sense of which is given not in the Muntahī, but in the Asrār:

Know, that<sup>150</sup> [by God] creating His creatures day and night is meant His effects (āthār) that are called existence (wujūd), for they become the existence of the creatures. Just as in the case of earth; without rain how can plants grow? The earth is likened to God's knowledge, rain is existence, the plants are the creatures.

148. "Divine Ideas" - Whinfield's rendering of ṣuwar-i-ʿilmiyyah.

149. Ibid., pp.37-38 - followed by the verse in Ḥamzah's quotation.

150. Creating His creatures day and night is the third line of the verse:

Chahaya āthārNya tiadakan padam,  
Memberikan wujud pada sekalian 'ālam;  
Menjadikan makhluku siang dan malam,  
Ilā abadi'l-ābād tiadakan karam.

Asrār, p.19.



The earth is, in itself, earth and rain is, in itself, water. When [they] commingle, the plants begin to grow. The plants that grow out of earth and water are determined by the law of potentiality (isti'dād): some grow becoming bitter, some sweet, some tart; some grow becoming green, some red, some white, some black. Colour and all taste become according to their original potentialities. The water remains water, the earth remains earth, and the plants grow out of water and earth, but their forms and colours are determined by their potentialities ...

This analogy is applied to the World: originating from existence there come forth day and night, the heavens and the earth, the Throne ('arsh) and the Footstool (kursī)<sup>151</sup> Heaven and Hell, the believer and the unbeliever, the good and the evil - [all] by virtue of their respective potentialities. The Essence (dhat) of God is most pure. The creatures are many and have contraries, because His attributes are many, His acts are many, His effects are many, for the potentialities of the creatures are in His attributes. Works that are good come from His attribute of Beauty (jamāl), works that are evil come from His attribute of Majesty (jalāl). The origin of Beauty and Majesty is from Being (wujūd), and Being is from Essence. In reality all [come to be] because of Him; but for Him this World has no existence, for 'there is none like unto Him.'<sup>152</sup>

That this passage gives the meaning of the one in the Muntahī there is no doubt. Even the Quranic passage quoted in both passages are identical.<sup>153</sup> Rānirī goes on to say:

---

151. Throne and Footstool, cf. p. 24, above.

152. Asrār, pp. 52-54.

153. Qur'ān, 13:4: ... Yusqā bimā'in wāḥidin wa nufaḍḍilu ba'ḍahā 'alā ba'ḍin fī'l-ukuli.  
... they are watered with one water;  
and We make some of them to excel others in fruit.

Furthermore he says:

"I see God in my being through  
His Being. My being is His  
Being. I see through His sight."  
Such belief is infidelity, for he makes one  
his being and attributes - both of which are  
produced (ḥadīth) - with the Being and  
Attributes of God which are eternal.<sup>154</sup>

In this passage Rānīrī is not faithful in quoting Ḥamzah. The sayings Rānīrī attributes to Ḥamzah actually are not Ḥamzah's but a quotation from Shāh Ni'matu'llāh.<sup>155</sup> Further, Rānīrī's version of the Shāh Ni'matu'llāh quotation is corrupt. Ḥamzah, quoting Shāh Ni'matu'llāh, says in fact:

"I see God in my<sup>156</sup> being [or essence]  
with His sight. My being [or essence]  
is His Being [or Essence] ..."

The meaning underlying this idea is quite clearly orthodox and asserted by all true Sūfīs. The 'I' that 'see' God is not the 'I' of the creature, that is, the outward self. It refers to the inward self that 'sees' with the eye of the inner perception. Hence this 'seeing' is referred to as 'seeing' with God's sight. In reality it is God that sees, and Himself that He sees, for the inward self is none other than He. This is so because, according to this esoteric doctrine, the inward self has still not yet received the name "creation", for it is not yet separate, as it were, from the

154. Tibyān, p.99; Appendix II, (viii).

155. Cf. Literary history of Persia, III, pp.463-473.

Shāh Ni'matu'llāh wrote in Persian, but the quotation is in Arabic.

156. Note that Rānīrī's quotation is incorrect: "I see God in my being [or essence] through His Being [or Essence]."

Divine Essence.<sup>157</sup> There is, in this doctrine, therefore no question of identifying the 'being' of the creatures with that of God as Rānīrī makes it out to be. In Jāmī's Flash XXV this very same idea is expressed thus:

Rase the words 'this' and 'that'; duality  
Denotes estrangement and repugnancy;  
In all this fair and faultless universe  
Naught but one Substance and one Essence see.<sup>158</sup>

Now Rānīrī knows Flash XXV very well, for without including the above quatrain he quotes it approvingly in his Jawāhiru'l-'Ulūm fī Kashfi'l-Ma'lūm:<sup>159</sup>

And furthermore, Shaykh Nūru'l-Dīn [36] 'Abdu'l-Rahmān Jāmī (may God sanctify his secret!), in his treatise Lawā'ih, says: "The reality of Realities - that is, the Being of the Truth Most Exalted - is the Reality of all things. With regard to His Essence, He is One in Himself, and Unique, so that plurality cannot enter into Him; but by His multiple revelations and numerous determinations He is [sometimes] presented under the form of multiplicity (that is, plurality is ascribed only to His revelations and determinations)<sup>160</sup> which are of substantial independent entities [ḥaqā'iq-i-jawhariyyah-i-maṭbū'], and [at other times] under the form of accidental and dependent entities [ḥaqā'iq-i-arādiyyah-i-tābi'ah]. (The Essence of the Truth Most Exalted is then One and there is no multiplicity or plurality in It, multiplicity and plurality being only in the substantial and accidental entities that are visible).

This Unique Essence of God, viewed as absolute and void of all determinations and

---

157. See above, p. 24 and below, p. 148.

158. Lawā'ih, p. 41.

159. Ms. Marsden Collection, no. 12151, Library, S.O.A.S. University of London, p. 36.

160. Words in brackets are Rānīrī's comments inserted in the text.

limitations is called the 'Truth'; and viewed in Its aspect of being clothed by multiplicity and plurality that are visible, It is the whole created universe. Therefore the universe is the outward visible expression of the Truth Most exalted (that is, Its theatre of manifestation), and the Truth Most Exalted is the inner unseen reality of the universe (that is, It manifests the universe). The universe before it was made manifest to outward view was identical with the Truth Most Exalted (that is, it was That which is known to Him, for Him and in Him); and the Truth Most Exalted after the universe was made manifest is identical with the universe (that is, It manifests the universe). It becomes clear then that in reality the Truth Most Exalted alone is the One Real Being (and all that which is other than God never attains to real being, but are merely metaphorical being and [that of a] shadow). His manifestation [in the sensible world] and His concealment [in the Divine Mind], his priority and His posteriority [in point of time], are all merely His relations and His aspects. 'It is He Who is the First and the Last, the Outwardly Manifest and the Inwardly Hidden.'<sup>161</sup>

If Rānīrī could approve, as he does in this quotation, that the Unique Essence, "viewed in Its aspect of being clothed by multiplicity and plurality which are visible, is the whole created universe, "it is inconsistent of him not to agree with Shāh Ni'matu'llāh and Ḥamzah. Despite Rānīrī's attempts at interpreting Jāmī cautiously in his interspersed comments at crucial points of Jāmī's text, he has not succeeded in altering Jāmī's meaning to that which he apparently wants to convey. Again, quoting from the Muntahī, Rānīrī accuses Ḥamzah of identifying the Creator with the

---

161. Lawā'ih, pp.41-42. See Appendix III.

creatures thus:

And furthermore he says, in interpreting the words of God: 'Every moment He is in some state'<sup>162</sup> - that it means that "He in His manifestation is many and is subject to change, for He is the First and the Last, the Outwardly Manifest and the Inwardly Hidden. By this it means that His Firstness is unknown, His Lastness is endless, His Manifestation is so clearly evident to perception and His Hiddenness is unknowable. He looks upon Himself through Himself, and sees Himself with His Essence, His Attributes, His Acts and His Effects. Although [these are] four in name, in reality [they are] one." Such belief is infidelity, for the Creator<sup>163</sup> and the creatures are identified as being one.<sup>163</sup>

This point is explained by Ḥamzah in at least two places. In one he says that everywhere in the world His Effects are manifest. It is these Effects that "give existence" to the world.<sup>164</sup> Everything in the world are predispositions of His Being. By predispositions Ḥamzah means states of activity (kelakuan), so that the passage: 'Every moment He is in some state' is interpreted by him to mean that:

All forms are His Forms, all colours are His Colours, all sounds are His Sounds, for 'there is none like unto Him.'<sup>165</sup>

Here Ḥamzah is expressing the idea that God, although 'immanent' in everything, is nevertheless 'transcendent' because He is above limitation and individualization. This is of course Ibnu'l-'Arabī's concept of 'transcendence'.<sup>166</sup>

162. Qur'ān, 55:29.

163. Tibyān, pp.99-100. See Muntahī, p.121; Appendix II, (ix).

164. Asrār, pp.52-53.

165. Ibid., p.59.

166. 'Affīfī, p.19.

which, according to 'Affifi's analysis which I quote below, is fundamentally of two different kinds:

- (1) That which belongs to the divine Essence per se and a se - the absolute simplicity and unity of the One - the state of the Ahadiyyah.
- (2) Transcendence asserted by the intellect, which must be always coupled with immanence and which may assume the following forms:
  - (a) God may be called transcendent in the sense of being absolute; or,
  - (b) He may be called transcendent in the sense of being a necessary being, self-begotten, self-caused, etc., in contradistinction to the contingent, created or caused beings of the Phenomenal World; or
  - (c) He may be called transcendent in the sense that He is unknowable and incommunicable and beyond reproof.<sup>167</sup>

In another place Hamzah speaks of the same idea thus:

According to the People of the Path, God is Eternal and Knower. Since He is the Knower, the Known is in His Knowledge, that is to say: we see that the things He creates, 'before' or 'after', are all of them from the Known. If such is the case, then it is from being that He creates them, not from absolute nothingness, for what is called "existence" is the Being of the Predispositions. As God says: 'Every moment He is in some state, 'O Seeker, because God's existential condition is like a limitless ocean. The World in its entirety is like a tiny speck of foam within it, and what avails one man to be in this tiny speck of foam? That is, it is none but as God says: 'Everything in it [i.e. the created Universe] perishes, and there remains the Face of thy Lord, the Lord of Majesty and Bounty.'<sup>168</sup> O Seeker! this world is but a wave, God's existential

---

167. Ibid., p.24.

168. Qur'ān, 55:26-27.

condition is the sea; though wave is not the same as sea, in reality it is not distinct from the sea.<sup>169</sup>

Rānīrī continues:

And furthermore he says that "outwardly man is creature but in reality he is God."<sup>170</sup> This is the belief of the Incarnationists (Ittiḥādiyyah).<sup>171</sup>

And furthermore he says that "in reality that which is manifested and the theatre of manifestation are one and the same. "These words reveal the first step in knowing and understanding gnosis. The highest stage of gnosis is [arrived at when the gnostic attains to the final degree of Poverty:] that "perfect poverty is God indeed."<sup>172</sup> What does this mean? "As the ocean, its waves and the wind; when the wind blows the waves appear from the ocean; when the wind subsides the waves return to their origin [i.e. the ocean]. This is the meaning of [the text:] 'return thou to thy origin!'"<sup>173</sup> Such belief is infidelity, for its being erroneous is most clearly evident.<sup>174</sup>

And furthermore he says that the analogy between the creature and the Creator is "like that of the seed and the tree contained within it; although from the point of view of outward manifestation they are seen as two [entities], their reality is one. For this reason Maṣṣūr al-Ḥallāj says: "I am the Truth!", and some others say: "I am God!"

169. Sharāb, p.18.

170. Not in the Muntahī. Hamzah does not say this.

171. Tibyān, p.100; Appendix II, (x).

172. A saying attributed to Uways al-Qaranī, Cp. Muntahī, p.125. Reference to Uways is given in Farīdu'l-Dīn 'Aṭṭar's Tadhkiratu'l-Awliyā edited in the original Persian, with preface, indices and variants, by R.A. Nicholson, in 2 parts, London-Leiden, 1905-1907, pt.I, pp.15-24. The same saying is also quoted by Jāmī, as we will shortly see.

173. Qur'ān, 89:28.

174. Tibyān, p.100; Appendix II, (x).

since their unseen reality [essence] is seen by them. Further, the meaning of "when poverty is perfect, it is indeed God" is that there is none like unto poverty." Such belief is infidelity, for [101] its being erroneous is most clearly evident.<sup>175</sup>

But, again, the accusation of error which Rānīrī levels at Ḥamzah here is unfounded. The falsehood in the charge that Ḥamzah adheres to the doctrine of incarnation has already been pointed out.<sup>176</sup> As to Ḥamzah's contention that "that which is manifested and the theatre of manifestation are one and the same," and that "perfect poverty is God indeed," Rānīrī ought not to have hastily condemned this if he did really represent the standpoint of the true Ṣūfīs (Wujūdiyyah Muwahhidah),<sup>177</sup> for what Ḥamzah affirms is indeed the view of all advanced Ṣūfīs. Jāmī, in commenting on the view of the Ṣūfīs on this point, says that:

"When one thing is manifested in another the thing manifested is different from the thing which is the theatre of the manifestation - i.e. the thing manifested is one thing and its theatre another. Moreover, that which is

175. Tibyān, p.101; Appendix II, (xi).

176. See above, p. 70. Ḥamzah's rejection of the doctrine of incarnation, is so evident in his mysticism that it is surprising how Rānīrī could have been blind to this. Moreover, in several Sha'irs Ḥamzah clearly reveals his rejection of the doctrine:

Aho segala kita yang ummat Rasūl!  
Tuntut 'ilmu haqiqat al-wuṣūl,  
Kerana 'ilmu itu pada Allāh qabūl,  
I'tiqādmu jangan ittiḥād dan hulūl. (2016, p.67)

Again: "Man 'arafa nafsahu ... sabda Baginda Rasūl  
Fa qad 'arafa rabbahu" tiada dengan hulūl.

(2016, p.52)

177. Rānīrī's term, cf. above, note 129.



manifested in the theatre is the image or form of the thing manifested, not its reality or essence. But the case of the Very Being, the Absolute, is an exception, all whose manifestations are identical with the theatres wherein they are manifested, and in all such theatres He is manifested in His own essence ... The "Truth", the Very Being, along with all His modes, His attributes, connexions and relations, which constitute the real existence of all beings, is immanent in the real existence of each being."<sup>178</sup>

"Poverty" in the saying "perfect poverty is God indeed" means utter self-annihilation; an annihilation of the very state of annihilation (fanā' al-fanā'), so that there remains after such "poverty" nothing but God. On this subject too Jāmī would agree with Ḥamzah:

When poor indeed and dead to self thou'lt need  
No visions, knowledge, certitude, or creed;  
When self has perished naught but God remains,  
For "perfect poverty is God indeed."<sup>179</sup>

It is clear that Rānīrī, instead of interpreting Ḥamzah in the light of the understanding of true Ṣūfīs, has underrated Ḥamzah and given a crude and vulgar interpretation - no doubt prompted, apart from his own lack of understanding of the Ṣūfī doctrines, by the living example of those who claimed to be Ḥamzah's disciples, but who themselves have vulgarized the original teachings through lack of understanding. Finally, concluding his review and criticism of

178. Lawā'ih, p.36. For further elucidation on this point see also pp. 35, 37.

179. Ibid., p.10. This verse is also quoted by Ḥamzah in the Asrār, p.68; and Muntahī (Javanese translation in Cod. Or. 5176(2), p.83.)

Ḥamzah's Muntahī, Rānīrī says:

And he says further that "according to the expression of the people of Pasai, if one is not kufu, one will not meet with kufu' - [that is, by kufu] is meant in Malay <sup>180</sup> "covered": [if one is not covered] one will not meet with kufu', that is to say, "equal." The meaning of equal is "nothing higher than it," <sup>181</sup> meaning one becomes as one was originally when in the state of "I was a hidden treasure." <sup>182</sup> O People of Faith!, consider this heretic (zindīq); he affirms of man equality with the Truth Most Exalted, that is, man is of the same nature as God. Moreover, he knows that from the point of view of outward manifestation, such belief is erroneous, and yet he still believes in this vain belief, saying that such belief is, from the point of view of esoteric knowledge, true understanding of the doctrine of Divine Unity (tawḥīd). Such are <sup>183</sup> his views in the book entitled Muntahī.

Rānīrī is guilty of misconception here - or is it perhaps deliberate? Rānīrī says here that Ḥamzah "knows that from the point of view of outward manifestation (ẓāhir) the belief that man is God is erroneous." This statement is, of course, true, but that Ḥamzah believes that man is God from the point of view of outward manifestation - in spite

---

180. Text: pada bahasa Jāwī ... The word Jāwī as used by the Arabs refers to the Malay people in general, and not to the Javanese unless specified. With reference to writing, Jāwī refers to the Malay-Arabic script, and with reference to language it refers to the Malay language.

181. Text: tiada lagi diatasnya, referring to a nature incomparable. In the Qur'ān God is referred to as lam yakun lahu kufu'an aḥadun (sūrah 112:4): 'there is none like unto Him'.

182. Muntahī, p.127.

183. Tibyān, p.101; Appendix II, (xii).

of the error of such belief - that is a false accusation. The fact in what Ḥamzah believes is that man, from the point of view of inward hiddenness (bāṭin) - and only from this point of view - is indeed God. The real essence of man, as of the universe together with all its parts, is God. This doctrine is accepted by all true Ṣūfīs, and it is precisely this that Ḥamzah means in the passage Rānīrī quoted. The meaning of kufr there refers to the state of man in his phenomenal existence. Man is "covered," so to speak, by the veils of phenomena and by his sensual nature - his lower sensual self (nafs). As such he regards himself as existent other than God. Slavehood and Lordship is still his lot.<sup>184</sup> But when he has purged away all the impurities that cover his true nature he will be at one with his original nature (kanzan makhfiyyan: hidden treasure, or ḥurūf 'āliyat lofty letters) as Ideas in the Divine Knowledge. In this state there is no distinction between man and God. This is the state of the Throne ('Arsh) where man has not yet received the name "creation", for he is then not 'separate', as it were, from the Divine Essence (Dhāt).<sup>185</sup> It is with reference to this being "covered" by phenomena and the sensual nature that Ḥamzah quotes Junayd:

---

184. See Asrār, pp. 70-72.

185. See above, p.24 and references in note 22.

"... Wujūduka dhanbun lā yuqāsu bihi dhanbun ākharu."<sup>186</sup>

"Thy existence is a sin with which no sin can be compared."

There is a play on the word kufṛ, in that apart from the meaning "covered" it also means "incomparable sin". The Ṣūfīs including Ḥamzah say that man's existence as such constitutes his own "secret polytheism" (shirk al-khafī), for he has made his own existence to be a veil concealing the Truth.<sup>187</sup> But for this veil, the taint of creation, man would be at one with God, referred to in Ḥamzah's passage in question as kufu', and if he were to rend this veil asunder, he would see that he is one with God and never was 'separated'. In the sentence: "If one is not kufṛ one will not meet with kufu'," the mystery of the meaning revolves around the word "meet". The word "meet" implies involvement between not one but two or more; not unity but duality or plurality. Hence to one who is still "covered" by the veil of his own nature and existence, union with God is still conceived of in terms of "meeting". Such a one is still in the state of duality in relationship with God: the Slave and the Lord.<sup>188</sup> If one is not "covered" there is then no question of "meeting" with

---

186. Asrār, p.61; Muntahī, p.118. The above saying is that of Rabi'ah al-'Adawīyyah; see Lings, pp.137-138.

187. See Asrār, pp.57, 60-62; Muntahī, pp. 117-119.

188. The entire commentary of four verses in Asrār, pp. 57, 60-76, deals among others with this theme. See also ibid., pp. 77-8.

God, for as such one is God. This is the meaning of "if one is not kufu, one will not 'meet' with kufu". The same idea is expressed by Ibnu'l-'Arabī, whom Ḥamzah quotes:

"Al-ma'rifatu hijābun bayna'l-'ārif wa'l-ma'rūf."<sup>189</sup>

"Knowledge [i.e. gnosis] is a veil between the knower and the known."

and:

"Law lā'l-mahabbatu la'stamarra'l-wisāl."<sup>190</sup>

"Were it not for love, 'union' would have been continuous."

and again:

"Al-ma'rifatu hijābun lahu wa law lā wujūdu'l-kawnayn la zahara'l-'ayn."<sup>191</sup>

"Gnosis is a veil unto Him, and were it not<sup>192</sup> for the existence of the two worlds the Essence would certainly be manifest."

The quotations from Jāmī, 'Irāqī, Shiblī, 'Aṭṭār, Shāh Ni'matu'llāh and others which precede the passage in question<sup>193</sup> in the Muntahī support my interpretation. The quotations from Bārizī, immediately preceding our problematic passage, lends even more support as it conveys an identical meaning with what I have interpreted:

189. Ibid., p.71.

190. Loc.cit.

191. Muntahī, p.128.

192. The reference here is to Being and Non-Being, Macrocosm and Microcosm.

193. Cf. Muntahī, pp.123-127.

"Bar dar dāra'l-fanā' kardam sujūd  
Sar bar āwardam marā rū'ī numūd."<sup>194</sup>

clearly points to this interpretation.<sup>196</sup>

Rānīrī's allegation that Ḥamzah adheres to the thesis of the Philosophers that God is Simple Being<sup>197</sup> may be a reference to Ḥamzah's idea of God as the attributeless Absolute Being which he calls the Dhāt or Huwa.<sup>198</sup> However, this idea is, for that matter, also that of Ibnu'l-'Arabī, Jīlī, and other Ṣūfīs.<sup>199</sup> If it is true that Rānīrī's allegation refers to this idea (which is most likely the case although he does not mention it), then the allegation is false, for the thesis of the Ṣūfīs on this point<sup>200</sup> - Ḥamzah included - is that God in His Essence is unknowable and independent of all assertions. The Essence is only known to the Divine Essence. It is in the sense that the Essence, in its bare abstraction, is beyond all knowledge and relations that He is attributeless,<sup>201</sup> and not that it is impossible for

196. I may point out, in passing, that Voorhoeve, in his annotation of the text of Rānīrī's Tibyān (Twee Maleise Geschriften van Nūruddīn ar-Rānīrī Leiden, 1955) which I have quoted above, has attempted to give an interpretation of Ḥamzah's passage in question, and Rānīrī's criticism of it, in a manner different from the one I suggest here. But in my opinion, however, Voorhoeve has completely missed the point. See Voorhoeve, P., op.cit., p.35.

197. Tibyān, p.18. For the thesis of the Philosophers that God is Simple Being, see Tahāfut, pp.235-341.

198. Asrār, p.22.

199. See the Kitāb al-ta'arruf li madhhab ahl al-taṣawwuf, by Abū Bakr al-Kalābādhi, a tenth century Ṣūfī of Bukhārā. English translation of the work by A.J. Arberry: The Doctrines of the Ṣūfīs, Cambridge, 1935, See p.17 of Arberry's translation, which will hereafter be cited as Kalābādhi.

200. Kalābādhi, pp.14-18.

201. Asrār, pp.23-24.

Him to possess attributes since they would be an augmentation of His Essence. The argument of the Philosophers that God is Simple Being has its basis in their arguments against the attributes and the division into genus and specific difference.<sup>202</sup> The thesis of the Ṣūfīs on this point, which is also that of Ḥamzah, is not the same as that of the Philosophers, for the Ṣūfīs do not uphold the denial of attributes. For Ḥamzah, as for other Ṣūfīs, the attributes of God are eternal and are never separate from His Essence - not because God needs them or does things with them, but because they mean the denial of their opposites and of the notion that they exist in themselves and subsist through Him. To some the attributes are neither God nor other than God. To Ḥamzah the attributes are God - or the Essence (Dhāt) is the attributes (ṣifāt).<sup>203</sup>

In the following passage Rānirī accuses Ḥamzah of adhering to Qadarī views. What is interesting to note in this passage, as indeed in some others, is the manner in which he parades the 'heresies' of the Qadarīs before coming to the point: namely their belief that the Qur'ān is created, in which he also condemns Ḥamzah. In this way it would seem to me that he purposely paints the picture of the Qadarīs as

---

202. Tahāfut, pp. 109-131.

203. Cf. Jīlī in Studies, pp.90, 95, note 1; Asrār, p.24; Sharāb, pp.19-20. Cf. also al-Ash'arī, pp.16-17, note 16, and p.19.



black as possible as prelude to associating Ḥamzah with this picture - a method which in modern times we know so well as the 'smear campaign':

Shahdān. Now the beliefs of the Qadariyyah.<sup>204</sup> They say that God wills and makes as their own [or places the burden of] the actions of His creatures. Hence the creatures are the doers of all [their] actions,<sup>205</sup> although God makes manifest to them the 'do's' and 'don't's'. God in reality then does not, by virtue of His will, and His desire, and His decision, and His power, create the actions of His creatures. Such belief is infidelity, for they affirm that there is an 'other' apart from God who creates acts. Some of them refused to believe that God has attributes.<sup>206</sup> Some of them believe that the Qur'ān is created.<sup>207</sup> Such beliefs are a rejection of the truth, for as the Prophet says: "Whosoever believes that the Qur'ān is created, then he is an unbeliever." Such indeed is the belief of Ḥamzah Fanṣūrī in the book entitled Asrāru'l-ʿArifīn: he says that the Qur'ān which is conveyed by Gabriel may be regarded as created.<sup>208</sup>

In the same vein he associates Ḥamzah with a sect of the Jahmiyyah:<sup>209</sup>

The tenth sect of the Jahmiyyah is called the Lafziyyah. They believe and say that the one who pronounces and the thing pronounced are one and the same. [By this they mean that] the Qur'ān is God's speech, but the one who pronounces - meaning the speech that is read -

204. Cf. Watt, pp.32-57, 93-129, and see E.I. article Qadariya; al-Ash'arī, pp.39, 74-75.

205. Cf. Fakhry, M., Islamic Occasionalism, London, 1958, p.48.

206. Cf. Watt, p.102.

207. Loc. cit.

208. Cf. Asrār, pp.31-32; Tibyān, pp.70-71; Appendix II, (xiii).

209. For the Jahmiyyah, cf. Watt, pp.99-104, and see E.I. article Djahm and Djahmīya.

is not God's speech. This is the belief of Ḥamzah Fanṣūrī's [brand of] Wujūdiyyah. He says in the book Asrāru'l-ʿArifīn that the speech of God conveyed by Gabriel may be regarded as a thing created. Such a belief is infidelity, for God says: 'We have sent down an Arabic Qur'ān conveyed by Gabriel [and] it is not created.'<sup>210</sup>

But what Ḥamzah actually says on this subject is not really similar to what Rānīrī reports:

According to the Mu'tazilah and the Rāfiḍī and the Zindīq, the speech of God is created. According to the sharī'ah, whosoever says that the speech of God is created is an unbeliever - may God preserve us from such! God's speech is as His Essence; eternal, together with the accompanying seven [attributes]. As for the speech of God conveyed by Gabriel to the Prophet Muḥammad the Messenger of God, which is written in pages, it may be said to be created for the judgment concerning it is that it is already separate - from the point of view of expression - from the Essence. However in reality only God knows.<sup>211</sup>

This passage cannot be regarded as an assertion that the Qur'ān in meaning and conceptual content is created.<sup>212</sup> In two places he says that the Qur'ān as such is not created.<sup>213</sup> Furthermore Rānīrī's authority for denouncing Ḥamzah as an

210. This is Rānīrī's translation and interpretation of the sūrah quoted. Tibyān, p.77; Appendix II, (xiv).

211. Asrār, pp.31-32.

212. What Ḥamzah is saying is in fact what the later Ash'arīs, in particular al-Māturīdī and his school, also maintain. Cf. Taftāzānī, pp.61-66.

213. 2016. p.56; Asrār, p.47.

infidel which he bases on the Quranic passage is false, for his translation of the text is not correct and his interpretation of it very much stretched to suit his purpose.

What the text of the verse reads is actually:

Qur'ānan 'arabiyyan ghayra dhī 'iwajin la'allahum yattaqūn.

An Arabic Qur'ān without any crookedness that they may guard (against evil).

The whole context of the verses in this section of sūrah thirty-nine denotes that the Qur'ān is the guiding light, the perfect Book.<sup>214</sup> Rānīrī goes on further to say in his accusation that Ḥamzah adheres to the teaching of certain sects of the Jahmiyyah, that:

The ninth sect of the Jahmiyyah is called the Zanādiqiyyah. They believe and say that the World is eternal and is also non-existent, whilst God [Who is also eternal] is not non-existent. This is the belief of Ḥamzah Faṣṣūrī and Shamsu'l-Dīn al-Sumatrānī and all their disciples. Such belief is infidelity, for God says: 'God is the Creator of every thing.'

Shahdān. All the Ahlu'l-Sunnah wa'l-Jamā'ah agree in saying that whosoever believes that the non-existent is a thing then he is an unbeliever. They are those who are called the Ashābu'l-Hayūlā, meaning those who believe that the Fixed Essences are existent beings.<sup>215</sup>

Here we have a glaring example of Rānīrī's distortion of Ḥamzah's concept of the relationship between God and the Universe, or if not distortion it can only mean his ignorance

---

214. 39:22, 23, 27, 28. Nowhere is it said that the Qur'ān as such is "not created".

215. Tibyān, pp.76-77; Appendix II, (xv).

of the true nature of Ḥamzah's teachings. The belief of the Jahmiyyah to which he refers here, that the World is eternal and is also non-existent, whilst God is eternal but existent, is also the belief of certain Philosophers, Ibn Rushd being one of its famous advocates.<sup>216</sup> But in this belief the assertion is that there are two eternal beings - God and the Universe. God is eternal, but He is without agent or cause; whereas the Universe, being likewise eternal, is with an agent and a cause. This is not what Ḥamzah believes. For Ḥamzah there is only one eternal being. This eternal being he conceives now as God, now the Universe. He draws no distinction between the contingent and the necessary. To him these distinctions are merely mental, not real, for the contingent in reality is the necessary coupled with a non-existent or subjective relation. The Universe, then is not created from nothing, for this would mean, in a sense, that it has acquired existence. But that Rānīrī should assert that Ḥamzah believes the non-existent to be a thing (shay'), and the Fixed Essences <sup>(al-</sup> /a'yānu'l-thābitah) to be existent beings in the sense the Materialists understand (i.e. as substantial reality) is absurd. The term shay' has nowhere been used by Ḥamzah in this connection. As for the a'yānu'l-thābitah, the terms Ḥamzah uses to describe them convey

---

216. See Hastings's Encyclopaedia of religion and ethics, New York, 1955, vol.2, p.263.

meanings which make it clear to us that he does not conceive the a'yānu'l-thābitah in the superficial sense as a kind of indestructible stuff known to some philosophers as matter.<sup>217</sup> From the philosophical point of view, the most serious charge, worthy of further attention, in Rānīrī's points against Ḥamzah is the charge of belief in the eternity of the World, and the logical consequence of denying to God His creative will. Only on the ground that this charge is true can Rānīrī brand Ḥamzah as a zindīq, for taking into consideration Ghazzālī's points in his refutation of the Philosophers, he would have said in this case that only the belief in the eternity of the World should incur upon its believers the branding of infidelity and punishment of death because of its violent opposition to Islām.<sup>218</sup> In this chapter I have attempted to expose the true nature of Rānīrī's criticisms of Ḥamzah's teachings and his method of attack, and I have stated that, on the basis of these findings, they are based upon prejudice crowned with ignorance of the true nature of Ḥamzah's mysticism.

In the next two chapters, I shall attempt to explain Ḥamzah's cosmology, his concepts of creation and irādah respectively in connection with his alleged belief in the eternity of the World and the denial of God's creative will.

---

217. Cf. below, pp. 136-144.

218. Tahāfut, p. 249.

It must be pointed out that from the various quotations from Ḥamzah which I have given in this chapter, ideas about Ḥamzah's concept of creation and God's creative will can be formed, as some of the passages quoted touch upon this very problem both implicitly and explicitly. But before we go on to this, I would like to return to Rānīrī's point about Ḥamzah's 'materialistic pantheism.' The fundamental issue which lies at the bottom of Rānīrī's distortion or misconception is the question of the definition of Being. Let us examine what each of them has to say about this.

According to Rānīrī:

Being is essence (dhāt), or the constituent determinant of a thing [i.e. quiddity]. This essence is at times perceptible to the eyes in the form of the external World or Universe, and at times not perceptible to the eyes, although it is established by the intellect ('aql) and by religion (shara'), or through mystical revelation or insight (kashf) and direct experience (dhawq). This [essence] is the Being of God.<sup>219</sup>

Rānīrī endorses his agreement with the Mutakallimūn's categorization of being into two classes: Necessary Being and Contingent Being, or Real Being and Non-Being.<sup>220</sup> But he does not appear to accept the Mutakallimūn's concept in toto, for he goes on to give a definition of his own concept of being thus:

---

219. Hujjah, p.3; Appendix IV, (i).

220. Ibid., p.4.

According to the Mutakallimūn, there are two categories of being: firstly the Being of God, and secondly the being of the Universe or World. God's Being is Necessary Being and is self-existent, and the being of the World is Possible Being; that is, it is created and externalized by God from not-being [or nothingness] ('adam). Furthermore it is dependent for its existence upon God. Thus the two [beings] are in reality not identical; this is so because the Being of God endures from and to all eternity and is the principle of creation, whereas the being of the Universe is ever new and is created. From their [i.e. the Mutakallimūn] definition it is clear that being is two: the one Real Being, and the other Metaphorical Being.<sup>221</sup> Metaphorical Being belongs to Real Being.

According to our definition being is one; and that is the Essence of God Most Exalted. The Universe is non-existent and is not qualified to be considered as a category of being as it is Absolute Nothingness or Pure Not-Being ('adamu'l-mahd). Thus when the Universe is 'adamu'mahd, and the Being of God is Absolute Being (wujūd'l-mahd), whence this identity of adamu'l-mahd and wujūdu'l-mahd? In truth the Universe is Appearance; depending for its existence upon the Being of God. It is the theatre of manifestation of the One Real Being - the image reflected in the allegorical mirror: God's Being is likened to the looker into the glass, the World is like the form reflected therein. Thus God's Being and the Universe are neither the same nor different, for its identity or non-identity would require two entities existing per se. So when it is only the Being of God that is existent, and the Universe is non-existent, there is then no possibility for comparison. That is why we say that the Being of God and the Universe is one. Even though to outward perception the Universe exists, existence cannot be attributed to it ~~for~~ in itself it does not possess real being.<sup>222</sup>

---

221. Ibid., p.3; Appendix IV, (ii).

222. Loc. cit., Appendix IV, (iii).

Rānirī concludes that the Ṣūfīs' concept of being and that of the Mutakallimūn are in reality identical.<sup>223</sup> This means that since he has already endorsed the Mutakallimūn's concept, he is equally endorsing the Ṣūfīs' concept which he defines thus:

The Ṣūfīs too based their view upon the rational faculties and Tradition, but they added to this also mystical revelation or insight (kashf), and direct experience (dhawq). They saw with the eyes of the internal perception and experienced the existence of only One Real Being - and that is Allāh - Who is imperceptible to the eyes in this World, for that which is perceptible [to the eyes] does not possess real being as does Allāh. God's Being is Real Being and Absolute, and the being of the Universe is metaphorical and [a thing] determined; it is the shadow of God's Being. Of this shadow existence cannot be predicated; nor can absoluteness be attributed to this nothingness, for if it exists, then it would mean that the Universe is identical with God; and if its nothingness were absolute then it would mean that the Universe is nothing whatsoever. Yet the Universe is perceptible; so it is clear that the Universe is a manifestation of the Being of the Truth Most Exalted. The relationship between God and the Universe then is neither that of identity nor that of non-identity, for the Universe is a manifestation of, and belongs to God.<sup>224</sup>

Having seen Rānirī's version of the Mutakallimūn's and Ṣūfīs' concepts of being, and taking note that he endorses both, it is most inconsistent for him, in his own concept of being, to assert that the Universe cannot be "considered as a category of being" on the grounds that it is "Absolute

223. Ibid., pp.6-7.

224. Ibid., p.6. Appendix IV, (iv).



Nothingness" or "Pure Not-Being", for such a concept of Universe is held neither by the Mutakallimūn nor by the Ṣūfīs. The mumkin'l-wujūd of the Mutakallimūn is not equivalent to the 'adamu'l-mahḍ of Rānīrī, for by this they mean a being which is logically possible; and for them everything is logically possible except the logically impossible. The term is regarded as synonymous with jā'izu'l-wujūd (Contingent Being). Rānīrī's meaning of the term 'adamu'l-mahḍ comes under the category of impossible being - that is a being that has no existence in any category of being. Rānīrī therefore contradicts himself when he says that the World, already defined by him as "Pure Not-Being" is also the "theatre of manifestation of the One Real Being." He does not seem to be aware of this contradiction. As for the Ṣūfīs' concept of the World, Rānīrī himself says that they do not conceive the World to be Pure Not-Being ('adam mutlaq = 'adamu'l-mahḍ); it is not absolute nothingness as Rānīrī believes, for if its nothingness were absolute, then it would not exist at all for God to manifest Himself. Furthermore Rānīrī says that the being of the World is neither identical nor non-identical with that of God. This implies that the World somehow exists and is not entirely Pure Not-Being, for if it does not exist (being Pure Not-Being) then even the allusion to its being neither identical nor non-identical with God is inapplicable. Thus in spite of

his emphasis on absolute negation of comparison between God and the World, Rānīrī in fact makes the comparison.

In the case of Ḥamzah the question of comparison does not arise for he draws no distinction between the contingent and the necessary. Rānīrī, on the other hand, makes a real distinction between God's Being and that of the World, whereas for Ḥamzah the distinction which Rānīrī considers real is merely mental: the being of the World is imaginary (wahmī); it is in reality God's Being plus a non-existent subjective relation. In this sense Ḥamzah's is a truer interpretation of the Ṣūfī concept of the World. Thus he says:

The Essence of God and His Being is one; His Being and the being of the Universe is one; the being of the Universe and the Universe is one; the like of which is, as it were, its [i.e. the sun's] light; different only in name but not in truth. To external perception it is one; to the eye of the internal perception it is also one. So is the being of the Universe in relation to God's Being - it is one; for the Universe considered independently does not exist. Although outwardly it exists it is [nothing] but Appearance and not Reality; like the image [reflected] in the mirror, though possessing form, does not possess real being.<sup>225</sup>

A comparison of Ḥamzah's definition of being with that of Rānīrī reveals that there is no real distinction between the real content of what they conceive as being. Differences between what they say are those of expression. Ḥamzah as a Ṣūfī begins his definition or conceives being from the point

---

225. Asrār, pp.25-26.

of view of the Absolute, whereas Rānīrī, whom I consider not as a Ṣūfī but as a representative of religious officialdom, begins his definition from the relative point of view. The conclusion arrived at by both is identical: that there is only One Real Being. However, Rānīrī seems to have interpreted Ḥamzah's conception of the relationship between God and the Universe as one which resembles that of the heretical Wujūdiyyah which he explains thus:

According to the heretical Wujūdiyyah, being is one; and that is the Being of God. This Unique Being of God does not exist by Itself by which It can be distinguished save in relation to the creatures. Hence the creatures are God's Being and the Being of God is the being of the creatures. The World is then God, and God is the World. In this way they affirm that the Being of God Who is Unique is completely immanent in the being of all the creatures, and they say that nothing exists but God.<sup>226</sup>

But what Ḥamzah means when he says that "the Essence of God and His Being is one; His Being and the being of the Universe is one, etc." is not that there are two entities existing per se identified as one as Rānīrī believes. In Ḥamzah's definition, apart from God's Being which is also that of His Essence, all other similar terms such as the 'being' of the Universe, and so forth, are to be taken in the metaphorical sense. Ḥamzah himself gives us his explanation on this point:

According to the 'Ulamā' of the Prescribed Law, the judgment concerning the Essence of God and His Being is that they are two; [similarly],

---

226. Hujjah, pp.9-10; Appendix IV, (v).

the being of Knowledge and Knower are two; the being of the Universe and the Universe are two; the being of the Universe is different from the Being of God. The Essence of God and His Being is like the sun and its light; although they are one to external and internal perception, the judgment is that they are two; the sun is different from its light.

As to the Universe, the reason why it is said that its being is different [from that of God], is because the Universe is like the moon deriving its light from the sun. This is the reason why the 'Ulamā' say: "The being of the Universe is different from the Being of God. God's Being and His Essence are different."

The People of the Path say: "If this is the case, then God can be referred to as being 'outside' or 'in' [the Universe]; or 'near' the Universe or 'far' from it." To us, the Essence of God and His Being is one; His Being and the being of the Universe is one ...<sup>227</sup>

In reality the 'Ulamā' and the People of the Path are in complete agreement with respect to the Essence. Although the Essence can be expressed in words, in reality expression falls short of the truth, for It is not 'above', It is not 'below', It is not 'before', It is not 'after', It is not to 'the right', It is not to 'the left', It is not 'far', It is not 'separate', It is not 'joining'; [It is] without 'how' or 'what'; without 'whither' [i.e. being at a place], without 'where' [i.e. being to a place], without 'now', without a 'twinkling of an eye', without 'instant', without 'time'; It does not 'become', nor is It 'becoming'; It is not a 'place' nor has It a 'place', as the Messenger of God says: "There 'was' only God, no thing ['was'] with Him." Shaykh Junayd al-Baghdādī (God's mercy be upon him!) says: "He is now as He was then." God says: 'Glory be to God! Who cannot be described'; and God says further: 'There is no thing like unto Him' [the interpretation of] which means: not one single thing which we discuss with our hearts and

---

227. See above, p.100.

with our knowledge attains to knowledge of Him. Our knowledge is not [of] the Essence; [it is of] the Existence of the Essence and Its Modes. This is why the People of the Path say: "The Essence and Its Existence is one,<sup>228</sup> but in reality none may reach the Essence. Let alone the general masses [of the Faithful], even the Saints, Prophets, and Archangels may not reach It.

The cardinal point about the distinction between the heretical and the true Wujūdiyyah is, as Rānīrī rightly explains, that with the former, though they too assert that there is only one being which is the Being of God, "this Absolute Being of God does not exist by Itself by which It can be distinguished save in relation to the creatures." What Ḥamzah says in the passage quoted is self-evident in denouncing such a belief. Ḥamzah clearly says that God is Self-subsistent; that He is logically prior to all other beings, which means that His existence is not determined by His relation to the creatures.

Another important point in connection with this problem is the identification of essence and existence as one and the same thing. Rānīrī says:

It is clear that according to the definition of the Sūfīs, existence and real essence are, in point of meaning, one and

---

228. Cf. Ibnu'l-'Arabī in 'Affīfī, pp.1-9.

229. Asrar, pp.25-27. This passage conveys a striking resemblance with one found in the opening pages of the Kitāb'l-Ajwibah of 'Abdu'llāh al-Balyānī, a younger contemporary of Ibnu'l-'Arabī. This work is also known under the titles of Risālatu'l-Aḥadiyyah and Kitābu'l-Alif, and in some manuscripts is ascribed to Ibnu'l-'Arabī. An English translation of the work is given by H. Weir in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, London, 1901.

the same; and that is the Essence of God. The meaning of the Ṣūfīs' definition of the real essence [of a thing] is that: 'Essence is what makes a thing what it is' - that is - the thing from which a thing becomes; and this 'thing' [or essence] is reality. As for example, the reality [or essence] of the pot is the wheel,<sup>230</sup> and the reality [or essence] of the boat is its maker. According to the definition of the Logicians: 'Essence is what makes a thing what it is as rationality is to man' - that is - the essence of man is his rationality. It is evident that the meaning of the Logicians' definition [of the term essence] is quiddity. The differences between the endeavours of the Mutakallimūn and the Ṣūfīs in their affirmation of God's Being and that of the Universe, are differences in expression, not in meaning; as people say 'fifteen' and 'twenty minus five'. The meaning is identical though the expression is not.<sup>230</sup>

All that Rānīrī says here is confused and his conclusion is false. In the first instance Rānīrī makes an effort to reconcile the Mutakallimūn's definition of essence with that of the Ṣūfīs by incorporating both, the premises of the former and the conclusion of the latter, into an amalgam. The Mutakallimūn would in fact define essence thus:

The real essence (al-haqīqatu) of a thing and its quiddity (al-māhiyyatu) are that which constitutes the identity of a thing (mā bihi'l-shai'u huwa huwa), as is exemplified by the application of the term "rational (nāṭiq) animal" to man in contrast to the application of the terms "laughing animal" and "writing animal"; in which case it is possible to conceive of man as not being described by the terms "laughing" and "writing", inasmuch as they [laughing and writing] are

---

230. I would have thought, in order to be consistent, that the reality of the pot should be the Potter, not the wheel!

231. Hujjah, pp.6-7; Appendix IV, (vi).

accidents. And it may be said further that that which constitutes the identity of a thing is, with respect to its being individualized, it is a certain particular thing (huwīyyah), but without respect to either of these it is a quiddity.<sup>232</sup>

From this it is clear that according to the Mutakallimūn's point of view the real essence of the pot is not the potter, nor that of the boat the maker; but that the real essence of the pot is the clay which is ultimately reducible to particles which cannot be further divided, and the real essence of the boat is the combination of wood and iron and so forth, all of which is also ultimately reducible to their respective atoms. The Mutakallimūn - the later Ash'arīs - conceive the Universe to be a series of accidents created by God, but their theory of the Universe itself is atomistic, as the following passage shows:

According to the Ash'arite school of thinkers, the, the world is compounded of what they call jawāhir - infinitely small parts or atoms which cannot be further divided. Since the creative activity of God is ceaseless the number of the atoms cannot be finite. Fresh atoms are coming

---

232. See A commentary on the Creed of Islam, by Sa'du'l-Dīn al-Taftāzānī on the Creed of Najmu'l-Dīn al-Nasafī, translated with introduction and notes, by E.E. Elder, New York, 1950, p.11. Hereafter cited as Taftāzānī. It is interesting to note that Rānīrī has translated this work into Malay under the title of Durrat al-Farā'id bi Sharh al-'Aqā'id. Cf. Winstedt, R.O., A history of classical Malay literature, J.M.B.R.A.S., vol.31, pt. 3, June 1958, p.120.

into being every moment, and the universe is therefore constantly growing. As the Qur'ān says: "God adds to His creation what He wills." The essence of the atom is independent of its existence. This means that existence is a quality imposed upon the atom by God. Before receiving this quality the atom lies dormant, as it were, in the creative energy of God, and its existence means nothing more than Divine energy become visible. The atom in its essence therefore has no magnitude; it has its position which does not involve space. It is by their aggregation that atoms become extended and generate space.<sup>233</sup>

It is clear here that the Mutakallimūn assert that the atom in its essential nature is independent of its existence, although it will remain as such only as long as the accidents occur. If God ceases to create the accidents, the atoms will cease to exist as such. From this two propositions arise: firstly, as a result of the accidents which are perpetually changed and renewed, nothing has a stable nature; secondly, atoms exist independently in order that the accidents may act upon them. The Ṣūfīs wholeheartedly accepted the first proposition, but they violently disagreed, on the other hand, with the Mutakallimūn's assertion that numerous substances - atoms - exist independently upon which the accidents depend. The Mutakallimūn have defined an accident as a being which is not independent and self-existent, but depends for its existence on other accidents, or on essence or substance. The

---

233. Iqbāl, M., Six lectures on the reconstruction of religious thought in Islam, Lahore, 1930, p.95. Cf. also Taftāzānī, p.xxv.



Şūfīs, however, believe that the Mutakallimūn's theory of accidents is contradictory, for while asserting that accidents depend upon the atoms in order to occur, they have failed, according to the Şūfīs, to see that the atoms, which they have put into the category of essence, will cease to exist if the accidents cease to exist. Thus both are in reality interdependent, and since the atoms themselves are continuously prevailed upon by the accidents, it can be said that there never was a time when the atoms are free of accidents. From the point of view of the Şūfīs, nothing exists per se, other than the One Real Being, underlying all existence. According to Jāmī, the accidents do not pertain to the atoms, but to a "single substance" - the Reality upon which depends all existence and which is the cause of all existence:

They [i.e. the Mutakallimūn] have not grasped the fact that the universe, together with all its parts, is nothing but a number of accidents, ever changing and being renewed at every breath, and linked together in a single substance, and at each instant disappearing and being replaced by a similar set. In consequence of this rapid succession, the spectator is deceived into the belief that the universe is a permanent existence. The Ash'arīs themselves declare this when expounding the succession of accidents in their substances as involving continuous substitution of accidents, in such wise that the substances are never left wholly void of accidents similar to those which have preceded them.<sup>234</sup>

---

234. Lawā'ih, p.30; cf. ibnu'l-'Arabī in Studies, p.154.

The "single substance" Jāmī speaks of is God Who reveals Himself, but never during two consecutive moments, in the myriad forms of the various grades of being making them manifest to the senses. The Truth (al-Ḥaqq), or God, is not to be identified with these variegated forms of phenomena that make up the universe of change. It is that all-pervasive, all-persistent essence of these myriad grades of being. Here then we come to the Ṣūfīs' definition of essence. Jāmī says:

When one defines man as a "rational animal"; and animal as a "growing and sentient body, possessed of the faculty of voluntary movement"; and body as "a substance possessing three dimensions"; and substance as an "entity which exists per se and is not inherent in any other subject"; and entity as "an essence possessed of reality and necessary being" - all the terms used in this definition come under the category of "accidents", except this vague essence which is discerned behind these terms. For "rational" signifies an essence endued with reason; "that which is growing" signifies an essence endued with the faculty of growth; and so on.<sup>235</sup>

Jāmī goes on to affirm that this vague essence is in fact the Truth, the Very Being - God.

To return to Rānīrī, it should be clear by now that his assertion that the differences of the Mutakallimūn and that of the Ṣūfīs in their affirmation of God's Being and that of the Universe are merely those in expression and not in meaning, is false for there is a real difference in what

---

235. Lawā'ih, p.33.

they mean and conceive; and this real difference has its roots in their conception of the nature of the real essence of things. But Rānīrī ignores - or does he not see? - this real distinction between the Mutakallimūn's and Ṣūfīs' point of view, for in spite of this he says:

All the Ṣūfīs and the Mutakallimūn are in concerted agreement in asserting that: "The world together with all its parts is nothing but a series of accidents; and that of which they are accidents is God." The meaning of 'accident' in their terminology is: "An accident [is a thing that] does not endure two instants of time."<sup>236</sup> The meaning of 'that upon which the accidents depend' is God's Being, Eternal, Beginningless. He is the self-subsistent One, and He is the One Who gives subsistence to others. Hence the World is not fit to be categorized as 'being' - it is called 'darkness', 'not-being', 'false', 'imagination' and 'mirage'; it is nothing but a shadow.

When that the World is such - that is its existence cannot be categorized as 'being' even though it is perceptible - it cannot then be an other existent apart from God the Exalted. This is the reason why they say that God and the Universe is one.<sup>237</sup> They do not intend it to mean that the World and God are one being and identical. This is why they say that God and the Universe are neither the same nor different, for their identity and non-identity would require two entities existing per se. It [i.e. the Universe] belongs to God.<sup>238</sup>

236. Rānīrī's note: The accidents change, come in succession, and disappear. Others like them come and replace them at each breath and instant.

Cf. Lawā'ih, p.30.

237. Rānīrī's note: The reason why the World is not-being [or not-thing] is because it never becomes a real thing at each breath of its appearance, but it is a thing insofar only as God creates it.

238. Hujjah, pp.21-22. Appendix IV, (vii).

From all this (!) one cannot help but come to the conclusion that Rānīrī is in fact saying the same thing as what Ḥamzah has more clearly said. It has revealed to us a Rānīrī who is in that difficult situation of wanting to be both a Mutakallim and a Ṣūfī at the same time, and who, deceiving himself into the belief that he has reconciled the two, actually pays his respects to and shows due reverence for the latter.

### CHAPTER III

#### ḤAMZAH'S METAPHYSICS AND TEACHINGS

Since the attack directed against him by Rānīrī, Ḥamzah has been regarded as a false Ṣūfī - in fact a 'heretic' (zindīq). But was he what Rānīrī would have us believe of him? In the preceding chapter, I have attempted to demonstrate that Rānīrī's accusations of 'heresy' against Ḥamzah were really not founded upon learned and critical analyses of his works; that Rānīrī did not represent his thoughts and teachings faithfully and truly at all. I have also pointed out that the most serious charge that merits attention is ultimately focused upon Ḥamzah's alleged belief in the eternity of the world - together with the logical consequence of that belief, namely: the question as to whether God is the Agent (Fā'il) and Maker (Ṣāni') of the world in the sense al-Ghazzālī means;<sup>239</sup> or the world comes into being by virtue of necessity, which would negate the idea that God is its Agent and Maker. Another important charge closely connected with the one mentioned is that of 'pantheism' - a charge to which Ṣūfism itself has been

---

239. See Tahāfut, chapters I and II. See also corresponding chapters in ibn Rushd's Tahāfut al-Tahāfut, translated and annotated by S. van den Bergh (Averroes' Tahāfut al-Tahāfut or The Incoherence of the Incoherence, in 2 vols. London, 1954). Ibn Rushd's work (vol.I) hereafter cited as Tahāfut al-Tahāfut; van den Bergh's notes (vol.II) hereafter cited as Notes.

subjected by Western orientalists.<sup>240</sup> In this chapter I propose to give a detailed summary of the salient features of Ḥamzah's mysticism - his metaphysics and teachings - which have a bearing upon the relevant points in question, in this case, the relationship between God and the Universe or World.

(a) Aspects of Oneness

According to Ḥamzah when the Throne ('Arsh),<sup>241</sup> Heaven and Hell, and the entire Universe together with all its parts were yet dormant, concealed in non-existence, the Essence (Dhāt) dwelt in solitude without Names and Attributes, signless. This Essence is called Huwa (He), and this is Its highest Name.<sup>242</sup> The Name Allāh is the all-embracing Name,<sup>243</sup> for Allāh is the Name in which all Divine Names and Attributes are comprised in the same manner as Muhammad is the name of

240. All Western scholars who in some way or other studied Ḥamzah's mysticism have never failed to label it pantheistic.

241. Cf. Ibnu'l-'Arabī's concepts of 'Arsh in 'Affīfī, pp.63, 66, 82. See also above, p. 24.

242. Huwa as such corresponds to Jīlī's al-'Amā'; see Studies, pp.83, 94-95. For an interpretation of al-'Amā', see ibid., p.95, note. 1.

243. Ḥamzah says that the Name Allāh is "a step 'lower in grade' than Huwa" (Asrār, p.22), but it is important to note that he does not mean by this any humiliation applied to Allāh, since Allāh includes the Essence. What Ḥamzah means is that Huwa is the secret of Allāh; the inward aspect of Allāh. See Jīlī's explanation of this. Insānu'l-Kāmil, I, p.97. Furthermore Ḥamzah says that Huwa is not an Essential Name (ism dhātiyyah), but applied only symbolically as the Essence (ism ishahah). See also Asrār, p.48.

a person comprising his other names by which he may be called: if he possesses knowledge, he is called knower; if he writes, he is called writer; if he trades, he is called trader - and so on and so on. Thus Allāh, Glorious and Exalted, in virtue of His creating is called Creator (Khāliq); of His providing His creatures is called Provider (Rāziq) - and so forth.<sup>244</sup>

Now when He exists by Himself as Essence, He is Necessary Being (wājibu'l-wujūd), for He is Self-Existent and is the Cause of all existence. 'Cause' here should not be understood in the Philosophers' sense of the term, rather in al-Ghazzālī's sense of the term - as a cause in the special sense - that is, that brought about by a willing Agent.<sup>245</sup> It is emphasized that He is Necessary Being because He gives existence (memberi wujūd) to the creatures.<sup>246</sup> From Ḥamzah's point of view, the Doctors of Theology ('Ulamā') teach that God's Being (Existence) and His Essence are two different entities, just as - according to Ḥamzah - they also assert that Knowledge and Knower are not identical. Similarly the Doctors of Theology maintain that the Being of God and the being of the Universe are not one and the same. They demonstrate their assertion by employing the metaphor of the sun and its light which, though to internal and external

---

244. Asrār, pp.22-23. Cf. Jīlī in Studies, pp.94ff.

245. Consult Chapter IV.

246. Asrār, pp.25, 51-53.

perception are one and the same thing, nevertheless remain two different things in reality. Ḥamzah argues that if this were so, then it could be said of God that He is 'situated' in a spatio-temporal system with respect to the Universe - which is absurd. For Ḥamzah the 'relationship' between God and the Universe is merely metaphorical. Since God alone is the only Reality, how can there be a relationship?<sup>247</sup> But God is not identical with the Universe. We predicate of Him transcendence (tanzīh) and immanence (tashbīh) in respect of the predispositions (shu'ūn) we attribute to His Being. The Universe is a reflection of the predispositions of His Being - it is the effects (āthār) of His creative activity (shu'ūn). Hence it is said that:

That which we perceive, whether outwardly or inwardly, all disappear - they are as waves. The ocean is not 'separate' from its waves, and the waves are not 'separate' from the ocean. In like manner God, Glorious and Most Exalted is not 'separate' from the World. But He is neither 'in' the world nor 'outside' it; neither 'above' nor 'below' it; neither to the 'right' nor to the 'left' of it; neither in 'front' of nor 'behind' it; neither 'separate' from nor 'joined' to it ...<sup>248</sup>

Ḥamzah maintains that the endeavours of the Doctors of Theology to expound the relationship between God and the Universe in the metaphorical terms they adopt, is fraught with imperfections and may lead to absurd conclusions, for

---

247. Ibid., pp.25-26.

248. Ibid., p.55.



analogy cannot reach the Pure Essence. He emphasizes that the views of the Doctors of Theology with regard to this problem and those of the People of the Path (Ahlu'l-Sulūk), to which he subscribes, are in fact identical.<sup>249</sup> In Itself the Essence is transcendent:

The Essence, although It can be conceived in terms of symbolical expression is, in Its innermost nature, beyond knowledge, for It cannot be conceived. Although It is One, there is no oneness [to Its Oneness]; and although It is Single, there is no singleness [to Its Singleness]. We predicate of It attributes, essence and names merely as symbolical expressions.<sup>250</sup>

What Ḥamzah means to say is not different from what Ibnu'l-'Arabī means when he says:

Sublimity ('uluww)<sup>251</sup> belongs to God alone. The essences (a'yān) of things are in themselves non-existent, deriving what existence they possess from God, Who is the real substance ('ayn) of all that exists. Plurality consists of relations (nisāb), which are non-existent things. There is really nothing except the Essence, and this is sublime (transcendent) for itself, not in relation anything, but we predicate of the One Substance a relative sublimity (transcendence) in respect of the modes of being attributed to it: hence we say God is (huwa) and is not (lā huwa).<sup>252</sup>

Following Ibnu'l-'Arabī and Jīlī's more systematic scheme

249. Loc. cit.

250. Ibid., pp.48-49; also pp. 26-27.

251. Note the identity in Ibnu'l-'Arabī's 'uluww and Ḥamzah's 'aliyy which the latter used as heading for the passage just quoted (Asrār, p.48).

252. Studies, p.152.

of the process of "self-diremption"<sup>253</sup> ascribed to the Absolute, Ḥamzah says:

Know that the Innermost Essence of the Truth, Glorious and Exalted is called by the People of the Path 'indeterminacy' (lā ta'ayyun). It is called indeterminacy because our intelligence and skill in verbal exposition, knowledge ('ilm) and gnosis (ma'rifah), are unable to reach It. Let alone our knowledge and gnosis, even the Prophets and the Saints are struck with awe of It. Hence the Prophet (God bless him and give him peace!) says: "Glory be to Thee! we cannot really know Thee." And the Prophet (God bless him and give him peace!) says further: "Contemplate upon God's creation, and not upon His Essence." This is why the People of the Path call this [Essence] indeterminate, meaning: non-manifest.

The first [stage of] determinacy is four-fold: Knowledge ('ilm), Being (wujūd), Sight (shuhūd) and Light (nur). All these four are called the 'first determination' (ta'ayyun awwal), for by virtue of Knowledge, the Knower and the Known become manifest; by virtue of Being, That which causes to be and That which becomes are manifest; by virtue of Sight, the Seer and the Seen become manifest; by virtue of Light, the Illuminator and the Illuminated become manifest. All these - the Knower and the Known, the First and the Last, the Outwardly Manifest and the Inwardly Hidden - acquire their names in [the stage of] the first determination.<sup>254</sup>

The Known is called by the People of the Path the Fixed Essences (al-a'yānu'l-thābitah). Some call it the Reality of Things (al-ḥaqīqatu'l-ashyā'), some call it the Cognitive Forms (al-suwaru'l-'ilmiyyah), and others call it the Relational Spirit (ruh idāfī). All these are the 'second determination' (ta'ayyun-thānī).

253. Term used by Iqbāl. See Iqbāl, M., The development of metaphysics in Persia, London, 1908, pp.150-174. Hereafter cited as Iqbāl.

254. Cf. Lawā'ih, Flash XVI.

The human spirit (rūḥ insānī), the animal spirit (rūḥ ḥayawānī) and the vegetal spirit (rūḥ nabātī) are the 'third determination' (ta'ayyun thālith).

The 'fourth' and 'fifth' determinations (ta'ayyun rābi' and ta'ayyun khāmis) are determinations ad infinitum encompassing the realm of physical things in its entirety, comprising the whole universe and all created things [therein].

Determinations never cease to occur and are without limit; but Knowledge, Being, Sight and Light are never separate from them all, for without these four the Possessor of these determinations would find self-determination impossible. This is why the People of the Path say that the being of the entire Universe is the Being of God. The world's being, though perceived as existing, nevertheless does not possess existence for it derives its existence from the Determinate Being (wujūd muta'ayyin). Our lack of awareness makes us believe that the world has being.

The first determination may be called both Transcendent One (aḥad) or Immanent One (wāḥid). When we regard the Essence by Itself It is called aḥad, but when we regard the Essence together with all Its Attributes and Names then It is called wāḥid, for aḥad is wāḥid [insofar as It] sustains the Universe from its beginning to its end.<sup>255</sup>

Employing poetic imagery, Ḥamzah compares the Pure Essence, dwelling signless without Names or Attributes, to the motionless Ocean of Indeterminacy. The noonday brightness of human intellect is unable to venture into or fathom

---

255. Sharāb, pp.15-16. For this last paragraph, cf. al-Faṣṣ al-Yūsufiyyah in Ibnu'l-'Arabī's Fuṣūṣu'l-Hikam, edited by Abū'l-'Alā 'Afīfī, 2 vols. in one, Cairo, 1946, p.105. Hereafter cited as Fuṣūṣu'l-Hikam.

this Ocean - It is even beyond gnosis. The Pure Essence is said to determinate Itself by descents (tanazzulāt) which It accomplishes in six stages (martabat); journeying from and returning to Itself completing a full cycle. The first stage of descent, which corresponds to the first determination, is whereby the Pure Essence becomes individualized, as it were, in the fourfold determinacy which comprises Knowledge, Being, Sight and Light. This individualization is the outward aspect of the Pure Essence and it occurs in the plane of abstract oneness (aḥadiyyah). When the Pure Essence or Absolute Being, Who by virtue of Knowledge becomes the Knower, gazes upon His own Perfection, the Ocean (by way of analogy) heaves and waves appear and begin to surge and churn. The waves are not separate from the Ocean in much the same manner as the phenomenon is not separate from the noumenon. These waves are the Fixed Essences which are contained in the Divine Essence where there is no distinction. This stage of the Knower, when God looks upon Himself, is the stage of the Fixed Essences and it is the second descent (determination) occurring in the plane of unity in plurality (wāḥidiyyah). The third descent (determination) is whereby the Fixed Essences are imbued with the Relational Spirit. The Relational Spirit, which has already been identified with the Fixed Essences, the Reality of Things and the Cognitive Forms,<sup>256</sup> is also sometimes

---

256. See above, p. 116.

identified with the Light of Muḥammad (nūr Muḥammad), the Universal Intellect (al-'aql-al-kullī), the Highest Pen (al-qalam al-a'lā) or the Guarded Tablet (al-lawḥ al-mahfuz).<sup>257</sup> At this stage the Relational Spirit 'emerges', as it were, from the Divine Essence - the waves of the Ocean subside and evaporate. Here occur particularizations into human, animal and vegetal spirits; and the vapours that gather in the sky forming clouds are allusions to the Pure Potentialities (isti'dād aṣlī) in the Fixed Essences (Relational Spirit) at the point of bursting forth into actuality. The fourth and fifth stages of descents (determinations) are the materialization of spirits into the World of Matter.<sup>258</sup> These descents, in which stages the Relational Spirit (Light of Muḥammad) and the Fixed Essences actualize their Potentialities through the Divine Command: 'Be!', are symbolized in the analogy of the clouds bursting forth into rain; and the reaction to the Divine Command by the Relational Spirit, Fixed Essences and their Potentialities is symbolized by the analogy of rain falling upon the earth where the drops become water flowing in rivers. It is only 'then' - i.e. 'after' the Divine Command - that the Relational

---

257. Asrār p.41.

258. The reference here is to what some Sūfīs, particularly Jīlī, call Hayulā. Jīlī explained what hayulā is in the 57th chapter of his Insānu'l-Kāmil, of which Nicholson has partly translated. See Studies, pp.91-92; also 99, 106, 123.

Spirit (Light of Muhammad) 'separates' from the Divine Essence; the Creator becomes distinguished from the creatures who now receive the name "creation". In the same manner as the souls become reintegrated in the Spirit, so the rivers flow back into the Absolute Ocean which never shrinks or grows vaster, though its waves are ever ebbing and flowing.<sup>259</sup> Thus the cycle is complete.<sup>260</sup>

The following is my outline of Ḥamzah's schema of ontological descent:

- A. The Absolute, the Innermost or Unique Essence (Kunhi Dhāt, Dhāt Semata).
  - a) Inward aspect: Huwa, the Name alluding to the Essence without Attributes.
  - b) Outward aspect: Allāh, the sum of all Names and Attributes.<sup>261</sup>
- B. Absolute Oneness (Aḥadiyyat Muṭlaq).
  - a) Inward aspect: Transcendent One (aḥad)
  - b) Outward aspect: Immanent One (wāḥid) [wāḥidiyyah]
    - First descent and fourfold determinacy: Knowledge, Being, Sight, Light. Individualization of creatures in the Divine Knowledge in a transcendental manner without any differentiation. The Fixed Essences, the Relational Spirits, the Reality of Muhammad.
- C. Unity in Plurality (wāḥidiyyah)
  - a) The Fixed Essences, also called the Relational Spirit, the Reality of Things, the Cognitive Forms.
    - Second descent corresponding to second

---

259. Cp. Lawā'ih, p.31.

260. Asrār, pp.57-58; Sharāb, pp.15-17.

261. Ḥamzah's Allāh here must be regarded as identical with Jīlī's. See Studies, pp.97-98.

- determination and the station of the Throne where the creatures synthetically and virtually exist.
- b) The Fixed Essences (Relational Spirit, also called the Light of Muḥammad, the Highest Pen, the Guarded Tablet). Third descent (determination) corresponding to the station of the Footstool where the creatures are manifested analytically as potential existents. (al-a'yānu'l-khārijīyyah)
  - c) The Highest Pen imprints the creatures' forms of existence on the Guarded Tablet. The Divine Command: 'Be!' Creator and creatures become distinguished. The Light of Muḥammad separates from the Divine Essence. Fourth descent (determination).
  - d) Materialization of spirits into the World of Matter. Fifth descent (determination).

It appears to me doubtful whether one can say with definite certainty that Ḥamzah's system is identical with the Neo-Platonic system of emanations, for there seems to be some distinction between emanationism and this doctrine of ontological devolution peculiar to the Ṣūfīs. Even the interpreters of Plotinus are vague about the meaning of 'emanation' in Plotinus, and their interpretations are at variance with one another. In my opinion, it is therefore merely a conjecture to equate the Ṣūfī ta'ayyun, tanazzul and taragqī with the Plotinian triad: monē, prōodos and epistrophē,<sup>262</sup> for in the system of emanations propounded by

---

262. As Kraemer had done (op.cit., p.34 note 2). The terminologies referring to the Plotinian triad apparently belong to Proclus. See Zeller, E., Outlines of the history of Greek philosophy, London, 1950, p.308. Hereafter cited as Zeller.

Plotinus and the Neo-Platonists, the emanations emanate in progressive deterioration. They become worse and worse, so to speak, as they emanate away from the Source. Further God, the Source, remains transcendent, as it were, and not present in the emanations that go down in a descending order; the higher creating the lower, and the lower reflecting the being and perfection of the higher.<sup>263</sup> If God were not present in the emanations, the latter would then have acquired independent existence. The Ṣūfī interpretation of the doctrine subscribed to here by Ḥamzah is that the 'emanations' do not progressively deteriorate as they 'emanate' away from the Source, for God Himself 'descends' with 'them' in a series of descents; and He does so in such a manner that we can ascribe to Him neither transcendence nor immanence with respect to His 'emanations'. In fact there are no emanations in Ḥamzah's system, but only manifestations (tajalliyāt). The 'descent' of the Absolute is nothing but the various ways in which He manifests Himself to us in the course of our knowledge of Him, not in terms of emanations.<sup>264</sup> Another important distinction which seems to exist between the Plotinian doctrine of emanation

---

263. See Inge, W.R., The philosophy of Plotinus, London, 1923, 2 vols., vol. 1, pp. 122-199, especially pp. 194-199. Hereafter cited as Inge.

264. 'Affīfī, p. 61.



and the Ṣūfī doctrine of manifestation subscribed to here by Ḥamzah is that in the doctrine of emanation creation is conceived of as a necessity: excluding any voluntary action on the part of the Creator. It would follow then that God is merely the cause of existence inasmuch as the word cause is understood in the Philosophers' sense of the term.<sup>265</sup> The Universe is eternal, in the sense that it had no temporal beginning and will have no temporal ending. According to Ḥamzah, taking his cue from the Ṣūfīs, creation presupposes voluntary action on the part of the Creator.<sup>266</sup> The Universe as such cannot be said to exist eternally with God, for it has no existence - it is, to use Jāmī's terms, "A series of accidents,"<sup>267</sup> and God's dynamic activity annihilates it after duplicating it and creates another anew.<sup>268</sup> Ḥamzah agrees with the Doctors of Theology that the World as such is a thing created and not eternal. This he says clearly:

Actually the Doctors of Theology and the People of the Path agree that the World is created; the judgement being that it is

---

265. The concept of the Divine Will is vague in Plotinus (see Inge, I, pp.143-145; II, 112-115. There seems to be no equivalent in Plotinus of the Ṣūfī concept of the Creative Will (irādah) and the Creative Word (kun).

266. See below, chapter IV.

267. Lawā'ih, pp. 30 foll.

268. Asrār, pp. 98, 102.

something new (ḥādith),<sup>269</sup> for it comes into existence (muzahir) by virtue of the Divine Command: 'Be!'. It must not be said that [the World] is eternal.<sup>270</sup>

(b) The world of created things.

When Ḥamzah says that God's Being and the Being of the Universe are one and the same,<sup>271</sup> he means by 'being' what all Ṣūfīs mean according to their doctrine of Oneness of Being (waḥdatu'l-wujūd). Awḥadu'l-Dīn Kirmānī, a Ṣūfī of the thirteenth century, puts this doctrine in a nutshell when he says:

Absolute Being only wise men call  
Being, and nought save God exists at all.  
That which existent but through God became  
Is NOT in truth, but only IS in name.<sup>272</sup>

'Name' in Ṣūfī terminology may refer either to something existent or non-existent; in the former case it refers to the Essence, that is, Pure Being (God) and also to Being 'joined' to not-being (the world of created things); in the latter case it refers to a non-existent entity like Jīlī's fabulous bird called 'Anqā'.<sup>273</sup> The Universe per se is a non-existent entity, and 'name' mentioned in Awḥadu'l-Dīn's

269. i.e. temporal, events.

270. Asrār, p.35.

271. Ibid., p.25.

272. Cf. Literary history of Persia, III, p.141.

273. Cf. Insanu'l-Kāmil I, p.21; see also Studies, pp.83,93. Also mentioned in Ḥamzah, 2016, p.56; Shabistari, p.69.

verse refers to the Universe as such. The Ṣūfī conception of the Universe tallied to a certain extent with that of the Idealists in that the Fixed Essences (al-a'yānu'l-thābitah), insofar as they are viewed as reflected in the Universal Intellect (al-'aqlu'l-kullī), are ideas or archetypes which Plato compares to real objects, in his parable of the cave, of which only the shadows of the images are perceived.<sup>274</sup> The Ṣūfīs also hold the same view as the Ash'arī Mutakallimūn, whose conception of the Universe is atomistic, but they reject the Mutakallimūn assertion that the atom, in its essential nature, is independent of its existence and therefore does not come under the category of accidents.<sup>275</sup> The Universe, then, can be viewed under two aspects: as an empty name when it is considered per se, but when considered as not-being 'joined' to Being, it is no mere delusion having no objective reality underlying it; it is then the Truth (al-Haqq), in the aspect of God as Creator, Who 'clothes' Himself, so to speak, with the myriad forms of the various grades of being making them manifest to the senses. Jāmī speaks of this 'Truth' as the "single substance",<sup>276</sup> the

---

274. See the Dialogues of Plato, translated by Benjamin Jowett, Great books of the Western World, 7, Chicago, 1952, the Republic, Book VII. See also Lawā'ih, p.31.

275. See above pp.104-108. For an account of Ash'arī atomism, see Majīd Fakhry, op.cit., pp.22-48; Studies, p.154.

276. Lawā'ih, p.30; cf. above, p. 107.

substratum whereby the accidents, including the atoms of the scholastic theologians, have their locus. It is identical with the "essence" of manifestation, not with the manifestation itself.<sup>277</sup> This 'Truth', interpreted as 'God' may not as such (i.e. Creator) be considered to be the 'whole' of God. Now we have used the somewhat paradoxical term 'whole' not because God is composed of parts, but for lack of a better word. To explain we must now digress to focus our attention on certain parts of the Hindu doctrines according to the Vedanta which, though not necessarily identical, may be said to run parallel with the Sūfī doctrine in question. According to the Maitri Upanishad,<sup>278</sup> Ishvara is the principle of all the states of manifestation, both the gross and the subtle. Now this Ishvara may be considered under three principal aspects known as the Trimurti: Brahmā (with an accent to suggest the masculine gender, and without to designate neuter), who is Ishvara as the principle of creation; Vishnu, who is Ishvara as the life-giving and life-preserving principle; and Shiva, who is Ishvara as the principle of transformation. Ishvara in itself, as the Universal Being, is unmanifest although it works in all the states of manifestation in the aspect of

---

277. Ibid., p.33; cf. above, p. 108.

278. See Radhakrishnan, S., The principal Upanishads, London, 1953, p.814; the Maitri Upanishad, Ch. V, 2.

the Trimurti. In reality Brahmā, Vishnu and Shiva are but the names or aspects of Ishvara, just as Ishvara itself is a name or aspect of Brahma considered as the principle of manifestation. Brahma in Itself is neither manifest nor unmanifest for It is the principle of both. It is unconditioned, undetermined and immutable. Considered in Itself It is the Principle of all principles and is said to be immanent only when viewed under different aspects, otherwise It is transcendent with respect to the manifest or the unmanifest. A passage from the Maitri Upanishad dealing with the nature of Brahma shows that Brahma, dwelling in the gross, the subtle, the unmanifest and the unconditioned states, is said to dwell with one of Its padas ('feet' or 'quarter') in the first three states, and with three of Its padas in the last.<sup>279</sup> According to Jīlī's imagery, the analogy of the relationship between the Universe and God is like that of ice submerged in water. Now the shape, structure and solidity of the ice are, when viewed objectively, non-existent, deriving what existence they possess from the water. Although both are essentially the same, conditionally, i.e. existentially, ice and water are not the same. Neither can it be said, though they be the same essentially, that the whole of the water is contained in the ice, nor that the essence of the

---

279. Radhakrishnan, op.cit., pp.857-859; the Maitri Upanishad, Ch. VII, 11.

whole is contained in the part.<sup>280</sup> The meaning of the Ṣūfī 'Truth', then, without implying any limitation to it, depends upon the standpoint from which it is viewed; sometimes it is God when viewed as the principle of all the grades of being and states of manifestation, like Ishvara; sometimes it is God considered as the Absolute, Holy beyond any condition whatever, like Brahma. This is what we mean when we say that the 'Truth' may not be considered to be actually the whole of God, for like Brahma, it possesses 'Names' (asmā') or aspects that operate incessantly in the whole of manifestation:

All gifts soever unto God are due,  
Yet special gifts from special "names" ensue;  
At every breath one "name" annihilates,<sup>281</sup>  
And one creates all outward things anew.

Jāmī's verse reveals that between "every breath", when one "name annihilates and one creates all outward things anew," there is that 'instant', so to speak, when nothing at all

280. Insānu'l-Kāmil, I, p.46. An English translation of the verse in question can be found in Lings, p.182.

281. Lawā'ih, p.33.

exists - but God.<sup>282</sup> There is no augmentation of Being at the creation of the Universe, since the Universe is in a perpetual state of annihilation (this state is referred to in Ḥamzah as lenyap; i.e. fanā'). It is alluding to this non-existence of the Universe as such that Ḥamzah quotes: "God was and there was not any thing with Him," and "God is now as He was then."<sup>283</sup>

282. The whole paragraph above is an incorporation of passages, with and without alteration, from my Some aspects of Sūfism as understood and practised among the Malays, Malaysian Sociological Research Institute, Singapore, 1963, pp.10-17. Referring to this same doctrine, Martin Lings, in what to my mind is the most lucid and concise interpretation in English, writes:

Creation, which is subject to time and space and non-terrestrial modes of duration and extent which the human imagination cannot grasp, is 'then' (with reference to both past and future) and 'there', but it is never truly 'now' and 'here'. The True Present is the prerogative of God Alone, for It is no less than the Eternity and Infinity which transcends, penetrates and embraces all durations and extents, being not only 'before' all beginnings but also 'after' all ends. In It, that is, the Eternal Now and Infinite Here, all that is perishable has 'already' perished, all that is liable to extinction has 'already' been extinguished leaving only God, and it is to this Divine Residue, the Sole Lord of the Present, that the word remaineth refers in the last quoted Qoranic verse." (Lings, pp.121-122).

The last line of the quotation from Lings refers to the verse: All that is therein [i.e. in the created universe] suffereth extinction, and there remaineth the Face of thy Lord in its Majesty and Bounty.

Qur'ān 55:26-27). See also Sharāb, p.18; Muntahī, pp.128-129.

283. Asrār, p.26; Muntahī, p.111.

(c) Creation and the doctrine of perpetual creation.

It would appear at first glance that Ḥamzah rejects the doctrine of creatio ex nihilo. According to Ḥamzah, if the World were created from nothing, it would mean that the World has 'acquired' existence and exists apart from God. God, then, would be limited in a spatio-temporal system - a view which he dismisses as a metaphysical absurdity. Since all things are from God and must return to Him, it cannot be - so Ḥamzah argues - that God is the nothing they are created from.<sup>284</sup> Ḥamzah says that the Doctors of Theology conceive the Known and its potentialities to be something temporal (ḥādith), created, separated from the Essence, like a building created by the builder.<sup>285</sup> His argument against the Doctors of Theology is that it would follow that if He produced them from nothing, they were logically unknown to Him 'before' He caused them to exist in His Knowledge.<sup>286</sup> The concept of creatio ex nihilo, as Ḥamzah understands it, must logically be involved in a notion of time sequence which is unacceptable with respect to God. Jīlī would say - and Ḥamzah would agree with him - that between the not-being of things and their existence in His Knowledge, there is no time sequence. God knows them as He knows Himself, but He is

---

284. See below, pp. 133-135.

285. Asrār, pp.37; see also Tahāfut, p.70.

286. Asrār, pp.37, 34-35.



eternal and they are not.<sup>287</sup> According to Ḥamzah, following Ibnu'l-'Arabī, things exist as Ideas in the Mind of God in the form of potentialities lying dormant, as it were, in readiness to leap into life and fulfil the Divine Command.<sup>288</sup> When God says 'Be!' it is to something that He says this, not to nothing.<sup>289</sup> But Ibnu'l-'Arabī's view seems to imply that the world is eternal, a view which logically follows from the notion that God's creative will is determined by the Knower to act as His nature demands; and the nature of His Knowledge - at least according to Ibnu'l-'Arabī<sup>290</sup> - is determined by the objects which He knows. Jīlī rejects Ibnu'l-'Arabī's view because it could lead to a belief that the Divine Knowledge is dependent on what is relative.<sup>291</sup> In point of fact, however, it must be pointed out that the Ṣūfī doctrine, not being a philosophy, views Reality from many standpoints which at times appear to be mutually contradictory but are in fact complementary; and the apparent conflict in the views of Ibnu'l-'Arabī and Jīlī on the Divine Knowledge is in reality illusory. Indeed, by saying that God's Knowledge is determined by the Objects which he knows Ibnu'l-'Arabī means by 'objects' not what is relative, for

---

287. Cf. Insānu'l-Kāmil, I, p.82; see also p.76; Studies, p.103.

288. Asrār, p.37.

289. Sharāb, p.30; Asrār, p.30.

290. Cf. Studies, pp.150-151; Iqbāl, p.173; 'Affīfī, p.152.

291. Insānu'l-Kāmil, I, p.76.

the 'objects' are none other than the Pure Potentialities or Possibilities (which Ḥamzah calls the isti'dād aṣlī) contained in the Divine Essence - and these are not something distinct from the Essence, but are in reality identical with It. The apparent duality between Knowledge and its object, then, does not exist. However, Jīlī being more systematic than Ibnu'l-'Arabī, is more careful on the question of the relationship between the Knower and the Known, and rejects the latter for the reason stated earlier. In Ḥamzah we find both the views of Ibnu'l-'Arabī and Jīlī on this point incorporated, but Ḥamzah approaches Jīlī more than Ibnu'l-'Arabī here, for if we examine the scheme of ontological descent of the Absolute Being as he conceives it, we will find that he not only implies but clearly indicates that the judgment that God exists in Himself (the stage of lā ta'ayyun which he calls Huwa corresponding to Jīlī's al-'Amā') is logically prior to the judgment that things exist in His Knowledge:

The Essence is Unique, without attributes -  
 this is the First. When He gazes upon Himself  
 He sees Himself with all His Predispositions.  
 At that 'instant' the Seer becomes the Knower,  
 the Seen becomes the Known, Seeing becomes Knowledge.<sup>292</sup>

In this case, as Jīlī points out:

... The former judgment involves the non-existence of things and the existence of God alone. God brought things from not-being into being and caused them to exist in His Knowledge,

---

292. Asrār, p.28.

then He brought them forth from His Knowledge and caused them to exist externally.<sup>293</sup>

From this it should be clear that Ḥamzah's rejection of the doctrine of creatio ex nihilo in the sense he means is not an affirmation of the doctrine of the eternity of the World. What he means to expose in rejecting that doctrine is the error of conceiving the notion of the priority of time, instead of logic, in the concept of creation. He is consistent enough in his exposition of the doctrine that God is Eternal, that He is at one with His seven principal Attributes of Life, Knowledge, Will, Power, Speech, Hearing and Sight. Other Attributes such as those of the Creator, Provider, and so on, become manifest only at the instance of the Divine Command. When God commands the Potentialities of the Known (isti'dād ma'lūmāt) to come into being they come into being (i.e. actualize as external existence: wujūd khārijī) in a state of complete perfection, for if they are not perfect the implication is that there is some flaw in God's Knowledge and that His Creative Activity would then have been in vain.<sup>294</sup> The Arabic word khalāqa, denoting the action of 'creating', means "assigning to each thing its proper measure", and this action, the result of the Divine Will (irādat), is governed not by caprice or chaos, but by

---

293. Cf. Studies, p.103; Insānu'l-Kāmil, I, p.82; see also p.76; Asrār, p.45.

294. Ibid., pp.31, 34; Sharāb, Ch.VI.

wisdom and order.<sup>295</sup> In Ḥamzah the word he uses for translating khalāqa is menjadikan and he gives this word exactly the same meaning as the Arabic so that as a semantic vocabulary in his system, the word becomes a vital concept in the understanding of his metaphysics.<sup>296</sup> There are, then, broadly speaking, two categories of creation:

(1) Creation as the 'drawing forth' of Possibilities in dwelling in the Divine Essence. 'Before' the Possibilities are 'drawn out' they are not distinct things in the Divine Essence and as such are not existing (mawjūd), for existence implies that there already occurs a distinction of Knower from Known, which takes place in the first determination.<sup>297</sup> It is only with reference to the state of the Divine Essence as the Non-Manifest i.e. Indeterminate (lā ta'ayyun) that the metaphysical meaning of 'nothingness' ('udum) can be ascribed,<sup>298</sup> and it is with reference to this action of creating only can it be said that the Creator creates from 'nothing'. Creation in this sense is not properly speaking 'creation',<sup>299</sup> for although the Possibilities indwelling in the Divine Essence are 'now' deployed in a relative mode,

295. Ibid., pp.38-39.

296. Cf., below, chapter V.

297. See above, pp. 116-117.

298. See Ḥamzah's verses on the Fixed Essences (al-a'yānu'l-thābitah) in Appendix V, (i).

299. I.e., it is not khalāqa, but ījād or abraza.

the Creative Word 'Be!' has not yet been 'pronounced' upon them and as such they are neither created nor uncreated as they are Predispositions (shu'ūn) of the Divine Essence.<sup>300</sup>

(2) Creation as the actualization of the Possibilities (al-a'yānu'l-thābitah) as external existence.<sup>301</sup> The Possibilities come under the sway of the Creative Word that commands them to come forth 'externally' into the World of Matter when they appear as creatures (sing. makhlūq) both spiritually and materially.<sup>302</sup>

God's Mercy (rahmat) first brought the Universe into existence from Himself, and in virtue of His Name Most Compassionate (al-Rahmān) He exists in all things that He brought into being:

Al-Rahmān is [the Name] by which He first bestows His Mercy upon the World - that is, that He creates all, as God Most Exalted says: Wasi'ta kulla shay'in rahmatan wa 'ilman <sup>303</sup> - that is: [O my Lord] Thou embracest all things in Mercy and Knowledge. Hence Rahmān is the Lord of Mercy and bestows existence upon the Universe together with all its parts. Since He gives existence to the Universe together with all its parts He is called Rahmān.<sup>304</sup>

The Universe - Creation - considered as not-being 'joined' to Being<sup>305</sup> is not an illusion, for as such it is none other

300. Asrār, pp.34-35; Sharāb, p.18.

301. i.e., khalāqa.

302. Cf. above, p.121.

303. Qur'ān, 40:7.

304. Asrār, p.40.

305. Cf. above, p.121.

than the Effects (āthār) of God's Creative Activity (shu'ūn) made manifest to the senses; and these Effects are constantly changing,<sup>306</sup> each being annihilated and replaced by a similar set much in the same manner as waves are constantly made to appear and disappear on the ocean's face by the unseen forces that work in nature.<sup>307</sup> It is with reference to this dynamic Creative Activity that Ḥamzah often quotes the Quranic passage: Every moment He is in some state [of activity].<sup>308</sup> The dynamic Creative Activity flows from the Divine Names that operate incessantly in the Divine Act of Self revelation (tajallī).<sup>309</sup> Another reference to the Divine Creative Activity is the allusion to the 'Breath' of the Most Compassionate (al-nafas al-Raḥmān) at each instance of which "one Name annihilates and one creates all outward things anew."<sup>310</sup>

(d) The Fixed Essences (al-a'yānu'l-thābitah)

The Fixed Essences or Prototypes, Archetypes, Essences of Things have been mentioned under different names depending upon the point of view from which they are regarded. Ḥamzah also calls them the Reality of Things, the

---

306. Asrār, p.49.

307. Ibid., p.58; Sharāb, pp.18, 20.

308. Qur'ān, 55:29.

309. See Sharāb, pp.15-19.

310. Cf. Asrār, p.47.

Cognitive Forms or Divine 'Ideas', the Universal Intellect; and he seems to have identified them with the Relational Spirit, the Light of Muḥammad, the Most Exalted Pen, the Guarded Tablet.<sup>311</sup> From one of his verses on the Fixed Essences<sup>312</sup> an outline of their nature can be set forth thus:

(1) When 'Seeing' occurs (implied by the word muqābalaḥ) and Seer and 'Seen' become manifest (in the first determination) the Fixed Essences are Predispositions in the Divine Essence (shu'ūn dhātiyyah). They are not to be considered as Intelligible Being (wujūd 'ilmiyyah) for this would imply that the Fixed Essences possess a separate existence from the Essence.

(2) When intelligible particularization (tafṣīl 'ilmī) occurs in the Divine Knowledge, the Fixed Essences are Ideas, i.e. formal in nature (ṣuwarī) and does not possess an inspirational attribute (ṣifat waḥyī). By 'inspiration' my guess is that it refers to the Spirit. Ibnu'l-'Arabī in his Futūḥātu'l-Makkiyyah (Makkan Revelations), discoursing on Inspiration, says that when God speaks through inspiration it is like a chain on a stone struck by the angels. The analogy of iron clashing against stone to produce a spark refers to the manifestation of the Holy Spirit (al-ruḥ al-quḍus) which occurs when God's Attributes of Majesty and Beauty clashed

---

311. See above, pp. 116; 118.

312. 2016., pp.33-35; Appendix V, (i).

and manifested the Holy Spirit.<sup>313</sup> Further, the Qur'ān reveals that inspiration has content, such as knowledge ('ilm),<sup>314</sup> wisdom (ḥikmah),<sup>315</sup> guidance (hudā),<sup>316</sup> healing (shifā'),<sup>317</sup> light (nūr).<sup>318</sup> It seems clear to me that an inspirational attribute implies a spiritual and not ideational nature. It follows that in this context the Fixed Essences are of the nature of Ideas not yet imbued, as it were, with the Relational Spirit.

(3) When the Fixed Essences are the Things Known (ma'lūmāt), i.e. 'Objects' of the Divine Knowledge, they are Possible Quiddities (māhiyyāt al-mumkināt) and not impossibilities (mustahīlāt).

(4) When they are preceded by something (masbūq) the Fixed Essences are creatures (makhḷūq) and not the Beloved (ma'shūq). Being preceded implies a 'separate' existence from the Essence (Divine Knowledge) and this can only mean that when set against Real Being which logically precedes the Fixed Essences, they are then regarded as creatures. Being preceded may also refer to the objective individualization which occurs to the Fixed Essences in the Most Exalted

313. Cf. the reference to the origin of the Holy Spirit by an anonymous Malay commentator in 11648, pp.165-167. See also Shabistari, p.44, where the same analogy of fire in flint and steel is employed to illustrate the spiritual faculty in man.

314. Qur'ān, 3:60-61; 2:120, 145.

315. Ibid., 17:39.

316. Ibid., 45:11.

317. Ibid., 41:44.

318. Ibid., 4:174; 42:52. Cp. Asrār, p.41.



Pen where Creator and creatures become distinguished. On this plane which corresponds to the third descent or determination of Absolute Being the Fixed Essences are regarded, insofar as they are the hidden reality of the external world, as the Exterior Essences (al-a'yānu'l-khārijīyyah).<sup>319</sup> It is now clear why the Fixed Essences considered as creatures are not identical with the Beloved for the symbolical expression 'Beloved' refers to the Divine Knowledge ('ilm) in the first determination.<sup>320</sup>

(5) When they are referred to as Lofty Letters (hurūf 'āliyyāt) the Fixed Essences represent a Mirror (mir'āt) and they are not to be considered as not-being ('adamiyyāt). Some Ṣūfīs, Shabistarī among them, consider not-being to be the mirror of Absolute Being,<sup>321</sup> and others like Jāmī invertes the metaphor and makes Absolute Being the mirror in which not-being is reflected.<sup>322</sup> There is in fact no contradiction here. We must conceive the mirror to be a double-faced mirror; the front of the mirror faces, as it were, the Divine Names and as such the mirror itself is not-being reflecting Absolute Being, and the back of the mirror, facing the Exterior Essences, catches the reflection of not-being

319. Cf. 2016, p.27.

320. Cf. 11648, pp.140-143.

321. Cf. Shabistarī, p.14.

322. Lawā'ih, p.24.

and as such the mirror is regarded as Absolute Being.<sup>323</sup> On the plane on which the Fixed Essences are regarded as a Mirror, which corresponds to the third determination, they are both created as well as uncreated according to the point of view from which they are regarded. The analogy of the Fixed Essences as Lofty Letters is found in Ibn al-'Arabī's verse which Ḥamzah quotes.<sup>324</sup>

(6) When the Fixed Essences are considered as inseparable (mutalāzim) from the Essence they are the World ('ālam) and not not-being ('adam). It is obvious that by World is meant the Real World, i.e. the intelligible world apprehended only by the Intellect as opposed to the sensible world of phenomena apprehended by the senses.

(7) When the Fixed Essences are considered as being first manifested in a continuous state (mutalāḥiq), they are called the Lover ('āshiq) and not the Creator (khāliq). The continuity mentioned here is a reference to the Pure Act of Self-revelation of the Essence to Itself in which the Absolute Being sees Himself in one continuous and eternal Vision at once as Seer (Knower), Seeing (Knowledge) and Seen (Known). This occurs in the first determination. Now we have pointed out earlier that Knowledge corresponds to the Beloved,<sup>325</sup> and this is so because the Beloved is the

323. See 11648, pp.240-243.

324. Asrār, pp.36-37; cf. also ibid., pp.41-42;

Muntahī, p.117.

325. See above, p. 139, (4).

relational being that relates Love (i.e. the Divine Essence) to the Lover. Through the Beloved (Knowledge) the forms of the Fixed Essences are revealed in the Lover. Quoting 'Irāqī's Lam'at, Ḥamzah says that all three Beloved, Love and Lover are in fact one and the same.<sup>326</sup> The Lover is called such because it lacks existence but yearns for it as alluded to in the much quoted Holy Tradition: 'I was a hidden treasure and I desired to be known; so I created creation that I might be known'.<sup>327</sup> Viewed from this standpoint it is easy to see how the Fixed Essences are not called Creator, for Creator is one of the Names that has its logical descent from Love (Seer, Knower).

(8) When individualization has occurred (termaqsūm) in the Fixed Essences they are considered as the Known (ma'lūm) and not the Non-existent (ma'dūm). By the Non-existent the Ṣūfīs usually refer to the Innermost Essence in the state of non-manifestation. The Essence is unconditioned and undetermined and even existence or being cannot be predicated of It.<sup>328</sup> The Fixed Essences are referred to here as the Known to show that a distinction from the Knower has already occurred in the first determination and as such 'existence' can be predicated of them.

326. Asrār, p.28; Muntahī, p.123. Cf. 11648, pp.155-160.

327. Cf. Asrār, p.29; Sharāb, p.2; Muntahī, p.111.

328. See Insānu'l-Kāmil, I, pp.21-22; Studies, pp.83,150.

(9) When the Fixed Essences are first said to be 'present' (ḥādir), i.e. when the Creator is distinguished from the creatures and the creatures are regarded as being 'present' before the Creator (the reference here is to the third determination), they are considered as the passive principle (faqīr: literally the 'Poor'; lacking in being, the slave as opposed to the Lord) and not the active principle (amīr: the Lord,<sup>329</sup> the One Who orders or commands), the Command in this case being the Creative Word 'Be!' (kun).<sup>330</sup>

(10) The Fixed Essences, inasmuch as they exist (mawjūd) - i.e. as Ideas in the Divine Knowledge - are to be categorized as Contingent Being (jā'izu'l-wujūd) and not as Impossible Being (mumtani'u'l-wujūd), for the impossible cannot come into being - even in God's Knowledge.

(11) When they are considered as a whole (majmalī) the Fixed Essences are the latent Modes of Being (shu'ūn thubūtī) and not of the nature of pure not-being ('adam maḥdī) or absolute nothingness. They are the Theatre of Manifestation of the One Real Being and as such they logically cannot be pure not-being which comes under the category of impossible being - that is, a being that has no existence in any category of being.<sup>331</sup>

329. Cf. Qur'ān 35:15.

330. Cf. above, p. 121; also 2016, p.30. This last note reference must be understood in conjunction with (7) in pp. 140-141, above.

331. For a discussion on the 'adamu'l-maḥd, see above, pp. 96-100. Ḥamzah makes mention here of the Mu'tazilah as holding the view that pure nothingness is an entity. Cf. Tahāfut al-Tahāfut, p.61.

(12) When they are regarded as a Mirror the Fixed Essences are Possible Not-Being ('adam mumkin) and they are not static not-being ('adam sākin), i.e. a kind of receptacle for forms to exist.<sup>332</sup> The Fixed Essences have already been represented as a Mirror in (5) when they are referred to as Lofty Letters. The Mirror has a double face and in the case in which they are referred to in (5) we must imagine the Fixed Essences as the front of the Mirror which faces the Divine Names wherein the Lofty Letters, which are a symbolic allusion to the Predispositions in the Essence,<sup>333</sup> are reflected. The Fixed Essences there are represented as reflecting Absolute Being and as such that reflection is not not-being. But in this case here we must imagine the Fixed Essences as the back of the Mirror which faces the Exterior Essences. Here they reflect not-being. Conceived as a double-faced mirror, it is logically valid to say that the Fixed Essences are Being on the one hand and Not-Being on the other, depending again upon the point of view from which they are regarded. Ḥamzah goes on to say that Possible Not-Being has its origin in the Non-Existent (ma'dūm), i.e. the Essence in the grade of the non-manifest (lā ta'ayyun), inconceivable, ineffable.<sup>334</sup>

---

332. I am unable to identify what 'adam sākin is although I am tempted to see some resemblance with the Plotinian stasis, or most probably hylē.

333. Cf. 11648, p.145.

334. See above, pp. 134-135.

To sum up, the Fixed Essences are first Pure Possibilities (isti'dād aṣlī) indwelling in the Divine Essence and identical with It. They are Predispositions in the Essence. When the Essence reveals Itself to Itself in one eternal and everlasting manifestation which never repeats itself, the Fixed Essences receive this manifestation on the plane of unity in plurality (wāḥidiyyah), i.e. in the Divine Knowledge, and there they always abide as Ideas reflected in the Universal Intellect.<sup>335</sup> In themselves - i.e. considered as other than the Essence - the Fixed Essences are not existing entities; it is only their relative modalities that are manifested in the Universe, and even these, when compared to the Fixed Essences themselves, never so much as attain to a "smell"<sup>336</sup> of the latter, nor do these relative modalities 'come out' (tiada berpindah and tiada dipindahkan) i.e. become actually separate from the Fixed Essences.<sup>337</sup> The complement of the Fixed Essences is the Spirit.<sup>338</sup>

---

335. Cf. Lawā'ih, Flash XXII.

336. Jāmī's expression, ibid., p.35.

337. See the reference to Ibnu'l-'Arabī's verse about the Lofty Letters in Asrār, pp.36-37.

338. What has been said about the Fixed Essences would suffice us to conclude that Ḥamzah, in conformity with the teachings of the Ṣūfīs, never held the belief in the eternity of the world as Rānirī holds him out to be. The World is not even the a'yānu'l-thābitah.

- (e) The Spirit (Nyawa: al-Rūh, and the Soul or Self (Diri: al-Nafs).

The Spirit, like the Fixed Essences, has many names according to the aspect in which it is envisaged. In the saying of the Prophet, it is said that "the first thing God created is the Spirit."<sup>339</sup> Ḥamzah identifies this Spirit with the Light (al-Nūr),<sup>340</sup> the Intellect (al-'Aql)<sup>341</sup> and the Pen (al-Qalam)<sup>342</sup> as each of these is also referred to in the same saying of the Prophet as the first thing God created.<sup>343</sup> The Spirit is the Divine Consciousness (sirr Allāh)<sup>344</sup> and pertains to the Divine Knowledge, for it is because the Divine Knowledge is living that it is called Spirit; because the Divine Knowledge visualizes the things known it is called Light; because the Divine Knowledge patterns the ideas of the things known it is called Intellect; because the Divine Knowledge is the forms of the things

339. Cf. Asrār, p.41.

340. Also called the First Light (al-Nūru'l-Awwal). Cf. Qur'ān, 24:35; Ghazzālī's Mishkāt al-Anwār, edited by Abu'l-'Alā 'Afīfī, Cairo, 1964, p. 54.

Hereafter cited as Mishkāt al-Anwār; 2016, p.71.

341. The First Intellect (al-'Aql al-Awwal) is meant here, not the Universal Intellect (al-'Aql al-Kullī) - cf. Studies, pp. 116-117 and notes 1-4 on p.117.

342. Jīlī identifies the First Intellect with the Pen which transmits the particulars contained as a whole in the Divine Consciousness to the Guarded Tablet (al-Lawḥ al-Maḥfūz). Cf. Insān al-Kāmil II, p.10.

343. Asrār, p.41.

344. Cf. 2016, p.73; Asrār, pp.56-57.

Known it is called Pen. The Divine Knowledge is also called the Tablet (al-Lawh) because it receives the imprints of the forms of the things known.<sup>345</sup> It is also called the Reality or Idea of Muḥammad (Ḥaqīqat Muḥammad) which in turn is called the Light of Muḥammad (Nūr Muḥammad) of which God says in the Holy Tradition: Were it not for you I would not have created the Heavens.<sup>346</sup> The Spirit is also called by Ḥamzah the Relational Spirit (Rūḥ Idāfī), another name for Jīlī's Holy Spirit (Rūḥ al-Qudus).<sup>347</sup>

Three different orders of the Spirit can be distinguished in Ḥamzah's system, and this is in keeping with the Ṣūfī doctrine of the Spirit particularly as expounded by Jīlī. But the distinction between the three different orders of the Spirit is merely mental, not real. In reality there is but one Spirit which viewed in its relation to God is uncreated and viewed in its relation to Man is created. The Spirit referred to under different names mentioned earlier such as Light, Intellect, Pen, etc.,<sup>348</sup> and under the guise of these different names is created, but created only in the special sense, that is, as being derived from the Spirit of

345. The Guarded Tablet corresponds to the Universal Soul (al-Nafs al-Kullīyyah). The term 'form' used above does not mean form that limits, it means rather 'formative' essence.

346. Cf. Asrār, p.42.

347. Ibid., p.41; Insānu'l-Kāmil II, pp.13-15; 11648, pp. 168-174.

348. See above, pp. 116, 118; 145.



God (Rūḥ Allāh), which is uncreated,<sup>349</sup> and not necessarily as coming in the ontological level below the Creative Word 'Be!'. In the saying of the Prophet: "The Spirit is created two thousand years before the body,"<sup>350</sup> the word 'created' means to be made manifest (ẓāhir),<sup>351</sup> and here Ḥamzah identifies the Spirit with the Command (titah: amr) of God: al-rūḥ min amri rabbī <sup>352</sup> - the Spirit is of the Command of my Lord. The word min can be interpreted in two ways; it either means 'of' or 'from'. When it is interpreted as 'of' it denotes identity as in the case of the Spirit being of the same nature as the Command; when it is interpreted as 'from' it denotes proceeding from as in the case of the Spirit proceeding from the Command of God. In the latter sense the Spirit is created, meaning it has come in the ontological level below the Creative Word; whereas in the former sense the Spirit is uncreated, being in the ontological level above the Creative Word.<sup>353</sup> This is what Ḥamzah means when he says that the Spirit is neither creator, i.e. uncreated (khāliq) nor creatures, i.e. created (makhlūq).<sup>354</sup> I have said earlier, in respect of the concept of creation

---

349. See Qur'ān 15:29; 38:72. Cf. 2016, pp.73, 87. See Appendix IV, (iv), (e).

350. Cf. Asrār, p.35.

351. Loc. cit.

352. Qur'ān 17:85.

353. See the discussion in Asrār, pp.34-35.

354. Asrār, pp.34-35.

and the doctrine of perpetual creation, that the action of creating, insofar as it is denoted by the Arabic words abraza and ījād, and the root word khalāqa as interpreted by the Ṣūfīs, conveys two possible meanings:

(1) the 'drawing forth' (abraza) of Possibilities dwelling without any distinction in the Divine Essence, and the production (ījād) of these Possibilities;

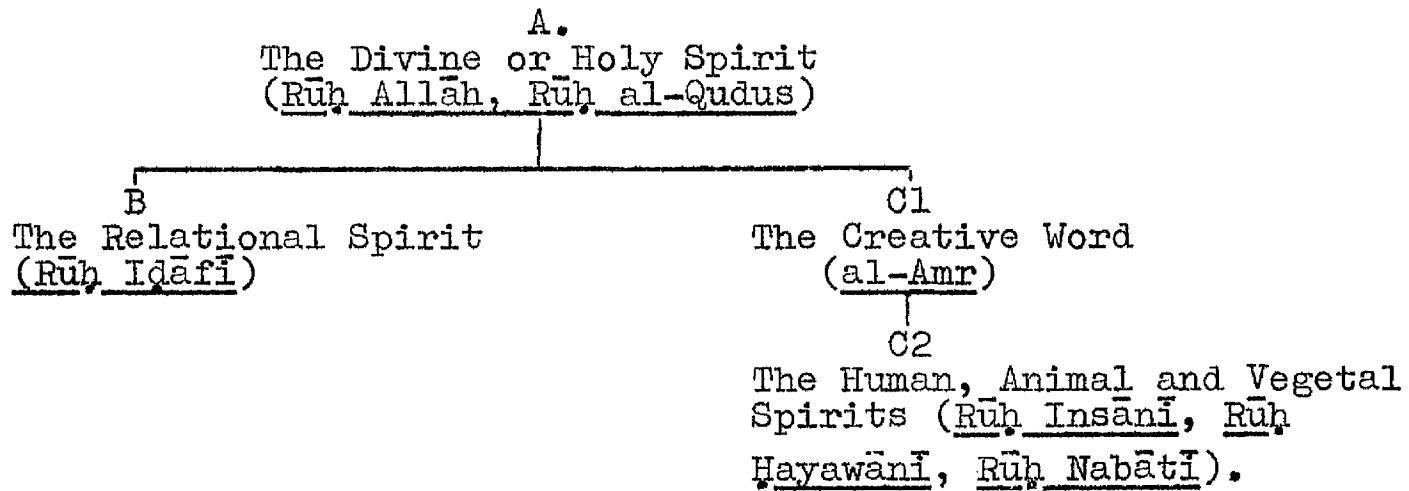
(2) their actualization as external existence (khalāqa)<sup>355</sup>. This cosmogony when transposed to the order of the Spirit corresponds in the case of (1) to the 'drawing forth' or manifestation of the Spirit (Relational Spirit: rūḥ idāfī) from the Holy Spirit or the Spirit of God (rūḥ Allāh); in the case of (2) it corresponds to the projection of the manifested Spirit and its particularization into human, animal and vegetal spirits. The former in the cosmogonical order can be envisaged as logically preceding the latter. In the case of the Spirit sometimes identified as being of the same nature as the Divine Command or Creative Word (al-Amr) and sometimes as proceeding from the Divine Command, its being uncreated or created depends upon the point of view from which it is envisaged. In this respect it corresponds to the Fixed Essences considered as a double faced Mirror explained earlier;<sup>356</sup> here the human, animal and vegetal spirits correspond to the exterior essences

---

355. See above, pp. 134-135.

356. See above, p. 139, (5).

(al-a'yānu'l-khārijīyyah). Both - the spirits and the exterior essences - have their 'locus' as it were in the third determination.<sup>357</sup> The schema of the Spirit is as follows:



B and C1 are, in relation to A, 'created' i.e. manifested as 'modes' of the Divine Spirit, but in relation to C2 are uncreated. C2 is created; it comes in the ontological level below the Creative Word.

In his verses, Ḥamzah conceives of the Spirit symbolically as the Luminous Bird (Unggas Nūrī),<sup>358</sup> the White (i.e. Pure) Bird (Unggas Pingai),<sup>359</sup> the Naked (i.e. bare of all relations and qualities) Bird (Ṭayr al-'Uryān),<sup>360</sup> and the Unique Fish (Ikan Tunggal).<sup>361</sup> The fish as a symbol of the Spirit is not as universal as the bird. The key to this symbolism lies in the Arabic word for fish: nūn. Nūn

357. See 2016, p.27; Sharāb, p.15.

358. 2016, p.71; Appendix V, (iv), (d) below.

359. Ibid., pp.72-73; Appendix V, (iv), (e) below.

360. Ibid., pp.68, 70; Appendix V, (iv), (b), (c) below.

361. Ibid., p.86. Appendix V, (iv), (f) below.

is also an abbreviated letter in the Qur'ān,<sup>362</sup> symbolizing the Divine Knowledge.<sup>363</sup> The symbolism of fish in Ḥamzah in this case must be understood to refer to the Spirit conceived as the Tablet or Universal Soul.<sup>364</sup> Now the Tablet, which Ḥamzah identifies as another aspect of the Spirit,<sup>365</sup> is also generally known among some Ṣūfīs including Jīlī as the Universal Soul (al-Nafs al-Kulliyyah),<sup>366</sup> In fact, Jīlī himself employs the same symbolism of fish (Ḥūt) for the Tablet.<sup>367</sup> The Tablet or Universal Soul is the Primary Substance, necessarily beyond form, corresponding to what Jīlī calls hayūlā derived from the Greek hylē and understood according to the Plotinian concept of Matter.<sup>368</sup> It is the complement of the Spirit and is to the Spirit as substance is to essence.<sup>369</sup> In the same manner as the Spirit and the Fixed Essences, the Soul, which also corresponds to the

---

362. 68:1.

363. Cf. Insānu'l-Kāmil, II, p.27.

364. See above, notes, 342, 345.

365. Asrār, p.41.

366. Insānu'l-Kāmil II, p.7.

367. Ibid., p.9.

368. Jīlī uses the term Ummu'l-Hayula, loc. cit; Inge I, pp.128, foll.; see also Plotinus, The Six Enneads, trans. by S. MacKenna and B.S. Page, University of Chicago, 1952, pp.50-57; for an outline of the system of Plotinus, see Zeller, pp.293-301; and Windelband, W., A history of philosophy, New York, 1953, pp.233-235, 237, 244-250. Hereafter cited as Enneads and Windelband respectively.

369. There is a concise and illuminating account of the Spirit in Burckhardt, pp.80-85.

Psychē of Plotinus,<sup>370</sup> can be envisaged at different levels in the hierarchy of existence, and this can cause one to be misled into thinking that one Ṣūfī writer contradicts another or even that different expositions by the same author are contradictory when the fact is to the contrary. Viewed in its true nature, the Soul (Nafs) and Spirit (Rūḥ) are one and identical with the Essence (Dhāt).<sup>371</sup> In the verses: Every thing is subject to perishing except His Face<sup>372</sup> and Every thing in it [i.e. the world of created things] suffers extinction and there remains the Face of your Lord ...<sup>373</sup> Ḥamzah, like Ibnu'l-'Arabī and Jīlī, identifies Face (wajh) as Essence (Dhāt).<sup>374</sup> This is so because the Wajh is the Self (Nafs) or Individuality (Huwiyyah) of the Essence.<sup>375</sup> It is also described by Ḥamzah as the inmost Self (Diri,

370. For a full account of the Psychē, see Inge I, pp.200 foll.

371. Cf. Insānu'l-Kāmil II, p.14. Ḥamzah asserts this implicitly in his prose works as well as in his verses relevant to the subject.

372. Qur'ān 28:88.

373. Ibid., 55:27.

374. On every occasion these two verses occur in the work of Ḥamzah; the word wajh is consistently interpreted as Dhāt; Asrār; Sharāb; Muntahī; 2016; 3374; 3372; passim.

375. Huwa denotes the Essence stripped of all attributes and dwelling in its Inmost Self indicated by the word Huwiyyah. It is also the Inmost Consciousness (sirr) of God. This is also referred to by Ṣūfīs symbolically as the Hidden Treasure (kanzan makhfiyyan) and is none other than the Self (Nafs, in Ḥamzah: Diri) of God.

Cf. Asrār, p.22; Sharāb, p.2; 2016, 35-37, 53-54, 58-59, 70-71, 82-83; Muntahī, p.III; Insānu'l-Kāmil I, pp.97-98.

i.e. Nafs, Huwiyyah) of Man<sup>376</sup> and inasmuch as the real essence of a thing is its 'Self', existence is constituted by the Self of God.<sup>377</sup>

As in the case of Ṣūfīs generally, Ḥamzah distinguishes sharply between the Soul considered as man's appetitive or sensual 'self' and the Spirit, but the Soul regarded as the spiritual self of man is ultimately not distinct from the Spirit.<sup>378</sup> In the Qur'ān, man's sensual self is expressed as al-nafsu'l-ammārah<sup>379</sup> (the soul which commands to do evil - the carnal soul) and al-nafsu'l-lawwāmah<sup>380</sup> (the soul which blames itself - the soul aware of its own imperfections). The reproachful (lawwāmah) soul is so called because it is still engaged in the struggle with the passions. After these passions have been vanquished, the soul is at peace and in certainty (yaqīn). In this condition the soul is regarded as man's spiritual self which is expressed in the Qur'ān as al-nafsu'l-muṭma'innah,<sup>381</sup> and Ḥamzah calls this the soul that has returned to its fount of origin - that is, it has become reintegrated in the Spirit.<sup>382</sup> In

376. This refers to the self mentioned in the saying of the Prophet: "Whosoever knows his self knows his Lord." Cf. Muntahī, p.111.

377. Asrār; Sharāb (esp. pp.10, 17-18); Muntahī, passim.

378. 2016, pp.39-40; 68-73.

379. Qur'ān, 12:53.

380. Qur'ān, 75:2.

381. Qur'ān, 89:27.

382. Muntahī, pp.125, 128, 130; Asrār, p.57; Qur'ān, 89:27-28; cf. Rūmī, Mathnawī. I, 566.

Ṣūfī psychology the three souls mentioned are known as (i) the animal or sensual; (ii) the intelligential (discursive reason); (iii) the transcendental (Universal Intellect) respectively.<sup>383</sup> The Soul is immortal,<sup>384</sup> and the saying of the Prophet: "Die before you die" refers to the vanquishment of the first two souls which are 'modes' of the Soul, in relation to which they are unreal, and attainment of the third soul to its original and true nature.<sup>385</sup>

The Spirit includes all the Divine Knowledge concerning created beings. Ḥamzah also calls it the Reality or Idea of Muḥammad (Ḥaqīqat Muḥammad),<sup>386</sup> which is identical with the First Intellect (al-'Aql al-Awwal), the analogue of the Logos.<sup>387</sup> God says in the Holy Tradition: I created Creation for thy sake and thee I created for My sake<sup>388</sup> -

383. Jīlī says that the soul is mentioned under five names: al-naḥsu'l-ḥaywāniyyah; al-naḥsu'l-ammārah; al-naḥsu'l-mulhimah; al-naḥsu'l-lawwāmah; and al-naḥsu'l-muṭma'innah respectively. (Insānu'l-Kāmil, II, pp.70-71).

384. Sharāb, p.17.

385. The meaning of 'death' in the above saying is synonymous with extinction of the self (fanā'). In the Muntahī, Ḥamzah deals exclusively with this theme revolving around the saying of the Prophet: "Whosoever knows his self knows his Lord." Cf. 2016, pp.53-54.

386. Asrār, p.43.

387. See above, p. 145, notes, 341, 342.  
Cf. Studies, 122, note 1.

388. Quoted in the Asrār, p.42.

and this means that everything comes into being from the Light of Muḥammad which comes into being from the Divine Essence. Were it not for this Divine Knowledge, God would not be outwardly manifest, and were it not for the Knower Muḥammad as the Logos would not become manifest. "I was a prophet when Adam was between water and clay"; "Adam is the father of the flesh and I am the father of the spirits"; "I am from<sup>389</sup> God and the Faithful are from me"; "I am from God and the World is from me"; "I am from the Light of God and the World is from my light."<sup>390</sup> Muḥammad as the Logos is the first created of God and is the Unique Prototype of all created beings. He is the Universal Man (Orang Kāmil: al-Insān al-Kāmil).<sup>391</sup> Ḥamzah implies that he uses the term orang kāmīl in two different senses: to refer to the Universal Man as noted above, or to the Perfect Man, that is, the saint who has entered fully into the state of extinction (fanā') and has gained subsistence in God (baqā').<sup>392</sup> This dual meaning attached to the idea of the Universal or Perfect

---

389. The word 'from' here and in the Sayings that follow, may be also interpreted as 'of'; cf. above, p. 147.

390. Cf. Asrār, pp.42-43.

391. Cf. Ibid., pp. 40-43; 2016, pp.27-28.

392. In 2016, pp.35, 71, 75, 79, 81; 3374, p.12, the word kāmīl refers to one who has attained to union with God; however, in ibid., pp.71-72, the word kāmīl refers to the Universal Man. Cf. also ibid., 65-66 (the reference to Qur'ān 55:19-20; 53:9) and Asrār, pp.40-41. For an explanation of this dual meaning attached to the term Insān al-Kāmil, see Burckhardt, pp.86-92.



Man corresponds to Man conceived as the macrocosm ('ālam kabīr) and microcosm ('ālam saghīr) respectively.<sup>393</sup> God as the Absolute realizes Himself in Man whom He created in His own image, the image of the Merciful,<sup>394</sup> and He returns to Himself through the medium of Man. The Perfect Man, reflecting and uniting the Divine Attributes, is he in whom God and Man become one.<sup>395</sup> Outwardly, then, Man is regarded as a

393. Asrār, p.47. 'Irāqī eloquently sums up Ibnu'l-'Arabī's conception of Man: 'Though Form,' he said, 'proclaims me Adam's son, /My true degree a higher place hath won. When in the glass of Beauty I behold, The Universe my image doth enfold: In Heaven's Sun behold me manifest - Each tiny molecule doth me attest My Essence true all holy Spirits prove, And in my Shape all human Forms do move. Ocean's a drop from my pervading Sea, Light but a flash of my vast Brilliancy: From Throne to Carpet, all that is doth seem Naught but a Mote that rides the sunlit Beam. When Being's Veil of Attributes is shed, My Splendour o'er a lustrous World is spread ...' (Lama'āt, p.327. The English translation is by A.J. Arberry, Sufism, pp.102-103).

394. Sharāb, pp.18-19; Asrār, p.47.

395. Cf. Jilī: "Man is the link between God and Nature. Every man is a copy of God in His perfection; none is without the power to become a perfect man. It is the Holy Spirit which witnesses to man's innate perfection, the spirit is man's real nature and within him is the secret shrine of the Divine Spirit. As God has descended into man, so man must ascend to God, and in the Perfect Man - the true saint, the Absolute Being, which has descended from its Absoluteness, returns again unto itself." (Insānu'l-Kāmil II, p.46(1966) the translation is by Margaret Smith, Readings from the mystics of Islam, London, 1950, p.119 (132)).

microcosm, but regarded essentially (i.e. in his inward nature as the Universal Man - the Reality or Idea of Muḥammad) he is the origin and final cause of creation which was brought into existence for his sake and through whom the purpose of creation is fulfilled.<sup>396</sup>

(f) The Divine Attributes and Names

Ḥamzah, again following Jīlī and Ibnu'l-'Arabī, controverts the view of the Doctors of Theology that the Attributes are neither the Essence nor other than the Essence.<sup>397</sup> Ḥamzah maintains that the Attributes are ultimately identical with the Essence. It is only out of human necessity - for convenience of understanding - that a distinction is made between the Attributes and the Essence accompanied, as it were, by division and plurality, but in reality the Attributes are the Essence manifesting Itself

396. Cf. above, pp. 146, 153-154.

397. Ṣifātu'llāh laysat 'ayna'l-dhāt wa lā ghayra siwāhu ... Sharāb, p.19; Asrār, p.24; also Taftāzānī, pp.49, 51-55. It seems that some early Sūfīs also hold the view that the Attributes are neither the Essence nor other than the Essence - cf. Kalābādhi, ch. VI.

under the aspect of 'externality'.<sup>398</sup> There are seven principal Attributes whose logical order Ḥamzah gives as (i) Life; (ii) Knowledge; (iii) Will; (iv) Power; (v) Speech; (vi) Hearing; (vii) Sight).<sup>399</sup> It has been pointed out earlier that Ḥamzah incorporates the views of Ibnu'l-'Arabī and Jīlī on the concept of the Divine Knowledge but that in his exposition he comes closer to Jīlī than to Ibnu'l-'Arabī.<sup>400</sup> It is also significant that Ḥamzah approaches Jīlī in his concept of God's Power (qudrah). According to Ibnu'l-'Arabī as reported by Jīlī, God's knowledge is determined by the things He knows as,<sup>401</sup> by way of analogy, the condition of

398. Cf. Asrār, pp.24, 49 and passim; Sharāb, passim; 2016, pp.84-85. Pure being, as such, (writes Nicholson commenting on Jīlī), has neither name nor attribute; only when it gradually descends from its absoluteness and enters the realm of manifestation, do names and attributes appear imprinted on it. The sum of these attributes is the universe, which is "phenomenal" only in the sense that it shows reality under the form of externality. Although, from this standpoint, the distinction of essence and attribute must be admitted, the two are ultimately one, like water and ice [see above, pp. 127, fdl]. The so-called phenomenal world - the world of attributes - is no illusion: it really exists as the self-revelation or other self of the Absolute. In denying any real difference between essence and attribute, Jīlī makes Being identical with Thought. The world expresses God's idea of Himself ... (Studies, p.83).

399. Cf. Asrār, pp.23-24, 27-34; Sharāb, p.19; for a discussion on the concept of Divine Knowledge held by Ḥamzah in relation to those of Ibnu'l-'Arabī and Jīlī, see above, pp.130-133.

400. See above, p. 132.

401. Insānu'l-Kāmil, I, p.76.

the sea is determined by the waves. But Ḥamzah says that the things He knows exist because of His knowledge of them - the condition of the waves is determined by the sea.<sup>402</sup> God's knowledge of things is not derived from the necessity of their natures - rather it is His knowing them that caused them to be objects of His Knowledge. The judgment that God has knowledge of things presupposes His possession of the power to have knowledge and exercise His Creative Word upon the things known, decreeing that every individual thing should be what its nature required it to be.<sup>403</sup> In saying that God decrees every individual thing should be what its nature required it to be, Ḥamzah follows Ibnu'l-'Arabī, and it must be understood that the true nature of every individual thing is none other than its Pure Potentiality (pl.: isti'dād aṣli) dwelling in the Divine Essence. The nature of every individual thing is determined by its predetermined capacity or potentiality. If God's Will and Power must work in accordance with this Law of Potentiality, does it not therefore imply that Will and Power are really denied Him? Ḥamzah's answer to this problem is an emphatic no. He says that, in interpreting the Quranic passage:

---

402. Asrār, pp. 36, 43.

403. Ibid., p.31; cf. Insānu'l-Kāmil I, pp.82-83; also Studies, pp.101-103, 149-161.

And if Allāh please He would certainly make you a single nation, but He causes to err whom He pleases and guides whom He pleases -<sup>404</sup>

God has the power to will what may seem contrary to the Law of Potentiality,<sup>405</sup> but God does not wish to exercise this power in order to preserve His Justice and Perfection.<sup>406</sup> Ḥamzah's understanding of what the Doctors of Theology mean when they say that God is All-Powerful is that nothing is impossible for God to do. To Ḥamzah, the impossible cannot be done by God for the simple reason that it is irrational to affirm such a thing.<sup>407</sup> Ḥamzah's stand in the well-known controversy about God's Attribute of Speech has already been indicated.<sup>408</sup> As to the Attribute of Hearing, Ḥamzah maintains, following Ibnu'l-'Arabī,<sup>409</sup> that it is closely related to Knowing on the authority of the Quranic verse:

---

404. Qur'ān 16:93.

405. Asrār, pp.45-46; Sharāb, pp.20 foll.

406. Sharāb, pp.22-23; Ibnu'l-'Arabī is of the same opinion - see Studies, p.151.

407. In order to give a clearer picture of Ḥamzah's concept of power and will (irādah), I propose in the next chapter to embark upon the subject following a semantic approach. This is, I think, important, for by revealing the nature of the conceptual structures of the words he uses in connection with the qudrah and the irādah, we will arrive at knowing exactly what Ḥamzah has in mind, without falling into the tantalizing possibility of reading our own interpretations into what he says. This approach is only a scientific device to confirm what we already know.

408. Cf. above, pp.91-93.

409. Cf. 'Affīfī, pp.43-44.

He is the All-Knowing.<sup>410</sup> God as the All-Knowing reveals Himself to Himself and He sees the Pure Potentialities within His Knowledge.<sup>411</sup> It is the eternal 'voice' (suara) or 'speech' (perkataan) of the Pure Potentialities that is heard by God the Knower.<sup>412</sup> Similarly in the verse:

And He giveth you  
Of all that ye ask for<sup>413</sup>

the asking refers to the 'asking' of the Pure Potentialities.<sup>414</sup> Seeing and Speaking is explained in a similar way.<sup>415</sup>

As the seven principal Attributes are ultimately identical with the Essence, they are eternal. They are the sum of all other Attributes which become manifest only at the instance of the Divine Command.<sup>416</sup> Jīlī's fourfold division of the Divine Natures and Attributes, i.e.:

- (1) Attributes of the Essence, e.g. Allāh, the Transcendent One (al-aḥad), the Immanent One (al-wāḥid), the Living One (al-ḥayy), the Light (al-nūr).
- (2) Attributes of Majesty (al-jalāl), i.e. the Almighty (al-'azīz), the Irresistable (al-qahhār), the One who Subdues (al-mudhill);

410. Qur'ān 2:137 and passim.

411. The Pure Potentialities are another aspect of Himself - i.e. He revealed Himself to Himself in the intelligible forms of the Many.

412. Asrār, p.32.

413. Qur'ān 14:34.

414. Asrār, pp.32-33.

415. Ibid., pp.27-29, 32-33.

416. Ibid., p.34.

- (3) Attributes of Perfection (al-kamāl), e.g. the Compassionate One (al-rahīm), the Wise One (al-hakīm), the First (al-awwal) and the Last (al-ākhir), the Outwardly Manifest (al-zāhir) and the Inwardly Hidden (al-bāṭin), the All-Embracing One (al-muḥīṭ);
- (4) Attributes of Beauty (al-jamāl), e.g. the Knowing One (al-'alīm), the Merciful One (al-rahīm), the Creator (Fashioner of the Universe: al-bāri'), the One who gives Strength (al-mu'izz), the Gracious One (al-laṭīf) -<sup>417</sup>

is also evident in Ḥamzah.<sup>418</sup> The Attributes - it has been stated earlier - are the Essence manifesting itself under the aspect of 'externality'. The Essence, in one or other of Its infinite aspects, manifests Itself in the 'form' of Divine Names. Attributes are therefore Divine Names manifested in the external world. There are two aspects of the Divine Names, the one opposed to the other, under the general heading of Beauty (jamāl) and Majesty (jalāl) and governed by Perfection (kamāl). Each Name produces an effect (athar) and all the Names are

... in continuous operation, and no cessation of such operation is possible for any of them. Thus, when one of the contingent substances [ḥaqā'iq-i-imkāniyyah],<sup>419</sup>

---

417. Cf. Insānu'l-Kāmil I, p.92.

418. Asrār, pp.38-40, 44-45, 46-48, 59; Sharāb, pp.20-23.

419. The reference here is to the theatre of manifestation (maḥzar) of Absolute Being where He manifests Himself in different degrees (sing. martabat). Cf. Ḥamzah (2016, p.68): Jika kau bacha kullu mau 'alāyhā fān. Wa yaboā wajhūrabbika juga ḥaqīqat al-imkān.

through the concurrence of the requisite conditions, and the absence of opposing conditions, becomes capable of receiving the Very Being, the mercy of the Compassionate One [rahmat-i-rahmāniyyah] takes possession of it, and the Very Being is 'infused' [ifāḏat] into it; and the Very Being thus 'externalized' through being 'clothed' with the effects [āthār] and properties of such substances, presents Himself under the 'form' of a particular determination [ta'ayyun-i-khāss], and reveals Himself [mutajallī] under the guise of this determination. Afterwards, by the operation of the irresistible Oneness [qahr-i-aḥadiyyah] which requires the annihilation of all determinations and all semblances of multiplicity, this same substance is stripped of these determinations. At the very moment that it is thus stripped, this same substance is reclothed with another particular determination, resembling the preceding one, through the operation of the mercy of the Compassionate One. The next moment this determination is annihilated by operation of the irresistible Oneness and another determination is formed by the mercy of the Compassionate One; and so on for as long as God wills. Thus, it never happens that the Very Being is revealed for two successive moments under the guise of the same determination. At every moment one universe is annihilated and another similar to it takes its place.<sup>420</sup>

The Divine Name Most Compassionate (al-Raḥmān), through which God out of His mercy (rahmat) first brought forth the universe,<sup>421</sup> embraces all things. In the Divine Act of

---

420. Jāmī's commentary of Ibnu'l-'Arabī's al-Faṣṣ al-Shu'aibiyyah (Fuṣūṣu'l-Hikam) in the Lawa'ih, pp.32-33. The English translation is by Whinfield. I have taken the liberty to modify the translation a little. Cf. also above, pp. 116-121, 123.

421. Cf. above, pp. 135-136.



Self-revelation (tajallī) His particularizations (takhsīṣ) embraces all; the Beautiful as well as the Majestic, good and evil, the believer and the unbeliever. Hence Rahmān is also the sum of His Majesty (jalāl) in contradistinction with His Name Most Merciful (al-Rahīm) through which He is particularized only in all that is Beautiful and good, particularly in prophets, saints and the righteous.<sup>422</sup>

(g) The meaning of 'extinction' (fanā') and its relation to gnosis (ma'rifah) and freedom (ikhtiyār):

Generally speaking, fanā' in Ḥamzah's mysticism may be conceived as either metaphysical (macrocosmic) or mystical (microcosmic). Metaphysically the universe as such is in a perpetual state of fanā' summed up in the saying: "God was and there was not anything with Him; He is now as He was then"<sup>423</sup> and in the Qur'ān: Everything in it [i.e. the universe] perishes and there remains the Face of your Lord ...<sup>424</sup> Now man as such is also in a perpetual state of fanā' - but he does not realize it due to the veil (hijāb) of consciousness set up by the carnal self (diri) between it and his true Self. The extinction of this consciousness of the carnal self is the fanā' referred to as mystical.

422. Asrār, p.40.

423. Ibid., p.26; Muntahī, p.111; cf. also above, p. 129.

424. Qur'ān 55:26-27; cf. Sharāb, p.18. For an interpretation of this verse see above, note, 282 above.

Whether metaphysical or mystical fanā' means "to annihilate all that is other than God" (melenyapkan segala ghayr Allāh).<sup>425</sup> It follows from this concept of extinction that the Ṣūfī term 'union' (waṣl -in Ḥamzah: bertemu) is simply a symbolical expression ('ibārat) whose meaning excludes the notion of the Ṣūfī in the state of fanā' becoming one with God.<sup>426</sup> Union alludes to the Ṣūfī's realization, when his illusory self has passed away, that he in his true Self has been, is and will always continue to be 'one with' God - or rather he is God, since God reveals Himself only to Himself.<sup>427</sup> The manner in which fanā' comes about is described by Jīlī thus:

When God desires to reveal Himself to a man by means of any Name or Attribute, He causes the man to pass away (fanā') and makes him naught and deprives him of his (individual) existence; and when the human light is extinguished and the creaturely spirit passes away, God puts in the man's body, without incarnation (ḥulūl), a spiritual substance, which is of God's essence and is neither separate from God nor joined to man,<sup>428</sup> in exchange for what He deprived him of; which substance is named the Holy Spirit (rūḥu'l-quḍus). And when God puts instead of the man a spirit of His own essence,

---

425. Asrār, p.67.

426. Ibid., pp.69,70,78.

427. Ibid., pp.67-68.

428. The concept of unity without incarnation in the relationship between God and the World (and Man) is clearly emphasized in Ḥamzah's writings, particularly for example in Sharāb, pp.13-14 (cf. above, p.37).

the revelation is made to that spirit. God is never revealed except to Himself, but we call that Divine spirit "a man" in respect of its being instead of the man. In reality there is neither "slave" nor "Lord", since these are correlated terms. When the "slave" is annulled, the "Lord" is necessarily annulled, and nothing remains but God alone.<sup>429</sup>

It can be seen from the above passage, which fits perfectly with Ḥamzah's concept of fanā', that fanā' is very closely connected with ma'rifah (gnosis). In Ṣūfīsm, as is well known, there exists a clear distinction between the concepts of ma'rifah and 'ilm (knowledge). The former, as can be deduced from the above quoted passage, includes in its meaning structure the notion of participation in God's knowledge of things, whereas the latter in the human context<sup>430</sup> means simply knowledge by inference. In Ḥamzah this clear-cut distinction between gnosis and knowledge is vividly stressed in his consistent use of the Malay words kenal to translate ma'rifah and tahu to translate 'ilm throughout his writings. I should also add that in Ḥamzah the words kenal and tahu in the mystical context are from the semantic point of view transparent words conceptually identical with ma'rifah and 'ilm respectively. The 'Object'

429. Insānu'l-Kāmil I, p.62. The English translation is by Nicholson (Studies, p.128). Cp. Ḥamzah in Asrār, p.67.

430. It is obvious that in the Divine context 'ilm cannot be knowledge by inference. Gnosis should also be understood in the human context, for what for man is gnosis is for God Knowledge.

of gnosis is not really the Allāh conceived as the highest manifestation of the Essence, the sum of all Names and Attributes enthroned in the seat of the Absolute; it is rather the Allāh conceived as the Lord (Al-Rabb) Who is worshipped (Tuhan).<sup>431</sup> The Holy Essence is beyond gnosis.<sup>432</sup> A very important concept closely linked with the meaning of gnosis is that of nearness to God (qurb - in Ḥamzah: hampir). Ḥamzah distinguishes between four types of nearness:

- i) nearness in point of time (zamān): we are nearer to Muḥammad than to Jesus;
- ii) nearness in point of place (makān): we are nearer to the moon than to the Pleiades;
- iii) nearness in respect of qualities (sifāt): Abū Yazīd al-Bisṭāmī was nearer than 'Utbah and Shaybah to the Prophet in respect of his qualities, although 'Utbah and Shaybah were nearer to the Prophet in point of time and place.
- iv) nearness to God.

This last type of nearness cannot be described and comprehended in the ordinary sense; it is the type of nearness that can be known only through gnosis.<sup>433</sup> It is the nearness

431. A typical example in which this doctrine is clearly outlined is the often quoted saying of the Prophet: "Man 'arafa nafsahu fa qad 'arafa rabbahu": "Whosoever knows his self knows his Lord."

432. Asrār, pp.26-27; Sharāb, p.14. This is not necessarily contradicted by what is said in p.165, above: "God is never revealed except to Himself," for as the Prophet said: "Glory to Thee! we cannot really know Thee", and ibnu'l-'Arabī said: Gnosis is a veil between the knower and the known." See also above, note, 430.

433. For a discussion on the concept of nearness, see the chapter on gnosis in the Sharāb, pp.11-14.

described in the Qur'ān as 'a distance of two bow-lengths or even nearer' (qāba qawsayni aw adnā),<sup>434</sup> alluding to the first of two visions of the Truth which the Prophet had during the Night Journey (isrā').<sup>435</sup> The Ṣūfīs usually interpret the two bow-lengths to mean two bows whose ends meet thus forming a circle symbolizing the circle of mystical union (waṣl: bertemu). In this sense 'nearness' also means the nearness of 'union'.<sup>436</sup> Since the Essence of God and His Knowledge embraces every thing, God is near to all His creatures irrespective of whether they are believers or infidels, good or evil; but He is particularly near - in the mystical sense here meant - only to the prophets, saints and

434. Qur'ān 53:9. See also in Ḥamzah's verses 2016, pp.65-68, (Appendix V(v)).

435. Ḥamzah's treatise entitled Muntahī deals mainly with the subject of gnosis. The title of the treatise refers to the second vision of the Truth which the Prophet had during the Night Journey near the Lote Tree of the Uttermost End (sidrati'l-muntahā: Qur'ān 53:14-18). For my interpretation of the title of the treatise, see below, pp.365-369. A very important and relevant commentary on the Sūrah of the Qur'ān referred to here is given in Shaykh Ahmad al-'Alawī's Lubab al-'Ilm fī Sūrat Wa'l-Najm discussed in Lings, pp.171-175.

436. In 2016, p.66, Ḥamzah says [literally]:

The people of qāba qawsayn are as in an enclosure  
The string dividing it [i.e. the enclosure] is not mere thread  
That which spans across [the enclosure] is called a barrier  
Thou must see that the three of them are one.

The circle of the two bow-lengths is also well-known in the writings of Shamsu'l-Dīn of Pasai and some 17th century tracts on mysticism. See also Asrār, p.40.

the righteous among the believers.<sup>437</sup> In other words, nearness to God can only be applicable to those who have reached the station of mystical poverty (faqr)<sup>438</sup> or slavehood ('ubūdiyyah).<sup>439</sup> Although it is nowhere explicitly stated in Ḥamzah's writings, it is clearly implicit in them all - particularly in the Muntahī - that he upholds the doctrine that the finality of gnosis is attained not in the state of complete fanā', but in that in which the individuality still persists - there is still consciousness of self, so that the inward eye of the heart (fu'ād) is coordinated harmoniously with the outward eye such as the experience the Prophet had in his second vision near the Lote Tree of the Uttermost End.<sup>440</sup> Complete fanā', or fanā' in the Divine

437. Sharāb, pp.13-14. This presence of God in all creation and His particular presence in some of his creatures only is also manifested in the roles of the Divine Names Rahmān and Rahīm. See Asrār, p.40.

438. See above, p.83 the reference to 'poverty' and references in note, 179.

439. The 'ābid is he who has attained to the station of al-nafsu'l-muṭma'innah (Qur'ān 89:27), see above, pp. 152-153.

440. See above, note 435. The concept of gnosis necessarily implies the persistence of some kind of consciousness of individuality in the man who experiences it (see above, note 430), and seems to me to exclude the notion of complete fanā'. Whether gnosis is a station (maqām) or a state (ḥāl) it is difficult to draw a clear line. It seems to mark a transition complete from station to state. The distinction between station and state has been clearly drawn by the early Ṣūfī writers on doctrine such as Abū Naṣr al-Sarrāj (d. 378/988 - Kitāb al-Luma' fi'l-Taṣawwuf, edited by R.A. Nicholson, London, 1963, and Abū'l-Qāsim al-Qushayrī (d. 465/1072 - Risālah, a skeleton analysis of which appears in Ṣūfism, pp.74-79.

Essence, which the Prophet experienced in his first vision, is attained only after successive stages of fanā' from the Divine Effects (āthār), Actions (af'āl), Names (asmā'), and Attributes (ṣifāt).<sup>441</sup> Ḥamzah is here summarizing briefly Jīlī's systematic account of the mystical ascent or return to the Absolute.<sup>442</sup>

One of the most important concepts closely connected with fanā' and, from a philosophical point of view, with the problem of ethics and morality is that of human freedom (ikhtiyār). If man as such and the external world that confronts him are viewed metaphysically as being in a perpetual state of fanā', then all acts including human action are in reality metaphorical. Action implies that it proceeds from an agent who wills and has knowledge of the thing willed, and this Ghazzālīan concept of agent is explained thus:

... If we assume an event which is based on two facts, the one voluntary and the other involuntary, the mind relates the act to the voluntary fact. Language expresses itself in the same way, for if a man were to throw another into the fire and kill him, it is the man who would be called his killer, not the fire. If, however, the term were used in the same sense of the voluntary and the non-voluntary, why should the killer be related to the voluntary, by language,

---

441. Asrār, pp.72-73.

442. Asrār, pp.66-75; Insānu'l-Kāmil I, pp.56-73; Studies, pp.125-130.

usage, and reason, although the fire was the proximate cause of the killing, and the man who threw the other into the fire did nothing but bring man and fire together? Since, however, the bringing together is a voluntary act and the influence of the fire non-voluntary, the man is called a killer and the fire only metaphorically so. This proves that the word 'agent' is used of one<sup>443</sup> whose act proceeds from his will ...

Now Ḥamzah's concept of agent and will is similar to what al-Ghazzālī has explained:

... Take the example of an ironsmith. He has with him a piece of iron, a heritage from his ancestors. The potentiality of the iron is that it is suitable for fashioning into a keris.<sup>444</sup> He perceives with his knowledge that the iron is suitable for fashioning into a keris and so he forges it into a keris. Having forged it into a keris, he then uses it. After a time he stabs a person with the keris. The act proceeds from the wielder of the keris, and not from the keris. From the beginning to the end [of the event] the act proceeds from the wielder<sup>445</sup> of the keris, not from the keris ...

The concept of agent and action held by al-Ghazzālī and Ḥamzah is identical, but al-Ghazzālī's analogy aimed at refuting the philosophers serves a philosophical context where man as such is regarded as real and his actions refer to realities; whereas Ḥamzah's analogy serves a metaphysical context where man as such and the external world around him

443. Tahāfut, p.67; Tahāfut al-Tahāfut, p.95.

444. A Malay dagger.

445. Asrār, p.46.



are in a perpetual state of fana', and his actions are therefore metaphorical. Man, in Ḥamzah's analogy, is the keris whose 'action' does not proceed from will, choice, and knowledge of the thing willed. Like the fire's 'action', that of the keris is non-voluntary. God is the wielder of the keris, the true Agent of Whom alone can action in the true sense of the word be predicated.<sup>446</sup> He is like the Khayyāmian Player in the chess game of existence, mankind the impotent pieces He moves and checks and slays.<sup>447</sup> Man is what he is according to his predetermined capacity as subsisting in God's Knowledge.<sup>448</sup> In other words, the ground of determination of the will in man lies in his Pure Potentiality (pl. isti'dād aṣlī) which in virtue of its subsisting in God's Knowledge is not distinct from God Himself. Hence God - or from man's point of view his true Self - is the Agent of his actions. It follows from this that it is only when man's lower self has been successfully effaced and his true Self realized that he can properly speaking be said to possess freedom, for he is then his Lord. It is unfortunate that many scholars of Ṣūfism, particularly the Western orientalists, have tended to regard the Ṣūfī account of the vexed question of determination and freedom in a rather naive manner, posing philosophical problems and exposing

---

446. Ibid., pp.45-46.

447. Ibid., pp.76-77.

448. Ibid., pp.35-39.

contradictions out of the formulation of Ṣūfī concepts which they themselves have constructed. Having decided that to their minds the Ṣūfī solution to the problem is "unsatisfactory" and its "paradoxes more glaring", they would then pose the rhetorical question: "How can moral obligation have a place in such a system? Who is morally responsible and before whom is anybody responsible when the 'judge' and the 'judged' are one?"<sup>449</sup> They ought to realize that, from the Ṣūfī point of view, if they persist in applying philosophical concepts which seem to recall Zeno and Epictetus, they would never arrive at a "satisfactory" solution to the problem. In any case, the philosophical glass through which they hope to see the Truth inevitably causes them - to use the words of Rūmī - to "see double"; hence, for them the 'paradoxes' are 'more glaring'. However, speaking from a strictly philosophical point of view, it seems to me obvious that they are not Kantians, for had they been they would have seen that one of the most profound concepts of freedom and its relation to morality Western philosophy has ever produced, formulated in Kant's second Critique, is perhaps the most relevant to the Ṣūfī interpretation to the problem. Owing to the great importance attached to this problem and

---

449. 'Affīfī, here ('Affīfī, p.153), raises the same objection as that raised by the orientalist I have alluded to. His treatment of Ibnu'l-'Arabī seems to me irreverant and naive.

to the need to understand Ḥamzah's conception of freedom and its relation to morality, which is in fact a very sketchy summary of Ibnu'l-'Arabī's and Jīlī's ideas, I consider it worthwhile to give here a brief analytical summary of Kant's conception of freedom, if only to point out parallels in the Ṣūfī conception of freedom and to show that the "solution" is not so simple that philosophers could hope for a "satisfactory" account, unconfused by "glaring paradoxes".

In Kant, pure reason and practical reason are aspects of one and the same reason. Each aspect has its particular domain or field of reference. The theoretical use of reason concerned with objects of the merely cognitive faculty<sup>450</sup> and its practical use deals with the grounds determining the will.<sup>451</sup> A clear distinction is drawn between two types of will: the empirical and the transcendental, each corresponding to the doctrines of happiness and morality respectively. Will and action that are directed to particular objects and relations of experience are determined by practical motives (practical precepts, maxims). The transcendental will, that is, will viewed in the aspect of pure practical reason, is

---

450. "The categories as yielding knowledge of things, have no kind of application, save only in regard to things which may be objects of possible experience." (Critique of pure reason, translated by N.K. Smith, Macmillan, London, 1961, p.162).

451. Critique of practical reason, translated with an introduction by L.W. Beck, Liberal Arts Press, New York, 1956, p.15. Hereafter cited as Practical reason.

not determined by empirical motives, but by itself. This will must necessarily be directed towards something other than natural impulses and this 'something' is duty.<sup>452</sup> The good or virtuous action is therefore that which conforms to the good will - the will determined by the sense of duty. Such a will refers not to actions together with their external consequences, rather to disposition. Morality is then the disposition conformable to duty. That there is such a thing as an a priori command of duty is proven by the very nature of the two types of will; the empirical being heteronomous and the transcendental autonomous. Necessity is attached to the moral law and it is this quality that makes it a command - a categorical imperative.<sup>453</sup> The categorical imperatives demand of one to act according to maxims that can be adapted for a universal legislation for all beings who will rationally.<sup>454</sup> From this it follows that the self-determination of the rational or transcendental will is the supreme prerequisite of morality. By self determination is meant the power to begin a series of the conditioned, and

---

452. Practical reason, pp.32-33.

453. Ibid., pp.18-19, 32-33.

454. Ibid., p.30: ... Act that the maxim of your will could always hold at the same time as a principle establishing universal law. Cf. pp. 30-31.

this power, with reference to the will, is called freedom.<sup>455</sup> Freedom is established not by theoretical (pure) reason,<sup>456</sup> but by a postulate of practical reason. Freedom is possibility which in its final form is developed into an object of faith. This faith is universally and necessarily valid in the domain of the supersensible in the same manner as the principles of the understanding are valid in the realm of the sensible world.<sup>457</sup> The will may be subject to laws of a system of nature (as in the case of the empirical), or it may, on the

---

455. The existence of such a power Kant establishes thus:

Since the mere form of a law can be thought only by reason and is consequently not an object of the senses and therefore does not belong among appearances, the conception of this form as the determining ground of the will is distinct from all determining grounds of events according to the law of causality, for these grounds must themselves be appearances. Now, as no determining ground of the will except the universal legislative form can serve as a law for it, such a will must be conceived as wholly independent of the natural law of appearances in their mutual relations, i.e. the law of causality. Such independence is called freedom in the strictest, i.e. transcendental, sense. Therefore, a will to which only the legislative form of the maxim can serve as a law is a free will.

Ibid., p.28.

456. Since theoretical reason is concerned merely with things which may be objects of possible experience. See above, note 450.

457. It is in connection with this necessary and universal belief that freedom does occur, and must continue to occur, that Kant alludes to when he says that the reality of freedom is proved by an apodictic law of practical reason. (Ibid., p.3).

other hand, subject a system of nature to it (as in the case of the transcendental). In the case of the former, the objects must be the cause of the conceptions which determine the will, whereas in the case of the latter, the will is the cause of the objects.<sup>458</sup> To assert that causality as freedom, which pertains to man as noumenon, can be united with causality as natural necessity, which pertains to man as an existent determined in a spatio-temporal order, is contradictory, for in the case of causality as natural necessity, every event and action which occurs at a certain point of time is necessary under what preceded it. In this order of nature, all actions are never free even if such actions are assumed to be independent of any external cause and have their determining grounds within one's self. Hence, causality as freedom must never be attributed to man as phenomenon, for if it were, it would then be mere subservience to haphazard chance, and its concept as causality would contain no meaning and would indeed be an impossible one. Since both these mutually incompatible concepts are united in one being and in the same action of that being, Kant's solution to the

---

458. Ibid., p.46.

problem posed<sup>459</sup> is that the necessity of the causality determined in a spatio-temporal order lies not within or without the subject, or that if it lies within the subject it originates in the instinct or in ideas, for were this so then one would still have to admit that since instinct and ideas themselves are part of the spatio-temporal order, all determinations arising from them would still be under the inexorable law of natural necessity.<sup>460</sup> Although the acting subject as phenomenon is always determined in his actions by natural necessity, he at the same time, as noumenon, feels that natural necessity does not touch him, and that

459. Ibid., p.99. This is the second of the two points of weighty criticism levelled against the first Critique which Kant sets out to clarify in the second Critique. These are:

- 1) The reality of the categories as applied to noumena, which is denied in theoretical knowledge but affirmed in practical;
- 2) The paradoxical demand to regard one's self, as subject to freedom, as noumenon, and yet from the point of view of nature to think of one's self as phenomenon in one's own empirical consciousness.

Ibid., p.6.

460. Kant dismisses as illusory the psychological theory of motivation as an inner force of the acting rational being as such actions, caused by the association of ideas, would still imply natural necessity, and they therefore exclude the possibility of freedom. It would follow that morality is nothing but a contrivance of our own deception since morality gives purpose to our actions and implies responsibility in actions. The sense of responsibility is absent in the psychological theory, and this very absence is the indicator of its own contradiction, for psychologically the sense of responsibility is very real and manifests itself in the conscience. Ibid., pp.101ff. Cf. also p.96.

the laws which determine his existence are legislated by him through reason. In this existence his will soars freely unfettered by time, and every changing act of willing or determination of his existence is felt as a result - an effect, not a cause - of his causality as a noumenon. Here, then, he imputes to himself as noumenon the evil actions he does as phenomenon, for he could have prevented their occurrence in spite of the determinations of the past and of the knowledge that natural necessity had decreed their coming to pass. He feels himself to be the cause, in his consciousness as a thing-in-itself, of every action he does, and the entire past history which determines it, for it is he as noumenon who moulds his own character and all its creations. The solution is then to assert that man has a dual nature, each corresponding to the two types of will and to noumenon and phenomenon; a denial of this assertion would be a self-contradiction of reason itself.<sup>461</sup> But there is yet a difficult problem in connection with this idea of

---

461. The union of causality as freedom with causality as the mechanism of nature, the first being given through the moral law and the latter through natural law, and both related to the same subject, man, is impossible unless man is conceived by pure consciousness as a being in itself in relation to the former, but by empirical reason as appearance in relation to the latter. Otherwise, the self-contradiction of reason is unavoidable - Ibid., p.6, note 3. The self-contradiction of reason Kant speaks of here is further explained in the Analytic of Pure Practical Reason. See ibid., pp.97-99.



freedom in the sense of a natural mechanism to which a temporal being is subjected: the connection between God the First Cause and man. Since God is the cause of everything and man depends upon Him absolutely for his existence, is it not true to conclude that man's actions too are therefore determined by something outside his power? The crux of the matter here again lies in the dichotomy of man's nature, and in the nature of the noumenal and phenomenal worlds to which it corresponds. Space and time, which are attributes of the existence of phenomena and appearances, are not attributes of the existence of God or the existence of noumena and things-in-themselves. God is not the cause of man's actions in the spatio-temporal order, nor is He the creator of appearances. When we say God is creator, we must mean that He is creator of noumena and things-in-themselves. It is the thing -in-itself in man that, in his existence as appearance, creates his actions. However, it is precisely at this point in Kant's conception of freedom that he is at his weakest, for in reality he has not really solved the enigma of the relationship between God and man, and the extent of man's freedom in such a relationship. Indeed, the contradiction in Kant's conception of freedom with reference to the relationship between God and man becomes apparent when his conception of morality, which is closely connected with the concept of freedom is summoned forth for scrutiny.

By means of his conception of the Summum Bonum or Highest Good<sup>462</sup> Kant proceeds to bring closer to a firmer and more elaborate bond the compulsory relationship between the moral and the sensuous worlds. The transcendental will or ethical will, which has itself as the determining ground of action (categorical imperatives), sets as its end virtue; the empirical will or sensuous will, determined by empirical motives (hypothetical imperatives), sets as its end happiness. The ends of virtue and happiness fit into each of man's dual nature of noumenon and phenomenon respectively. The Highest Good in man, or that which man must endeavour to attain, is a union of virtue and happiness. The relationship between the objects of the ethical and sensuous will (i.e. virtue and happiness) is not one of end to means, and it must be emphasized that the sensuous will, upon whose principles happiness depends, can never be made a condition, no matter how indirectly, of the ethical principle, for this would annihilate the very idea of morality.<sup>463</sup> The concept of the

---

462. Ibid., pp.114-117.

463. An antinomy arises in practical reason, similar to the conflict between natural necessity and freedom in the causation of events in the world found in the antinomy of pure speculative reason (ibid., pp.117-118) but Kant resolves this by pointing out that man has a dual nature and that he, as noumenon, possesses the transcendental (ethical) will making it not improbable for that will to create a relation with the empirical (sensuous) will that causes happiness to be an effect in the phenomenal world. But the relation created by the transcendental will is an indirect one; it is one in which the divine hand takes part (ibid., p.119).

Highest Good presumes that the world of sense alone cannot be sufficient to the Highest Good. If man were to have an ethical consciousness, then faith must soar beyond the empirical realm - and even beyond nature itself - into the supersensuous. The Highest Good "is the necessarily highest end of a morally determined will and a true object thereof," yet this morally determined will (the transcendental will) does not in reality have itself as the determining ground of action, for in the case of the attainment of the Highest Good it has its determining ground in God.<sup>464</sup> The extent of man's freedom is meant, in the strictest sense, the power of the will alone to determine itself<sup>465</sup> then surely in this case that is not true. How, then, in the case of the Highest Good, can the denial be fully affirmed of the assertion that since God is the cause of everything and man depends upon Him absolutely for his existence, man's actions are determined by something beyond his power? Alluding to the problem of freedom and morality and its connection with the relationship between God and man, Kant himself is forced to admit that:

The solution which is given here to the difficulty will be said to have so much difficulty in it, however, that it is hardly susceptible of a lucid interpretation. But is any other solution, which anyone has attempted or may attempt, any easier or more comprehensible?<sup>466</sup>

---

464. See above, note, 463.

465. Practical Reason, p.28.

466. Ibid., p.106.

To return now to the Ṣūfīs and to Ḥamzah. Regarded from a strictly Ṣūfī point of view, Kant's difficulty lies in his obstinate refusal to "see" what Shabistarī would say "only One," and in his persistence in "seeing double." Kant affirms a kind of dualism of noumena on the one hand and God on the other, which he so conceives in order to save human freedom and explain away the doctrine of morality. For the Ṣūfīs, the question of human freedom is a pseudo-problem and, so long as the dualism of man as 'noumenon' and God is clung to tenaciously, the question can never be "satisfactorily" resolved. Among the Western philosophers, one who would approximate the Ṣūfī view in this matter is Spinoza, who explains this root of the greatest errors in philosophy as lying in our anthropocentric vision of nature and reality.<sup>467</sup> While that there is some semblance of correspondence in Kant's concept of appearance (phenomenon) and reality (noumenon) with Ḥamzah's concept of Divine Effects (āthār) - that is, external exist/<sup>-ence</sup> (wujūd khārijī) - and real existence (wujūd ḥaqīqī) respectively, each corresponding to the two natures of man, yet the Ṣūfī concept of appearance and reality would correspond more again with Spinoza's concept of the natura naturata and the natura naturans.<sup>468</sup> The Ṣūfīs

---

467. See his Ethics, translated by W.H. White, revised by A.H. Stirling, Great Books of the Western World, 1952, vol.31, Appendix, Pt.I, pp.369-372.

468. See Spinoza, op.cit., pp.355foll; prop. 29, p.366.

would never predicate of the noumena an existence independent of God and it follows therefore that for them the Kantian transcendental will which has its determining ground in the realm of noumena must be attributed to God alone. All action, whether in the phenomenal or noumenal worlds, whether resulting from the instinct or the so-called will, come to pass only through God's Will.<sup>469</sup> The true religion, that is, Islām, is subservience to this Will of God, which can be perfectly realized only when man has succeeded in effacing his sensual self to gain the higher Selfhood.<sup>470</sup> It would follow from this that freedom, as according to Spinoza, is knowledge, or rather in the Ṣūfī understanding of it, it is gnosis. It has been said earlier that man is what he is according to his predetermined capacity as subsisting in God's Knowledge and that the ground of determination of the will lies in his Pure Potentiality (pl. isti'dād aṣlī) which in virtue of its subsisting in God's Knowledge is not distinct from God Himself. The Will of God and this Law of Potentiality is one and the same reality diversely phrased.

---

469. Hamzah in support of this doctrine, quotes Qur'ān, 2:186; 4:78; 8:17; 37:96; 48:10; 50:16; etc.; the saying of the Prophet that not one single atom moves except by God's permission; the injunction of the Prescribed Law that good and evil are from God. See, for example, Asrār, p.44; Sharāb, p.22.

470. An interpretation of Qur'ān, 3:10. Asrār, p.74.

A man is good or evil according to whether his Pure Potentiality proceeds from the Divine Attributes of Beauty (jamāl) or Majesty (jalāl) respectively.<sup>471</sup> From the point of view of reality, however, there is no such a thing as absolute evil since the real nature of every thing is not distinct from God, and God is good and inclines to goodness.<sup>472</sup> The question of moral responsibility in this world and of future reward and punishment is very closely connected with belief in the possibility of human freedom as faith (īmān), and this faith, apart from assuming that man has the capacity to obey or disobey the Divine Command embodied in the religious law (sharī'ah), means also faith in the existence of the afterlife as revealed in the religious law. In spite of his knowing that this world and the next possess no real existence in relation to God, man must still have faith in their existence, for this is the basis of morality.<sup>473</sup>

---

471. Sharāb, pp.21-22. See also above, pp.160 - 163.

472. Asrār, pp.38, 44-45. Compare with Rūmī, Mathnawī II, 2535, 2928; IV, 65; I, 3201.

473. See Asrār, pp.51-52; Sharāb, p.23. It seems to me that the connection between freedom and faith in the Kantian sense and Kant's philosophy of the 'as if' (als ob) upon which he bases his doctrine of morality, echoes to a certain extent what the Ṣūfīs have in mind. See Practical reason, pp.28-42. Ḥamzah does not make a clear distinction between the Divine uncreated will (mashī'ah), which decrees nothing that does not come to pass, and the Divine command (amr), which is the religious law as Ibnu'l-'Arabī had done. Disobedience to the religious law is what we call 'sin'. The Divine

---

will cannot be disobeyed:

In reality the Divine will decrees only the coming into existence of the act itself and is not directed towards the agent in whom the act is manifested. That the act should not occur is impossible, but in the individual who is its locus (i.e., the particular agent) it is sometimes named "obedience to the Divine Command" and sometimes "disobedience to the Divine Command," and is followed by praise or blame accordingly. (Studies, p.158)

Reward and punishment in the future life may be regarded as effects of obedience or disobedience to the Divine Command but the more profound view is that God Himself feels the pleasure or pain (op.cit., p.158 and note 5). See also Mathnawī III, 1362. The power or capacity in man to obey or disobey the Divine command has also been discussed from a theological point of view by al-Ash'arī in his Kitāb al-Luma', chapter 6 (al-Ash'arī, pp.76-96). A most recent study on the concept of belief in Islamic theology: Izutsu, T., The concept of belief in Islamic theology, Tokyo, 1965.

# CHAPTER IV

## HAMZAH'S CONCEPT OF THE DIVINE WILL (IRĀDAH) AS DEMONSTRATED IN HIS APPLICATION OF THE MALAY WORD HENDAK.

Before we embark upon the subject of this chapter, it is necessary to make a preliminary analysis of the word hendak in order to ascertain the dominant elements in the conceptual structure of that word. This preliminary analysis is based upon a thorough study of the various contexts in which the word hendak appears in its several linguistic forms in literary works covering a period from the time of Ḥamzah and earlier to that of 'Abdu'llāh Munshī and the present day, and in the spoken language of today. In that part of the period not contemporaneous with modern times, I have consulted literary works of varied nature and topic: the writings of Ḥamzah, Shamsu'l-Dīn of Pasai, Rānīrī, 'Abdu'l-Ra'ūf of Singkil and some seventeenth century tracts on Ṣūfism; the Sejarah Melayu; Hikayat Aceh, Hikayat Hang Tuah; some eighteenth century manuscripts on Ṣūfism from Aceh, Riau and Trengganu; the Hikayat Pelayaran series of Abdu'llāh; in contemporary times, I have consulted the writings of the Angkatan' 45 of Indonesia. On the spoken language, I have relied on my own knowledge of the language as it is spoken in Malaya, with particular reference to Johore, and in Indonesia.



On the basis of this 'sample' study of the meaning of hendak as it appears in its several linguistic forms in literary works of varied nature and topic covering a period of five hundred years, I have reasons to come to the conclusion that the word has undergone very little semantic change. On the other hand, the word mahu, which bears a close connection in meaning with the word hendak, has undergone considerable semantic change. In the early writings, mahu appears less than hendak, and generally mostly in the negative form preceded by the word of negation tidak. Further, the verbal noun kemahuan does not occur then. This form is in my opinion the product of modern times dominated by Western concepts of will as response to man-made or man-induced challenges. It is particularly evident in the Indonesian weltanschauung more than in the Malayan and this may be attributed to the fact that Indonesia has maintained longer cultural contact with the West than has Malaya. Certain important and relevant methodological concepts that I have brought to bear on this study of the conceptual structures of hendak and mahu are outlined in the next chapter and need not deter us here. In analyzing the meaning of the word hendak as it is applied in sentences in various ways, the conceptual pictures the mind sees are the models

of the realities described.<sup>474</sup>

(a) The conceptual structure of hendak.

The word hendak as a verb considered by itself without affixes conveys meanings such as to wish,<sup>474</sup> or to

474. Cf. Wittgenstein, L., Tractatus Logico-philosophicus, rendered into English by C.K. Ogden with an introduction by Bertrand Russell, London, 1962, p.39, no.212. See also nos. 2.1, 2.11, 2.13, 2.131, 2.14, 2.141, 2.15, 2.151, 2.1511, 2.1512, 2.1513, 2.1514, 2.1515, 2.16, 2.161, 2.17, 2.171, 2.172, 2.173, 2.174, 2.18, 2.181, 2.182, 2.2, 2.22, 2.221, 2.222, 2.223, 2.224, 3, 3.03; see also Wittgenstein's Philosophical investigations (in 2 parts), translated by G.E.M. Anscombe, Oxford, 1963, pt.1, para.139foll. Hereafter cited as Philosophical investigations. The picture theory of meaning has been criticized by Daitz, E., in Essays in conceptual analysis, selected and edited by Antony Flew, London, 1956, chapter III. Daitz has, however, misinterpreted Wittgenstein and attacked the theory of meaning of words. Wittgenstein's theory is that of sentence meaning and not word meaning. See Stenius, E., Wittgenstein's 'Tractatus', Oxford, 1960, chapter VII, also note 1 on p.137.

475. E.g. Raja Kida Hindi speaks to his Prime Minister about his daughter Shahru'l-Bariyyah:

Ketahui olehmu, bahwa aku memanggil engkau ini, aku hendak bertanya bichara kepadamu: bahwa anakku yang tiada taranya seorangpun anak raja-raja pada zaman ini, itulah hendak aku persembahkan kepada raja Iskandar.

Literally:

Know that I now summon you to draw near to me [because] I wish to discuss with you a certain question: that my daughter, who has no equal among the daughters of the kings of this age, she it is whom I wish to present to Alexander.

Sejarah Melayu, ed. T.D. Situmorang and Prof. Dr. A. Teeuw, Djakarta, 1958, p.5. This edition of the Sejarah Melayu is taken from 'Abdu'llāh's text. According to Winstedt (Historians of Southeast Asia, London, 1962, p.24), the Sejarah Melayu is written between the end of the 15th century and the beginning of the 16th century. The author apparently knew Sanskrit, Tamil, Persian and

want,<sup>476</sup> or to intend or purpose;<sup>477</sup> but whatever the meaning

Arabic, some Chinese, Portuguese and Siamese. The author was not only a medieval scholar, but also a literary artist as well, and one who was familiar with his times and cultural environment. Hereafter cited as Sejarah Melayu.

476. E.g. Tun Teja asks the ladies of Melaka:  
Hendak kemana tuan-tuan sekalian ini?

Literally:

Where do you all want to go?

Hikayat Hang Tuah, ed. Dinas Penerbitan Balai Pustaka, Djakarta, 1956, p.219. This is one of the most important and widely read works in Malay literature. It was written about the 17th century (an exact date is not found), and it tells of the heroic exploits of Hang Tuah, the Malay Laksamana (admiral) of Melaka. Most of the stories connected with Hang Tuah are quite legendary. According to the Hikayat, Hang Tuah was a contemporary of Gajah Mada, the famous Mapatih (chief minister of Majapahit (14th century)). Hereafter cited as Hang Tuah.

477. E.g. Maka kira-kira pukul empat petang keluarlah hendak berlayar.

Literally:

At about four o'clock in the evening [we] set out intending to sail.

And:

Maka sebarang itu juga datanglah sebuah sampan hilir dari sungai, ada tujuh-delapan orang-orang raja hendak menyambut perahu saya itu.

Literally:

At the same time a sampan arrived coming downstream from the river with seven or eight of the Raja's men [who came] for the purpose of welcoming my boat.

Hikayat Pelayaran Abdullah (Dari Singapura ke Kelantan), Press of the Am. Miss. Singapore, 1838, pp.16 and 63 respectively. The author 'Abdu'LLāh bin 'Abdu'l-Qādir Munshī (1796-1854) was of Arab-Indian descent and is regarded as the father of modern Malay literature. Hereafter cited as Hikayat Abdullah.

there definitely is a consistent sense of will underlying its conceptual structure. It is also clear that the word hendak has a limited field of application. In its concrete sense it is applicable only to the animate and not to the inanimate. Animals too are assumed to possess wish, want, intention and purpose, but whenever the word hendak is applied to inanimate things, then the meanings it conveys are meant to be interpreted metaphorically. That the word hendak should have been used to describe inanimate phenomena could be interpreted as an indication of its being a witness word reflecting the ancient vision of an animistic universe of the Malay-speaking peoples. In the realm of the animate, a different conceptual pattern is implied in the application of the word to human beings compared with its application to animals. When used to describe animal behaviour the word hendak always impresses upon the mind a mental picture of the subject dominating the situation described. A possible explanation of this phenomenon may be that it is the peculiar behaviour of the animal visible to the human being who describes it as hendak that determines the dominating impression of the subject (the animal) upon the mind of the human being when he is describing the phenomenon. This pattern of the subject dominating the impression in the mind is not necessarily always the case in the application of the word hendak to describe human behaviour, and in this I think

lies the clue significant in making a distinction - as far as it is conveyed in the conceptual structure of the word hendak<sup>478</sup> - between human and animal will. It has already been said that when the word hendak is used to describe animal behaviour, the subject described dominates the impression in the mind. The same conceptual pattern of the subject dominating our mental impression is also present in the application of the verb hendakkan (i.e. hendak + akan) to describe both human and animal behaviour. The reason why this is so seems to me to be the same as that already stated: the peculiar visible or discernible behaviour of the subject, whether human or animal, determines that the subject dominates the mental impression. Hendakkan when applied to human beings implies a desire that seems to arise out of natural instinctive behaviour rather than will. In both these cases of the application of hendak and hendakkan to the animal and human worlds, another important point to note is that the duration of the experience of hendak or hendakkan is discontinuous and, as it were, short. From the point of view of Malay linguistic consciousness, the words hendak and hendakkan reflect experiences that may not

---

478. I understand here by the concept of meaning nothing but a particularization of the mode of seeing or experience. On the concept 'seeing', see Philosophical investigations, II, XI.

necessarily be properly conceived as will -- they rather reflect experiences that border upon instinctive behaviour. It is in the application of the verb hendakkan that, properly speaking, man approaches animal experience and behaviour. Such a verb, I have found, has never been applied to God for it is clearly debasing and philosophically absurd. I have already stated that in its application to human beings the word hendak may not necessarily impress upon the mind the subject dominating the situation. In clarifying the distinction between hendak (SD) and hendak (OD)<sup>479</sup> when the word is applied as a verb denoting human action, the following simple example will serve well. The sentence in English: 'Where are you going?' is to be translated into Malay as: 'Engkau hendak kemana?' which literally conveys the meaning: 'Where do you want to go?' or 'Where are you wanting to go?'<sup>480</sup> When the situation revealed in the sentence is analyzed it will be found that to the analyst the object of the action of the one who is asked the question is dominant in the mind; it may be the market, a wedding party, the school and many other alternatives, vague as they

---

479. (SD) denotes impression of the subject dominating the mind; (OD) denotes impression of the object dominating the mind. For convenience and to avoid awkward repetition, these symbols will hereafter be applied in the analysis.

480. This question where hendak appears is of the same category as the one in note 476.

may be. The one who is asked the question is thrust into the background. The logical explanation of this phenomenon seems to me to be the assumption that the one who is asked the question had taken a decision on a particular course of action, and further, this implies a capacity to exercise choice and knowledge of that for which the action is done. It is this conceptual element of choice and knowledge that is responsible for creating a (OD) impression in the mind, for were this not so, there would be no sense in asking the question. At the same time, it is also expectation of a revelation from the one who is asked the question concerning the object of his action that makes the (OD) impression in the mind. But of course the same sentence may also produce a (SD) impression, depending upon how it is said and upon the circumstances preceding the saying of it. If the word following hendak (i.e. kemana in this case) is emphasized, then it is no longer a simple question but a rhetorical one, meaning: 'Where can you go [now]?' implying a kind of challenge to one to whom it is directed. It were as though the one to whom the question is asked has been forced into a situation - natural or artificial - where the courses of action were extremely limited, and the time to decide which course to take short. There is a sense of urgency. Unlike the (OD) situation, here a decision is demanded without the subject being aware of the situation beforehand: a

problematic situation is experienced and its solution is demanded there and then. Furthermore, the intensity of the subject's action is greater than in the (OD) case, and it is this expected intensity of action on the part of the subject that creates the (SD) pattern in the mental picture of the situation. Although in both cases of the application of hendak (OD) or (SD) the existence of knowledge and choice is presupposed, yet in the latter case both knowledge and choice are greatly reduced, revealing a pattern of action based more upon instinct rather than will. So far, we have dealt with two categories of hendak: the (OD) and (SD) categories. There is yet another category which I will call the (ED) category. By (ED) I mean the application of hendak to both the animate and inanimate worlds where the event dominates the mental impression of the picture of the situation described. My first conclusion in the analysis of hendak (ED) is that the (ED) pattern is only found to be absolute in the inanimate realm. In the realm of the animate, the (ED) pattern may be found. From a philosophical as well as semantical point of view, it is important to discover why the (ED) pattern is created whenever hendak is applied to inanimate objects and in some cases also to the animate, since such a discovery would enable us to establish rules regarding the application of the word hendak and thereby to piece together the elements that make up the conceptual



structure of that word. In the sentences: 'Gunung itu hendak meletup;' and 'Pohon itu hendak tumbang,' hendak is to be understood as conveying, in English, the meaning is about to: 'The mountain (volcano) is about to burst (erupt);' 'The tree is about to topple (fall). The dominant impression in the mind is not the mountain or the tree, but rather the event of bursting or erupting, or of toppling or falling, and the imminence of the event. The mountain or tree is not only conceived of as the locus of the event, but also the recipient of action from outside. Hence the hendak does not really belong to the mountain or tree; they merely receive and cannot avoid or choose to delay, or cause to start or prevent the inexorable force of an external phenomenon. It is with reference to this that I mean when I say that whenever hendak is applied to the inanimate, the meanings it conveys are metaphorical. The (ED) pattern is not quite identical when hendak is applied to the animate, whether it be animal or man; and it is important to note that what causes this non-identity in conceptual pattern is precisely the fact that the metaphorical element is absent in the animate, implying the existence of the capacity to start, delay, choose to avoid, or prevent the series of events that lead to the (ED) pattern of hendak in the animate. In respect of the action of the event as being of an external

nature, it is common to both animate and inanimate hendak (ED). An example of the hendak (ED) animate type can be analysed in the sentence: 'Orang itu hendak kena pukul' (the word orang here may be replaced by kuching: cat): 'That person is asking for a beating.' The word pukul, to beat, in the sentence is stressed and we have a hendak (SD) pattern. The person's action must be such that he or she warrants a beating. The person may be alone but visible to one who makes the sentence, or the person may be in the company of another or others also visible to the one who makes the sentence. But the (SD) pattern is changed to (ED) if the word pukul is not stressed, for the picture presented cannot possibly show the person and his action alone, as it can in the (SD) pattern, but must necessarily show the person in the company of another or others. What changes the (SD) pattern to (ED) is the fact that the other person or persons in the subject's company is about to beat him in consequence of his action or behaviour. But, unlike events of this nature in the inanimate worlds, here it is implied that the person (or animal) has the capacity, now that the event has occurred, to avoid the action that comes from an external source or to escape from it.

At this stage it becomes possible to define consistent rules governing the concept hendak considered as a verb, and to isolate the various elements that make up its

conceptual pattern in the form of propositions set forth below.

1) The verb hendak operates in a field of application comprising the animate and the inanimate realms, but whenever it is applied to the inanimate realm, its meaning is to be interpreted as metaphorical, and not concrete, i.e. real.

2) In its application in the inanimate realm, the conceptual picture it presents impresses upon the mind as dominant always the event described and not otherwise.

3) In the (ED) pattern in the inanimate realm, the action to which the verb hendak refers comes from an external source, and not from the subject, although the subject is the locus of the action. In relation to the action, the subject is powerless.

4) In the (ED) pattern in the realm of the animate, proposition (3) is applicable, but it must be added that the subject may indirectly be the cause of the action which produces the event. Furthermore, the existence of a capacity or power to start, delay, avoid or prevent the series of events that lead to the event is implied in the subject.

5) Although hendak conveys the same meaning in its application to human beings and animals that comprise the realm of the animate, yet for animals alone is the (SD) pattern absolute in the same way as the (ED) pattern is

absolute only for the inanimate. For human beings, the picture may present (ED), (SD) or (OD) patterns.

6) The (OD) pattern implies only the action of "normal" human beings, i.e. those in full possession of their intellectual faculties.<sup>481</sup>

7) The application of hendakkan to both human beings and animals always produce the (SD) pattern. Hendakkan cannot be applied to the inanimate unless metaphorically.

When the enclitic particle lah is used: hendaklah (verb), then it gives emphasis to hendak and its meanings are it is desired,<sup>482</sup> should,<sup>483</sup> must<sup>484</sup>. In this sense,

481. Human beings such as children, the infirm or feeble-minded, the insane - in fact all those who can be considered as not yet or no longer in full possession of their intellectual faculties, are not considered in this analysis, as it would not in the least alter the present conclusion whether or not they are considered.

482. E.g.: "Adapun anak kita ini lagi budak, jika ada salah dan bebal perbaiki; jika ia jahat hendaklah diantarkan kembali kepada kita." Literally: "This our son is yet a child, if he does wrong and is feeble-minded, improve him; if he is bad, it is desired that he be sent back to us." Here the Raja Sang Purba entrusts his son Sang Jaya Nantaka, who is his heir, to the tutelage of the Bendahara and Temenggung. Hikayat Hang Tuah, p.67.

483. E.g.: "Sesungguhnya hendaklah kita pun mengambil ibarat daripada hikayat itu adanya." Literally: "Verily we too should take [heed of] the parable from the story." The story referred to is that of the monkey and the weaver-bird. The monkey takes shelter from a storm under the weaver-bird's nest. The weaver-bird reproaches the monkey for being lazy not to build his own shelter. The monkey gets angry and tears the weaver-bird's nest to shreds. The parable teaches that it is vain to 'throw pearls to swine.' Hikayat Abdullah, p.12.

484. E.g.: Mengumpat dan memuji hendaklah pikir,  
Disitulah banyak orang yang tergelinchir.  
Literally: [If you indulge in] malicious gossip and  
praise you must first think,  
That is where many people slip and fall.  
Puisi Lama, S. Takdir Alisjahbana, Djakarta, 1954, p.80.

hendaklah is limited in its field of application only to human beings and it presupposes the existence in human society of ethical, intellectual and social orders. Hendak applied with the addition of the pronominal nya: hendaknya, limits the field of application still further and refers only to human intellectual activity having to do with logical analysis. This is generally found in written language:

"Adapun kata Ahlu'l-Sulūk ma'nā 'lu' mawjūd, hendaknya ḥāḍir maka harus dikatakan 'lu' kerana 'lu' itu ishārat kepada suatu yang mawjūd":<sup>485</sup> "According to the People of the Path, 'thou' refers to something existing, it must necessarily be present [to God]; for it to be referred to as 'thou,' for 'thou' refers to something existing."

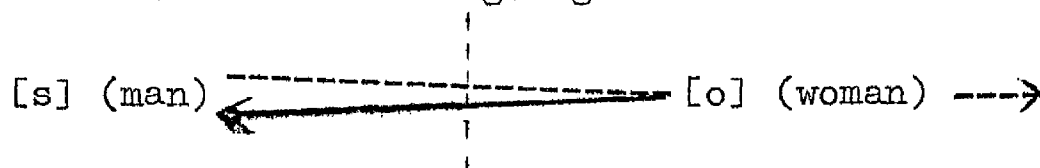
(b) Derivatives<sup>486</sup> and their conceptual structures.

Derivatives of hendak are formed by means of affixes such as kan, i (suffix), ke, meng (prefix); and compound affixes such as ber + ke (prefix), se + ke (prefix), di + ke (prefix) ending with the suffix i. In the case of the suffix kan there is no reason to doubt that it originally was derived from akan which conveys a variety of meanings such as - if applied as a preposition - towards, as for,

485. Ḥamzah commenting on surah 36:82 of the Qur'ān in refuting the 'Ulamā's doctrine of creatio ex nihilo. Asrār, p.30; also p.70. The word 'lu' = lahu.

486. I mean by derivatives here hendak as it is applied with its affixes.

concerning, in order to, about; and - if applied as an auxiliary - shall, will. The suffix kan as it is applied to hendak denotes direction towards the object of hendak. Hendakkan means desire towards or for something. Take the following example: "Jikalau sungguh tuanhamba hendakkan hamba ...": "If my Lord truly has desire for me ..." which can simply be translated as "If you truly love me ..." We must imagine here one person (whatever the sex may be) saying this to another (who may even be of the same sex). But for the sake of convenience let us imagine that it is a woman who is saying this to a man who desires or loves her. It may be possible that only the man is active in his desire or love for the woman. She is the passive object. She may not even love or desire him. The direction of the love or desire relationship is then one-way - it is not a mutual relationship.<sup>487</sup> It is implied that the man's desire for the woman is experienced at that time when the woman is in his presence (although this is not a necessary condition, for the object desired may be absent from the desiring subject).<sup>488</sup> It is further implied that the woman is brought or brings herself to the man rather than the man going to her:



487. This pattern is of course not always necessarily so.

488. See for example the case of the Princess of Gunung Ledang shown above, p.201.

A clearer illustration of this conceptual pattern of the verb hendakkan can be seen in the Princess of Gunung Ledang's reply to Sultān Maḥmūd's representatives who came to convey to the princess the Sultān's proposal of marriage: "Jikalau Raja Melaka hendakkan aku, perbuatkan aku jembatan emas satu, dari Melaka datang ke Gunung Ledang ini; ..." <sup>489</sup>: "If the Raja of Melaka has desire for me, [let him] build for me a golden bridge and a bridge of silver that span from Melaka to Gunung Ledang; ..." The correlate of the verb hendakkan is the verb kehendaki. In kehendaki, meaning desire towards or for something, the object desired is either absent or vague to the desiring subject and the prefix i implies in the case of this word that the subject looks for the object desired (if it is absent) or seeks clarification about the object desired (if it is vague):



As an example, take the following words of Sultān Maḥmūd when he addresses his dignitaries: "Jikalau beristeri sama anak raja-raja ini, adalah raja-raja lain pun demikian juga; yang kita kehendaki barang yang tiada pada raja-raja lain, itulah hendak kita peristeri. Akan sekarang kita hendak meminang puteri Gunung Ledang; Laksamana dan Sang Setia kita

---

489. Sejarah Melayu, p.236.

titahkan."<sup>490</sup>: "If I marry a daughter of these Rajas, other Rajas have the same [choice of wives]; she whom I desire should be one who is not to be found with other Rajas, such is the one whom we wish to take to wife. We now wish to ask for the hand of the Princess of Gunung Ledang; the Laksamana and Sang Setia we command [to carry out our proposal]." The Sultān's wife is dead and he is planning to marry again. The object of his desire is the fabulous Princess of Gunung Ledang. The fact that he speaks of the Princess shows that he must have contemplated the idea of marrying her for some time. He is now hoping to win the object of his desire, and if he were to win her, he would cherish her thereafter. The desire is continuous. It goes forth from the subject (Sultān) to the object (Princess). The Princess' reply to the official proposal conveyed by the Sultan's representatives<sup>491</sup> makes use of the verb hendakkan. She is the passive object. She does not, in this case, seem to betray any desire for the Sultān - she may not even love him. She has to bring herself or be brought to the Sultān. In fact she will give herself up only if certain conditions are fulfilled. Another important factor in the conceptual distinction between the verbs kehendaki and hendakkan is the distinction in duration. Kehendaki conveys the sense of a continuous desire, hoped

---

490. Ibid., p.234.

491. See above, p.201.



for before achieving the object and cherished after it has been achieved. Hendakkan conveys the sense of a desire experienced in a brief span of time,<sup>492</sup> and although it may be rekindled it nevertheless is discontinuous.

When the prefix di is applied to kehendaki, the basic conceptual pattern of kehendaki does not undergo any change<sup>493</sup> except when dikehendaki is applied in the sense of conveying the meaning similar to the passive participle of the fourth form of the Arabic verb arāda (root: rād [rwd]): murād when defining meaning. In this sense, dikehendaki is closely connected with hendaknya.<sup>494</sup> An example of the manner in which murād is applied can be taken from Rānīrī's Hujjah: "Maka murād daripada haqīqat pada iṣṭilāḥ Ahlu'l-Ṣūfī itu aiatu: ..." <sup>495</sup> "The [meaning] intended in the Ṣūfīs' definition of the real essence [of a thing] is: ..." It is in this sense also that dikehendaki is applied by Kemas Fakhru'l-Dīn of Palembang in his Malay abridgement of a mystical work by Ibn Raslān of Damascus: "Dan adalah ketiga itu, dikehendaki dengan kata mereka itu setengah orang yang 'ārif, memandang segala makhluk tiada perbuatan bagi mereka itu." <sup>496</sup> "[The meaning implied in] these three [types of

---

492. See above, p. 191.

493. E.g. "Patik sekalian sembilan orang ini semuanya patut jadi Bendahara, barang siapa yang dikehendaki duli Yang Dipertuan itulah jadi Bendahara." "The nine of us here are all worthy of becoming Bendarara. Whosoever the Yang Dipertuan desires shall become Bendaraha." Sejarah Melayu, p. 225.

494. See above, p. 199.

495. Page 7.

496. Kitāb Mukhtaṣar (Leiden, Cod. Or. 1712), p. 38.

fanā']], as intended in the sayings of some of the gnostics, is to regard all creatures as possessing no act of their own."

Another derivative of hendak that can be classed with hendaknya in the sense of having to do with logical analysis is menghendaki (this word is always applied with the suffix i), meaning requiring, would require, wanting: "Maka wujud Haqq Ta'ālā dengan 'ālam berlainan pun tiada dan bersuatu pun tiada, kerana berlainannya dan bersuatu itu menghendaki dua wujud mustaqill sendirinya."<sup>497</sup> "Thus the Being of the Truth Most Exalted and that of the World are neither the same nor different, for its identity or non-identity would require two entities existing per se." What is important to note in the conceptual pattern of menghendaki is the element of 'lacking' inherent in the subject of hendak.

With reference to the Divine Will as conceived according to the conceptual pattern couched in the concept of hendak, the most important are kehendak (hendak + prefix ke), berkehendak (hendak + compound prefix ber + ke) and sekehendak (hendak + compound prefix se + ke). Kehendak means wish, will, desire, and it is not applied to animals unless metaphorically (the same applies to the other two

---

497. Hujjah, p.4.

words in this class). The fact that it is not applicable to animals seems to me to demonstrate that semantically it is conceived that there exists in man a power or capacity of willing that does not exist in animals. But before we go on I wish to point out another use of kehendak which is rather rare, and this is its use in the sense of murād mentioned earlier.<sup>498</sup> Here is an example: "Maka kehendak fayḍ pada kata Ahlu'LLāh itu dua martabat:..."<sup>499</sup> "The [meaning] intended by [the term] fayḍ according to the People of God is that it has two grades: ..." In this sense, kehendak belongs to the same class as dikehendaki<sup>500</sup> and is closely connected with hendaknya<sup>501</sup> and menghendaki.<sup>502</sup> Kehendak can also mean purpose: "Perahu dari mana datang ini dan siapa nama panglimanya, apa kehendak datang ini?":<sup>503</sup> "Boats coming from where are these and what is the name of their commander, what is the purpose of this coming?" As I have demonstrated in the analysis of the conceptual patterns of hendak as it is applied in the animate and inanimate realms, the consistent occurrence of (ED), (SD) or (OD) patterns in

---

498. See above, p.203.

499. 11648, p.294.

500. See above, p.203.

501. See above, p.199.

502. See above, p. 204.

503. Hikayat Hang Tuah, p.382. Strange boats are approaching Melaka. The people sound the alarm and make preparations for defense against what they think is an invasion. The fleet turns out to be a goodwill mission from India. The application of kehendak here gives the (OD) pattern in the mind.

definite contexts of the application of hendak with reference to man indicates the fact that in man alone is the concept of will fully developed, and this concept of will includes in its meaning structure the elements of choice and knowledge of the object of will. As we proceed with the analysis, it will be discovered that this knowledge is in turn governed by wisdom. Will in the sense that it is volition having its determining ground within itself in the manner shown above is denoted in Malay by the word kehendak. Of all the derivatives of hendak, kehendak alone is the logical word denoting the concept of will. Kehendak may produce the (OD) pattern: "Apa kehendak tuanhamba sekalian pintalah pada kita: jikalau apa sekali pun tiada kita tahani."<sup>504</sup> "Whatever my lords wish, please ask from us: even if it be anything, we will not deny you"; or the (SD) pattern: "Laksamana tiada, itulah maka berani Hang Jebat melakukan berat ringan barang kehendaknya didalam istana Raja ini, kerana dilihatnya tiada siapa yang melebihi dia."<sup>505</sup> "The Laksamana is absent, that is why Hang Jebat dares to make heavy or light whatever he desires in the Raja's palace, for he sees that there is none who surpasses him [in power]." In the above passage, the subject is dominant in the mind because he is conceived as the doer of whatever

---

504. Sejarah Melayu, p.213.

505. Hikayat Hang Tuah, p.310.

he desires. There is an implication that his actions are determined by a power not governed by wisdom and discretion and this is caused by the word barang (i.e. whatever) which immediately precedes kehendak. In fact, whenever the word barang or words conveying the same sense as barang precedes kehendak as in the example above, the conceptual pattern of will and power without wisdom and justice - i.e. tyrannical, capricious or despotic power - is always dominant. The same conceptual pattern is dominant in the structure of sekehendak which is synonymous with barang kehendak, though the former is more emphatic in stressing unrestricted power. Sekehendak always takes the pronominal nya. A very important distinction between the conceptual structures of the word sekehendak and the word hendak and its other derivatives is this emphasis on spontaneous, blind unconscious will conveyed in sekehendak which is not conveyed in all other derivatives of hendak. The following quotation from 'Abdu'LLāh will illustrate my point: "Maka adalah diluluskan Allāh akan seorang mengambil harta seorang dengan tiada relanya? - atau seorang mengambil anak isteri seorang dengan kekerasannya? - atau seorang membunuh akan seorang dengan tiada sebenarnya? - atau seorang membuat barang sekehendak hatinya atas hamba Allāh sebab ia raja?"<sup>506</sup>: "Would [you think that] it be

---

506. Hikayat Abdullah, pp.155, 157.

tolerated by God for one person to take the wealth of another without the other's consent? - or for one to take by force the wife and children of another? - or one killing another without just cause? - or one doing whatever his heart desires upon a servant of God [simply] because he is king?" Upon his return to Singapore from his voyage to Kelantan, 'Abdu'llāh felt very much distressed at what he saw in Pahang and Kelantan. In Kelantan the Rajas were then fighting among themselves for the throne. 'Abdu'llāh particularly blamed the Rajas for their selfish attitude towards life. Their greed knew no bounds with respect to consideration for others, and in this respect their behaviour was incredibly capricious. The word sekehendak describes the character of one to whom it is applied and reveals its true meaning. I have already stated that sekehendak is synonymous with barang kehendak. The word barang may also be used to precede sekehendak, as in the above example, to give further emphasis to the randomness of the volitive movement. Indeed, it is obvious that the prefix se in sekehendak is an abbreviation of the word sebarang, meaning 'whatever'. In its usage with kehendak, the prefix se implies random desire, in which the notion of discretion and wisdom is absent.

The prefix ber conveys the idea of having some thing (both tangible or intangible) on or in one, or some act (behavioural, volitional, emotional) in one, and in the

case of the latter, depending upon whether the word to which it is prefixed is a one-person relation word (i.e. lari: run) or a two-person relation word (i.e. chakap: converse), the act may be said to be either reflexive or reciprocal. Now the word kehendak may be both a one-person relation or two-person relation word depending upon the actual context: it may mean a one-way desire for something tangible or abstract as in the following example: "Maka jikalau kiranya raja-raja yang bijaksana dan yang bangsawan yang berkehendak keamanan dunia akhirat itu ..."507: "Thus if it is true that the Rajas who are wise and noble and who have desire for success in this world and the next ..."; or it may mean a two-way reciprocal desire in the sense of passionate love between two persons: 'Mereka berkehendak' - 'They love (each other)'. Further, in the case of berkehendak, apart from the fundamental element of 'having' conveyed in the prefix ber as explained above, the ber also denotes a state of activity, so that berkehendak can mean having a desire or being in the state of desiring, and when it means the latter, there is a possibility that the desire is reciprocal attraction occurring between the same level of being (humans).

---

507. Ibid., p.45. In this case the (OD) pattern is given; otherwise, the pattern given will be (SD). See also Kitāb Mukhtasar, pp.60-61.

On the basis of the conclusions drawn in the foregoing analysis, it is now possible to give diagrammatic schemata of hendak, shown below:<sup>508</sup>

FIG. I.

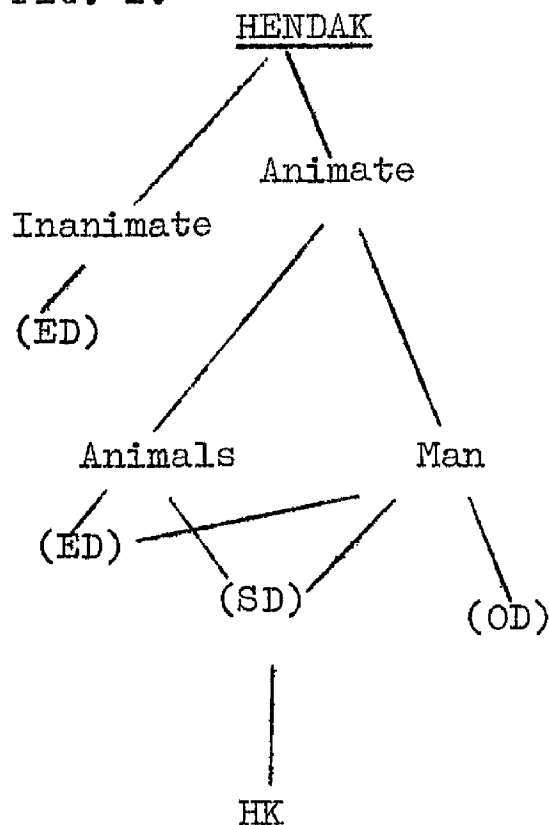
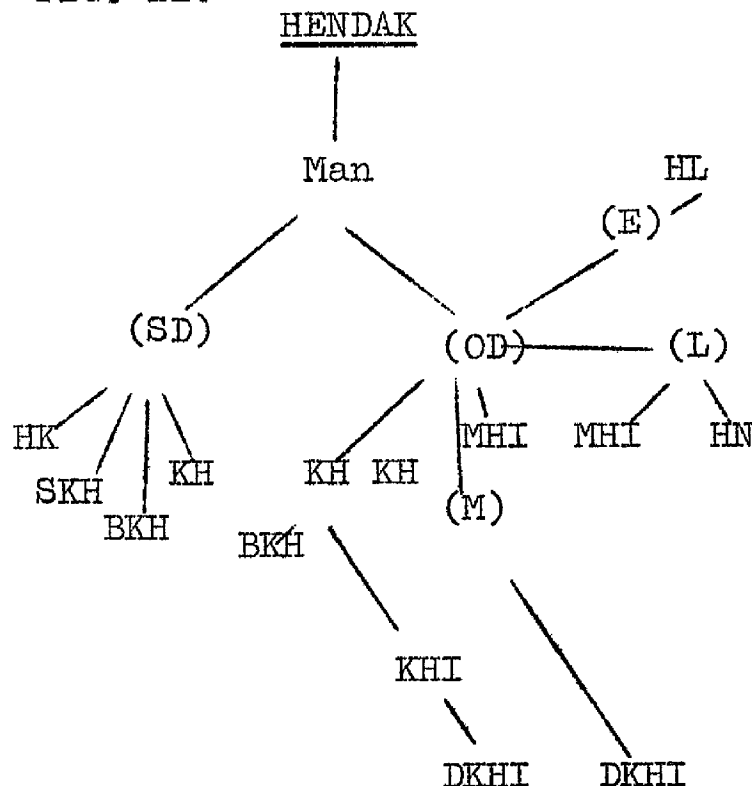


FIG. II.



508. In Figs. I and II, the abbreviations in brackets such as (ED), (SD) and (OD) have been explained. In Fig. II, the abbreviations in brackets (E) denotes meanings pertaining to ethical codes of behaviour; (L) denotes meanings pertaining to logical analysis; (M) pertains to meaning. Capital letters in both Figs. I and II stand for abbreviations of hendak and its derivatives: HK = Hendakkan; HL = Hendaklah; HN = Hendaknya; MHI = Menghendaki; KH = Kehendak; SKH = Sekehendak; BKH = Berkehendak; KHI = Kehendaki; DKHI = Dikehendaki. Note that Kehendak is the central concept.



(c) Conceptual distinction between hendak and mahu.

In order to comprehend completely the meaning underlying hendak, it is important that it should be compared and contrasted with another word whose meaning seems linguistically to be identical, but to be in fact not so. The word mahu also means want, desire, wish, but the fundamental concept underlying mahu is not - as in the case of hendak - that of voluntary action arising out of knowledge and choice: what we call will. On the contrary, the action in mahu may not be said to be voluntary in the sense that it is free from direct outside influence, although the action conveyed by mahu may arise out of knowledge of what is desired, wished, or wanted. It is not voluntary in the sense I mean because what is wanted or not wanted in mahu is always determined by a direct proposition. Hence mahu means not really want, desire, or wish; rather accept, consent, or reject, refuse, whether it be positive or negative as the case may be. It implies not will, but determination; and even choice, in mahu is determined by the direct proposition, and hence of a more restricted kind than is the case with hendak. What I have stated can be demonstrated in the following simple illustration. Supposing I say: "Kuching itu tidak mahu makan" - "That cat does not want to eat", it is presupposed that the cat has been offered food. The cat's

action is therefore really determined by two factors: (i) the offer, which starts the cat's action, and (ii) a certain physical condition, like for example, not feeling hungry, which terminates the cat's action. If I apply the word hendak instead of mahu in the above sentence, then the picture that I must conceive in my mind reveals that the food has not been offered to the cat. The situation conceived would be something like this: the cat is not in the picture. I 'see' a plate of food in what is to be the 'stage' where the action is to be played. The cat appears in the picture and sees the plate of food. He approaches and, having sniffed it, turns away and ignores the food. I who see this would describe the cat's decision not to take the food as 'tidak hendak makan'. Although, as I have stated earlier,<sup>509</sup> animal will as conceived in the concept of hendak borders upon instinct, it can at least be shown that in this case, where hendak is applied instead of mahu, the cat's action is determined not by two factors but by only one factor: a certain physical condition which determines the cat's choice (as in (ii) above). The example I have given is the application of mahu in the negative form preceded by the word tidak. It is also a fact significant in bringing out more vividly the meaning of mahu that mahu is

---

509. See above, pp. 190 - 192.

found used mainly in the negative form. In its positive (affirmative) form, the meaning structure undergoes no changes; if I say: "Kuching itu mahu makan" - "That cat wants to eat", then it is still presupposed that the cat has been offered food and accepts it. In other words, the word 'want' translating mahu here means really 'agree' - the cat agrees to my offer (proposition) to eat.<sup>510</sup> Mahu is restricted in its field of application in the non-metaphorical sense only to the animate realm.

In early Malay writings, mahu was not frequently used, and if found appeared mainly in the negative form. Even in the writings of the comparatively modern 'Abdu' Llāh Munshī the last remark in the preceding sentence holds true. Furthermore, the noun form kemahuan is not found until only in contemporary times and this phenomenon seems to be the result of influences stemming from Western concepts of will as response to man-made or man-induced challenges.<sup>511</sup> This conclusion is not unfounded, especially when we consider the meaning underlying the concept of mahu. It is mahu and not hendak that has now logically developed into the modern Malay concept of human will conceived as initiative to accept

---

510. For further verification of my conclusion regarding  
21, 33, 35, 107, 111, 125, 155; cp. ibid., p.157,  
Hikayat Hang Tuah, p.319; Sejarah Melayu, p.305.

511. See above, pp. 187; 211 foll.  
511. ... pp. 187; 211 foll.

and overcome challenges generally of an outside nature and origin. It can also now be understood why mahu has never been applied to denote Divine Volition, and the absurdity of such an application from a philosophical point of view is generally recognized though not always comprehended in the Malay linguistic consciousness.

(d) Ḥamzah's concept of the Divine Will (irādah).

One of the most serious charges levelled against Ḥamzah by Rānīrī is that of his alleged adherence to the belief of the Philosophers in the doctrine of the eternity of the world. It is one of the most serious charges because the belief in this doctrine necessarily implies the logical conclusion of denying God His Creative Will and Power. This belief alone would inevitably entail expulsion from membership of the Muslim Community and rejection of faith in Islām, as it violates one of the cardinal doctrines of Islām. Rānīrī's brief summary of the salient points of the Philosophers' belief in the eternity of the world, undoubtedly paraphrased from Ghazzālī's Tahāfut, is given thus:

According to the Philosophers, the Being of God and the World are both eternal, for [8] it [i.e. the World together with all its parts] emanates from the Being of God of its own accord, and not due to the Will of the Truth Most Exalted, in the same manner as

the sun's light emanates<sup>512</sup> from the sun's essence. The sun has no power to withhold its light; so long as the sun exists its light will exist. Hence in the like manner, so long as God's Essence exists so will the World exist, neither separate nor existing per se apart from the Divine Essence from and to all eternity in absolute communion. Furthermore, they say that God Most Exalted has no power over all [that which emanates from Him], and that He has no power to create anything other than and apart from that which has emanated from Him. He has<sup>513</sup> no power to change the World that already is.

As I have said in the beginning of this chapter, a semantic analysis of the conceptual structures of the words hendak and its derivatives must first be carried out before an understanding of Ḥamzah's concepts of the Divine Will and Power can be fully realized, for hendak and its derivatives comprise the only logical recipient of the above concepts acquired in the Malay language. It is not surprising that it should have been hendak together with its derivatives that have been suitably applied to contain, more or less transparently, concepts couched in the fourth form of the Arabic verb arāda, its verbal noun irādah and its active and passive participles murīd and murād respectively. In Ḥamzah, hendak and its derivatives have also been applied to mean the Arabic shā'a, and the Persian khwast, the latter

---

512. Rānīrī's note: The World emanates from the Essence of its own free will without being willed into existence by God.

513. Hujjah, pp.7-8. See Appendix IV, (viii).

indeed corresponding to the former. In fact Ibn Sīna, followed later by Naṣīr-i-Khusraw, used khwast as a Persian philosophical term corresponding to the Arabic irādah.<sup>514</sup> It is clear that kehendak as a verbal noun must be treated as a philosophical term corresponding to the Arabic irādah and mashī'ah and the Persian khwast, particularly in the writings of Ḥamzah. Although, as I have mentioned in the preceding chapter,<sup>515</sup> Ḥamzah does not appear to make any clear distinction between mashī'ah and amr which proceeds logically from irādah, yet it is quite clear that the word kehendak in Ḥamzah logically develops to mean mashī'ah and it is interchangeably applied to mean irādah as well, depending upon the context.

In Ḥamzah, the word hendak is used in three different ways: to imply an ethical code of behaviour (hendaklah); to show necessary logical connection between concepts (hendaknya); and to mean will. It is in the last mentioned usage that this chapter will deal with henceforth. The word hendak is used to mean 'azm,<sup>516</sup> a Persian word (verbal noun) of Arabic derivation meaning, among other possible meanings, settled purpose, firm resolve, determination to accomplish an undertaking. In the context in which

---

514. See Soheil M. Afnan's Philosophical terminology in Arabic and Persian, Leiden, 1964, p.93. Hereafter cited as Afnan.

515. See above, p.184.

516. Asrār, pp.28-29.

it appears in the quotation from Maghribī, it means the mystic's firm resolve to set out on a mystical journey. 'Azm can also refer to the Divine Purpose. In a commentary on Ibnu'l-'Arabī's verse about the Lofty Letters (ḥurūf 'āliyāt), hendak is used to describe the volitive movement (gerak) of the Pure Potentialities in the Divine Knowledge.<sup>517</sup> A similar use of hendak appears with reference to the Fixed Essences (al-a'yānu'l-thābitah).<sup>518</sup> In both cases the use of hendak refers to the desire for manifestation of the Pure Potentialities of the Fixed Essences in the ontological order above the Creative Word: "Kun!" ("Be!"), where no distinction is conceived between them and the Essence. In surah 16:93 of the Qur'ān: Wa law shā'a'llāhu laja'alakum ummatan wāhidatan ... If God so willed He could make you one people ... the word shā'a is translated as hendak,<sup>519</sup> and it clearly refers to the Divine Desire (Decree) (mashī'ah) determining the creature to be what its nature required it to be. There exists a logical connection between hendak as shā'a and hendak as gerak referred to above as the volitive movement of the Pure Potentialities of the Fixed Essences in the Divine Essence.

---

517. Ibid., p.37.

518. Sharāb, p.16.

519. Asrār, p.46.

The words dikehendaki<sup>520</sup> and menghendaki occur only once in Ḥamzah's writings; in both cases they refer to man. The scarcity of these words in Ḥamzah's system is most significant: these words cannot be applied to God for in both cases they convey meanings denoting insufficiency in certain qualities.<sup>521</sup>

It is also most significant that Ḥamzah denies the application of the word sekehendak with reference to the Divine Will. This is because he conceives the Divine Will to be an act of wisdom and not that of a capricious tyrant. Ḥamzah's polemic against the Doctors of Theology on this point is why call God just if He "does whatever He desires" (berbuat barang sekehendakNya)?<sup>522</sup> The Doctors of Theology answer:

The analogy is like one who owns many goats; some are slaughtered by him, then skinned, then boiled, then roasted and pierced with skewers. It is he who owns them - [and they are] not the possession of other people. If [they are] other people's possession [and they] are slaughtered by him, then unjust is the verdict [against him].<sup>523</sup>

This answer of the Doctors of Theology is in keeping with

520. This word is used to translate the Persian khwāst.

521. Dikehendaki implies that the object desired is either absent or vague to the desiring subject; menghendaki implies a need in virtue of what is lacking. See above, pp. 201-204.

522. Sharāb, p.20.

523. Ibid., p.21.



that of al-Ash'arī<sup>524</sup> and betrays that their conception of sekehendak is that the doing of whatever one pleases is justified on the condition that what one does at will one does to one's own. Logically they assert that sekehendaknya means the subject doing what he desires to the object which belongs to him. Whether the object is a willing or unwilling recipient of the subject's action is not discussed. But compare this concept of sekehendak with that of 'Abdu'llāh in his application of sekehendak when he describes the character of the Malay Rajas.<sup>525</sup> There sekehendak conveys the meaning that if a person takes the wealth of another without the other's consent, or takes by force the wife and children of another, or takes the life of another without just cause, then he is committing a wrongful and unjust action - but only if he takes without consent, or by force, or without just cause. Supposing he takes another's wealth with the owner's consent, another's wife and children not by force, another person's life with just cause, then the word sekehendak will not be applicable to describe his action. 'Abdu'llāh means, in the passage referred to, that it is not good and just even for a king, because he is king, to impose upon his people whatever his heart desires. Here is revealed

---

524. Al-Ash'arī, (Kitāb al-Luma'), chapter on 'Discussion of the imputation of justice and injustice to God', especially p.99, para. 170.

525. See above, pp.207-208.

another element in the conceptual structure of sekehendak in addition to what has already been explained.<sup>526</sup> The Doctors of Theology conceive that sekehendak means the doing of whatever one pleases to one's own possessions. 'Abdu'llāh's passage reveals that if one's own possessions are the willing objects of one's desire, then logically sekehendak cannot be applied to one; it is only if the object of one's desire are the unwilling recipients of one's action that sekehendak can be applied to one, for it is the very essence of the concept of sekehendak to include within its meaning structure the sense of force, of capricious imposition. Sekehendak is then the imposition of one's blind will upon the will (kehendak) of others.

From the point of view of semantics, Ḥamzah's application of the word sekehendak reveals that he understood its meaning far more precisely than the Doctors of Theology. Since the fundamental elements in the concept of sekehendak are opposed to the idea of justice and knowledge, it is most logical that in his system Ḥamzah never applied the word to describe either the Divine Power (qudrah), Will (irādah) or Desire (mashī'ah) which decrees nothing that does not come to pass, for such an application would inevitably convey the idea that God is unjust because it would mean that He

---

526. See above, pp.206-208.

purposely allows the otherwise unwilling unbelievers to disbelieve, punishing them with Hell for their disbelief.<sup>527</sup> Ḥamzah conceives God to act not as He pleases in the sekehendakNya sense, rather God acts in conformity with (muwāfaqat) the Pure Potentialities (isti'dād aṣlī) in His Knowledge. From His Attribute of Beauty (jamāl) is created the believer, from That of His Majesty (jalāl) the unbeliever, each according to his potential nature. The believer believes and the unbeliever disbelieves not because God pleases that they be so, but because of their very natures, and because of their very natures too each will ultimately return to his fount of origin.<sup>528</sup> The Doctors of Theology, refuting this view, would say that if this be the case, then God's Will and Power would merely be empty names, for things come into being by virtue of their potential natures and not by virtue of the Divine Will and Power.<sup>529</sup> Ḥamzah rejects this refutation by affirming that God has Will and Power but that His Will and Power works in conformity with knowledge of the things willed.<sup>530</sup> The things willed are not nothing (as the Doctors of Theology who hold the doctrine of creation ex nihilo assert), neither are they entities possessed of independent existence "apart" from God; they are the Fixed

---

527. Sharāb, pp.20-21.

528. Ibid., pp.21-22.

529. Ibid., p.22.

530. Loc. cit.

Essences (al-a'yān'u'l-thābitah), the Pure Potentialities (isti'dād aṣlī), the Reality of Things (al-ḥaqīqatu'l-ashyā'), the Cognitive Forms (al-ṣuwaru'l-'ilmiyyah), or Divine Ideas, the Universal Intellect (al-'aqlu'l-kullī).<sup>531</sup> Were it not for God's Power bringing them forth from Non-Existence (ma'dūm) they would never exist as such;<sup>532</sup> and unless God wills their projection to appear as 'temporal' existence according to what their natures determine, they cannot exist as 'temporal' existence. God wills them as 'noumena' to project themselves as 'phenomena' through the Divine Command (amr) 'Be!'. What 'comes forth' as the result of the Divine Command is what we call creation,<sup>533</sup> or the external world together with all its parts. What still lie dormant, as it were, in the Divine Knowledge, ready to leap into 'being' at His Command, are neither created nor uncreated, for they are Modes or Predispositions of the Divine Essence (shu'ūn Dhāt).<sup>534</sup> In this way Ḥamzah denies both the doctrine of creation ex nihilo, and that of the coexistence of the World with God. God is logically prior to His creation and in this sense creation has a 'beginning' and comes into being by virtue of God's Creative Command. It is this Creative Command that is

---

531. For an explanation of the Fixed Essences, see above, pp. 136 - 144.

532. See above, pp. 134 - 135; 143.

533. See above, pp. 133 - 135. The second of the two categories of creation is here meant.

534. Asrār, pp. 34-35.

God's Act of willing. When God wills a thing to come into being, it comes into being complete and perfect, for if it does not come into being complete and perfect it would logically mean that God still has to make it complete and perfect, and this in turn implies that God wills without prior knowledge of the thing willed, which is absurd.<sup>535</sup>

It has been said earlier that Ḥamzah denies the application of the word sekehendak to denote the Divine Will or Volition, and that this is so by virtue of the fact that the word conveys a definite meaning of unrestricted, blind desire (power, will) which excludes the notion of knowledge, justice and wisdom. There are, however, two occasions in Ḥamzah's writings where the application of sekehendak and barang kehendak (synonymous with sekehendak) occur, and in both cases they seem at first glance to denote the Divine Will and Desire:

- (i) Adapun kepada Ahlu'l-'Usshāq sekalian hijāb dan quyūd diri akannya. Perbuatan itu bukan ia meniyyatkan sekehendak Allāh ...<sup>536</sup>

But to the Lovers all these<sup>537</sup> are veils and restrictions unto the Self. Action that refers to these does not realize whatever God desires ...

---

535. Ibid., pp. 31,34. Cf. Ibn Rushd, Tahāfut al-Tahāfut, p. 88.

536. Asrār, p.64.

537. 'These' refers to clothing, cultivation of land, having a family.

and

- (ii) Adapun akan orang Ahlu'l-Sulūk,  
dā'im menyerahkan diri kepada Tuhannya.  
Barang kehendak Tuhannya ia rādi; jika  
sakit atau miskin, atau lain mithālnya  
itu - sekalian ia rādi.<sup>538</sup>

The People of the Path constantly  
surrender themselves to their Lord.  
They consent wholeheartedly to  
whatever their Lord's desire may be;  
whether it be sickness or poverty or  
other conditions such as these - to all  
these they willingly give their consent.

It can be seen at once from the contexts that the application of both sekehendak (i) and barang kehendak (ii) does not really denote the Divine Will or Desire, rather only metaphorically so. The emphases in both cases: "whatever God desires" and "whatever their Lord's desire" refer not to God, but to the spiritual attitude of the Ṣūfīs who have reached the stations of 'love' (maḥabbah) and complete 'trust in God' (tawakkul) from which 'satisfaction' (riḍā) develops. In other words, such Ṣūfīs have attained to certain stations in their mystical journey in which selfishness is completely eradicated; in which their spiritual attitude makes them feel that even if God were to do whatever He pleases with them, they would gladly acquiesce.<sup>539</sup>

It is very important at this stage to note the

---

538. Asrār, p.70.

539. Cp. Kitāb Mukhtaṣar, p.52, the same meaning of barang kehendak occurs.

significance of Ḥamzah's consistency in translating the fourth form of the Arabic verb arāda as berkehendak.<sup>540</sup> This is of course consistent with his cosmology. Although berkehendak is mainly used to translate arāda, it is also used to translate the active participle of arāda: murīd,<sup>541</sup> and the verb shā'a,<sup>542</sup> but only once in each case.

Berkehendak applied here to God's act of willing is an extremely powerful expression. God is conceived as willing a thing - that is, the potentiality (pl. isti'dād) of a thing which is still not 'separate' from the Essence - intending what it shall become in such a manner that at His Command it 'projects' itself, as it were, and becomes 'externalized' as part of creation.<sup>543</sup> The thing willed is 'present' and known to God 'before' His Command acts upon it and transforms it into 'external being'. This is so because the thing willed belongs to the Divine Ideas; it is a Predisposition or 'Mode' of God. God the Knower sees Himself as the Known with all His 'Modes' and Predispositions.

540. Asrār, pp.30, 32, 35; Sharāb, p.17.

541. Asrār, p.29.

542. Muntahī, p.121. But see below, pp.229-230.

543. Jīlī defines the Will (irādah) of God as "His particularization (takhsīs) of the objects of His Knowledge by existence (wujūd), according to the requirements of His knowledge." Insānu'l-Kāmil, I, p.80. The English translation of the definition is by Nicholson, see Studies, p.102.

He 'hears' the potentialities of the Known desiring to be manifested. In this sense, berkehendak denotes a mutual relationship as that between lovers. Hence the Holy Tradition: 'I was a hidden treasure and I desired to be known, so I created creation that I might be known.'<sup>544</sup> Furthermore, since berkehendak contains within its meaning structure the element of love, it must be understood as no mere coincidence that Ḥamzah uses it in the above manner.<sup>545</sup> But the important concept here is that berkehendak conveys the idea that God directs His Will towards 'something' that is known and present to Him; and the thing known and present (ḥāḍir) - a Mode of God - reciprocates God's desire for it to come into being by desiring to come into being according to its inherent nature. A comparison between Ḥamzah's translation and that of 'Abdu'l-Ra'ūf of Singkel<sup>546</sup> of the same

---

544. Asrār, pp.29-30, 32-33. See also above, pp.140-141 (7).

545. Jīlī, enumerating nine phases of Will (irādah), says that the last phase is the highest and purest love ('ishq). See Insānu'l-Kāmil, I, pp.80-81. See also Studies, pp.102, 80, and note 3 on p.80.

546. 'Abdu'l-Ra'ūf (c. 1620-1693) was regarded as one of the most eminent Ṣūfīs of Aceh and the rest of the Malay-speaking world. But he was more of a religious teacher and an 'Alim rather than a Ṣūfī in the sense Ḥamzah was. Though he did not appear to join openly in the polemic against Ḥamzah begun by Rānīrī, he seemed to support Rānīrī's views. For more about 'Abdu'l-Ra'ūf, see also Rinkes, D.A., Abdoerraoef van Singkel, (diss.), Freisland, 1909. For a short account about 'Abdu'l-Ra'ūf see E.I., new ed., Leiden, 1960, p.88.



Quranic passage is most revealing:

Innamā amruhu idhā arāda shay'an  
an yaqūla lahu kun fa yakūn.<sup>547</sup>

Ḥamzah's translation:

Bahwasanya barang titahNya, tatakala  
berkehendak kepada suatu, bahwa berkata  
baginya: "Jadi lu!" - menjadi.<sup>548</sup>

'Abdu'l-Ra'ūf's translation:

Hanya sanya pekerjaanNya, apabila  
dikehendakiNya menjadikan suatu, bahwa  
dikatakan baginya: "Ada engkau!" - maka  
ada suatu itu.<sup>549</sup>

'Abdu'l-Ra'ūf's translation of arāda as dikehendaki deprives much of the emphasis on the factitive or causative nature of the action or will which it denotes. Furthermore, his use of dikehendaki here reveals his conception of the doctrine of creation as ex nihilo. In the verb kehendaki, the object desired is absent or vague to the desiring subject. The i implies that the object desired is sought after by the subject. Thus in making use of dikehendaki to translate arāda, 'Abdu'l-Ra'ūf expresses the idea that the thing

547. 36:82.

548. Asrār, p.30.

549. This is from 'Abdu'l-Ra'ūf's Malay translation and commentary of the Qur'ān based on that of al-Baydāwī. I am quoting the 4th ed. published in Cairo in 1901, vol.2, p.446. 'Abdu'l-Ra'ūf's complete translation of the Qur'ān into Malay with commentary is, I think, the first of its kind to be done in the Malay-speaking world.

willed or desired is not present to God, or that God creates from nothing. The implications brought forward by this explanation are not only made more plausible, but indeed affirmed by virtue of the fact that 'Abdu'l-Ra'ūf translates the imperative kun as ada. Now Ḥamzah never uses the word ada as an imperative, and its usage as such is very rare. 'Ada!' in this context means 'exist!' or 'be!' in the sense of coming into being or appearing out of nothing; the word conveys the idea very much like that of a magician conjuring something to appear out of 'thin air' where it was not there before. Ḥamzah translates the imperative kun as 'jadi!' which means 'be!' in the sense of harmonious becoming. The imperative 'jadi!' implies that the object towards which it is directed already exists, but in a latent state, pregnant as it were with potentialities which at the Command 'Be!' proceed to come into being harmoniously. Jadi, then, refers to something already existing, whereas ada conveys the meaning of making something appear when it was not there before.<sup>550</sup> The same goes for the word titah by which Ḥamzah translates amr, meaning command. Titah implies the existence

---

550. Compare further both Ḥamzah and 'Abdu'l-Ra'ūf in their translation of Qur'ān 16:40 where the concepts I have analysed reveal the consistent systems in Ḥamzah and 'Abdu'l-Ra'ūf. See Asrār, p.32, and 'Abdu'l-Ra'ūf, op.cit., vol.I, p.272.

of its object, whereas the word pekerjaan by which 'Abdu'l-Ra'ūf translates amr means work and does not convey the implication of the prior existence of the object of amr. In the light of the above analysis, a modern translation of the same āyat by Maḥmūd Yūnus of Padang<sup>551</sup> clearly reveals great confusion in that the concepts hendak ada and jadi are haphazardly applied without consistency or regard for any systematic doctrine such as that of the creation ex nihilo ('Abdu'l-Ra'ūf) or its opposite (Ḥamzah):

Hanya urusan (perintah) Allāh itu, bila  
Ia menghendaki mengadakan satu, Ia berkata:  
Jadilah engkau! Lalu terjadilah ia.<sup>552</sup>

Menghendaki implies a lack of or need for something,<sup>553</sup> and it is absurd to conceive God as lacking or needing something. Mengadakan implies creation from nothing, but the use of jadi as an imperative, although correct, is not consistent with mengadakan.

Closely connected with berkehendak, which in Ḥamzah's system clearly denotes the irādah rather than the mashī'ah, is the concept kehendak which denotes the mashī'ah. Yet the use of berkehendak to refer to the irādah and kehendak to refer to the mashī'ah is not absolute and

---

551. Tafsir Qurān Karim, Mahmud Junus, Djakarta, 1957.

552. Op.cit., p.373. For comparison with what is stated in note 550, see ibid., p.224.

553. See above, p. 204.

mutually excluding in both cases. In the same manner that berkehendak on one occasion is used to translate shā'a, so<sup>554</sup> is kehendak, also on one occasion, used to translate irādah. But it is important to note that in both cases of the exception to the rule berkehendak (shā'a) and kehendak (irādah) refer to human desire and will and not to Divine Desire and Will. It is reasonable to conclude, therefore, that berkehendak and kehendak each logically develops to mean the concept of irādah and that of mashī'ah respectively. In Ḥamzah's system, the Divine kehendak is applied to translate idhn,<sup>555</sup> gerak,<sup>556</sup> shā'a,<sup>557</sup> khwast.<sup>558</sup> All these words correspond to shā'a and they denote the mashī'ah. The Malay word gerak meaning volitive movement, is used to translate the word idhn.<sup>559</sup> The Divine uncreated Will (mashī'ah) decrees nothing that does not come to pass. Both good (khayr) and evil (sharr) which are effects of the

---

554. Muntahī, p.126.

555. Asrār, p.44; Sharāb, p.22.

556. Muntahī, p.120.

557. Asrār, p.46.

558. Muntahī, p.122.

559. Ibid., p.120. Ibn Ḥazm, discussing the creation of faith (īmān) in his work Al-Fisal fī'l-Milal wa'l-Ahwā wa'l-Niḥal, 2v., Cairo, 1317-1321, pt.IV, pp.138-139, identifies idhn as God's mashī'ah on the basis of his interpretation of Sūrah 10:100. The same identification is made by al-Bayādī the Ḥanafī-Māturīdī theologian. Cf. Izutsu, T., The Concept of Belief in Islamic Theology, Tokyo, 1965, pp.215; 223.

Divine Names Beauty (jamāl) and Majesty (jalāl) are 'present' (ḥādir) to God in the form of Pure Potentialities (isti'dād aṣlī). They are the 'objects' of the mashī'ah which is governed by Perfection (kamāl) and Wisdom (ḥikmat), thus denoting a kind of equilibrium of qualities in the Divine Nature.<sup>560</sup> Perfection and Wisdom constitute the Law that governs the mashī'ah and this Law is called the Law of Potentiality (ḥukum isti'dād).<sup>561</sup> It is with reference to the mashī'ah that Ḥamzah translates (or rather interprets according to the Ṣūfī point of view) verse 16:93 of the Qur'ān thus:

Jika hendak menjadikan kamu ummat  
suatu, dapat; tetapi menyesatkan dengan  
kehendakNya, menunjukkan jalan yang  
betul dengan kehendakNya.<sup>562</sup>

---

560. Asrār, pp.35-40, 44-48; Sharāb, pp.17-23.

561. Asrār, p.39.

562. Ibid., p.46:

Wa law shā'a'llāhu laja'alakum ummatan  
wāḥidatan wa lākin yuḍillu man yashā'u  
wa yahdī man yashā'u.

Compare with 'Abdu'l-Ra'ūf's rendering:

Dan jikalau dikehendaki Allāh Ta'ālā,  
nischaya dijadikan kamu orang satu agama;  
tetapi disesatkan Allāh Ta'ālā akan barangsiapa  
yang dikehendakiNya, dan ditunjukNya akan  
barangsiapa yang dikehendakiNya. (op.cit., vol.I,  
p.279),

and that of Maḥmūd Yūnus:

Sekiranya Allāh menghendaki, nischaya  
dijadikanNya kamu menjadi satu ummat:  
Tetapi Dia menyesatkan orang yang dikehendakiNya,  
dan menunjuk orang yang dikehendakiNya. (op.cit.,  
p.230).

The meaning that Ḥamzah wants to convey in his rendering of the above-mentioned verse, based upon the concepts underlying the key words he uses (hendak, menjadikan, kehendak), is this:

If God had wished to create you [who are present to Him as objects of His knowledge] into a single people [having one faith], He would have done so; but He causes you to go astray by His Desire (mashī'ah), and He causes you to be guided on the right path by His Desire (mashī'ah).

Since the mashī'ah is governed by Wisdom and Perfection, it means therefore that God cannot will what is logically impossible,<sup>563</sup> and this brings us to another concept - that of Divine Power or qudrah (kuasa). Power is defined by Jīlī as the bringing of the non-existent into existence (al-bārizah) or the production from non-existence (ījād).<sup>564</sup> In Ḥamzah the same concept of Power is evident. The Essence gazes upon Itself and sees Itself together with all the

563. Like the Philosophers, to whose views on this point even al-Ghazzālī concedes (see Tahāfut al-Tahāfut, pp.328-329), Ḥamzah asserts that God cannot will what is logically impossible. See also Tahāfut al-Tahāfut, notes, p.40: 53.1. Ibnu'l-'Arabī in his Fuṣūṣu'l-Hikam (Cairo, 1321, pp.75-76) comes to the same conclusion in his interpretation of Sūrah 6:149: Fa law shā'a lahadākum ajma'in: Had God willed, He would have guided you all aright. See also Studies, p.151. However, in contrast with the Philosophers, and like al-Ghazzālī, Ḥamzah - and for that matter the Ṣūfīs - accepts this without denying God infinite possibility for exercising His Power.

564. Insānu'l-Kāmil, I, p.82: Fa'l-qudratu hiya quwwatu'l-bārizatu li'l-mawjūdāti mina'l-'adam ... Wa'l-qudratu 'indanā ijādu'l-ma'dūm ...

Predispositions within Itself.<sup>565</sup> It is Power that gives It the capacity to see Itself and the Known in Its Knowledge.<sup>566</sup> The Act of 'seeing' here corresponds to that of producing (ījād) or bringing forth (bārizah) in Jīlī. The notion that God first draws forth existence from the non-existent and causes it to be in His Knowledge is denoted in Ḥamzah by the word mengadakan.<sup>567</sup> From ada, that is from being or existing in His Knowledge. God then brings it forth as 'external' existence, and this notion is denoted by the word menjadikan.<sup>568</sup>

565. Asrār, p.28: Apabila Ia [Dhāt] menilik DiriNya, dilihatNya DiriNya dengan sekalian shu'ūnNya.

566. Ibid., p.31: Jikalau tiada Kuasa, manakan dapat memandang DiriNya pandang ma'lūmāt yang dalam 'ilmuNya?

567. Mengadakan means to cause to exist. The stem word ada implies that the existence caused is from non-existence. The word mengadakan occurs in a context describing creation (see above, pp.134-135 (1) ), and God in the act of creation referred to is described as sempurna mengadakan. See Asrār, p.38; also above, pp.132-133, and below, p.287-289.

568. Asrār, p.52: Menjadikan makhluk siang dan malam, and passim. Cf. Insānu'l-Kāmil, I, p.83: Thumma abrazahā mina'l-'ālamī'l-'ilmīy ilā'l-'ālamī'l-'aynīy biqudratihi wa ījāduhu li'l-makhlūqāti ījādan mina'l-'adami ilā'l-'ilmī ilā'l-'aynī ... In Sharāb, p.17: Yang tiada itu tiada dapat menjadi ada; ... the word tiada (non-existent) refers to nihilo in the sense understood by the upholders of the doctrine of creation ex nihilo, and not to the Non-Existent, (ma'dūm) referring to the Essence. Here Ḥamzah follows Ibnu'l-'Arabī, whom Jīlī quotes (Insānu'l-Kāmil, I, p.82): Inna'llāha lam yakhluqu'l-ashyā'a mina'l-'adam. See also Studies, p.103 and consult further in this connection, above, pp.130-132.

The assertion that God cannot will what is logically impossible is not an assertion that God is not All-Powerful. It is an assertion that God's Power is not capricious, tyrannical or chaotic:

Suatu tamthīl lagi seperti seorang raja sempurna lengkap dengan kekayaannya. Dapat diubahnya kekayaannya; gajah dijadikannya kuda, atau kuda dijadikannya gajah; atau kambing dijadikannya anjing, atau anjing dijadikannya kambing. Tetapi ia tiada mahu mengubah dia, kerana <sup>569</sup>apabila ia mengubah dia binasa kamālnya.

Another analogy is, like the king who is complete in power.<sup>570</sup> [Let us say that] he can effect changes in his power: he can transform the elephant into a horse, or the horse into an elephant; or the goat into a dog, or the dog into a goat. But he does not want to effect changes in his power [in the manner described], since if he effects such changes, his perfection is destroyed.

What is implied here is that if we discard the notion of a necessary causal sequence and attribute everything to the Creator's caprice, then the configurations of things would cease to exist in the sense that they would not possess recognizable natures; knowledge would possess no meaning. Furthermore, if the Creator transforms elephants into horses and goats into dogs, then it would mean, unless it is His caprice, that the Creator has not created something

---

569. Sharāb, pp. 22-23.

570. The word kekayaan, as used by Ḥamzah (literally: wealth) seems to me to correspond with the Arabic ghana', and in the context above, it means capability, or better, power.



perfect in the first instance and that what He created is in need of perfection - an admission of lack of knowledge and wisdom on the Creator's part.<sup>571</sup> Supposing the king in Ḥamzah's analogy effects the transformations mentioned; can his will in doing so be properly called will? The passage quoted shows that it cannot, for the word mahu implies that the king has been challenged to display his power.<sup>572</sup> If he wills the transformations, then although his will works in conformity with his knowledge of the things willed, it is not based upon his choice; for here the challenge has determined his choice. Furthermore his will, determined by the challenge, is not governed by wisdom since what he has been challenged to will is logically impossible.

Finally, it is consistent with the cosmological and ontological pattern set forth in Ḥamzah's mysticism that the key word kehendak, when applied to human will and desire in relation to the Divine, does not convey a real meaning, but a metaphorical one, since man as 'phenomena' does not have himself as the determining ground of his will.<sup>573</sup> Man's

571. Asrār, pp.31, 34, 37, 39; Sharāb, p.23.

572. On the meaning structure of mahu as distinguished from that of hendak, see above, pp. 211-214. In his writings, Ḥamzah uses mahu only on two occasions: in the passage quoted above and in Asrār, p.73.

573. Ibid., pp.76-77; cf. above, pp. The Kitab Mukhtaṣar (see above, p. 203, note 496) which deals at length about man's dual nature, says: "Tiada yang hendak melainkan Allāh" - "None wills except God" (p.38).

kehendak is a veil (ḥijāb),<sup>574</sup> since its illusory nature distracts him from higher Selfhood; it is will or desire belonging to diri, the lower self (nafs). In the mystical context, kehendak with reference to man means exactly the Arabic hawā, as is shown also in Ḥamzah's translation of Sūrah 53:3:

Wa mā yaṭīqu 'ani'l-hawā ...

Tiada Nabi Allāh itu<sup>575</sup> berkata daripada  
kehendak hatinya ...

The true object of man's kehendak is God alone, and in this case the kehendak refers to man as 'noumena', the Diri or higher Self. For God alone to be the Object of man's kehendak, it is necessary that complete surrender of the lower self (diri) to God (tawakkal: menyerahkan diri), disentanglement (tajrīd: tinggal) from the desires of the lower self, isolation (tafrīd: tunggal) in God, and love

574. Asrār, p. 64.

575. Sharāb, pp. 3-4. 'Abdu'l-Ra'ūf translates hawā as hawa nafsu, i.e. the desires of the self (al-nafsu'l-ammārah). In the Kitāb Mukhtaṣar, hawā is kehendak yang rendah (or hina), i.e. the lowly passions or desires (pp. 72-73).

('ishq: berahi) of God be involved.<sup>576</sup>

- 
576. See the last chapter of the Sharāb. It seems to me that, from a philosophical point of view, it is not altogether irrelevant to compare the two aspects of kehendak in man with the Kantian empirical and transcendental will; the former empirically determined and setting as its end happiness, and the latter having its determining ground within its self and setting as its end virtue. The necessarily highest end of the transcendental will, however, and its true object, is the Highest Good. Up to a certain point there is a correspondence between the mystical and the philosophical standpoint regarding the problem of the nature of man and his will; but while the mystic resolves the problem by eradicating dualism, the philosopher maintains dualism throughout. See above, pp.

## CHAPTER V

### KEY WORDS IN HAMZAH'S MYSTICAL SYSTEM

The last chapter has dealt somewhat elaborately with an exposition of Ḥamzah's concept of the Divine Will (irādah) following a semantic approach: an analysis revolving around the conceptual structure of the Malay word hendak. My task here will be to deal with concepts underlying other 'key' words in Ḥamzah's mystical system. I understand key words to be a product of the crystallization of the major mystical concepts in Ḥamzah's system, and his system is none other than his weltanschauung - his vision of God, Man and Universe, that is, Reality. The structure of the World of Being and the major constituents of that World are reflected and crystallized in the key words. The system, then, is a kind of ontology. The key words together form what I call Ḥamzah's semantic 'vocabulary'.<sup>577</sup> For the purpose now at hand it is not necessary to examine the concepts underlying every word in the semantic vocabulary. It will be sufficient to examine only the major key words, semantic 'fields' and 'focus' words in that vocabulary, for since the vocabulary is composed of interrelated and interdependent words, those words here unexplained can easily explain themselves. But

---

577. An index of Ḥamzah's semantic vocabulary, alphabetically arranged and semantically classified, is given in Appendix VII.

first I must explain and clarify the technical terms that have been introduced above, as they are very important methodological concepts which prove to be of great utility in a study such as outlined in this chapter.<sup>578</sup>

By semantic vocabulary, I understand not a mere gathering together of words, but a systematic gestalt - an arrangement in meaningful pattern. It would appear at first that all one has to do is to isolate what to one are important words as in an ordinary index. The problem is not so simple. The words isolated - in this case from Hamzah's writings - must also be words that are closely interrelated and interdependent and derive their meanings from the entire system of relations. The word ada for example, meaning 'to be' or 'existence' is a word that has existed in the Malay language certainly since before the Islamic or even Hindu periods. It is a pure Malay word and its use at least in pre-Islamic times seems to have been limited to a particular

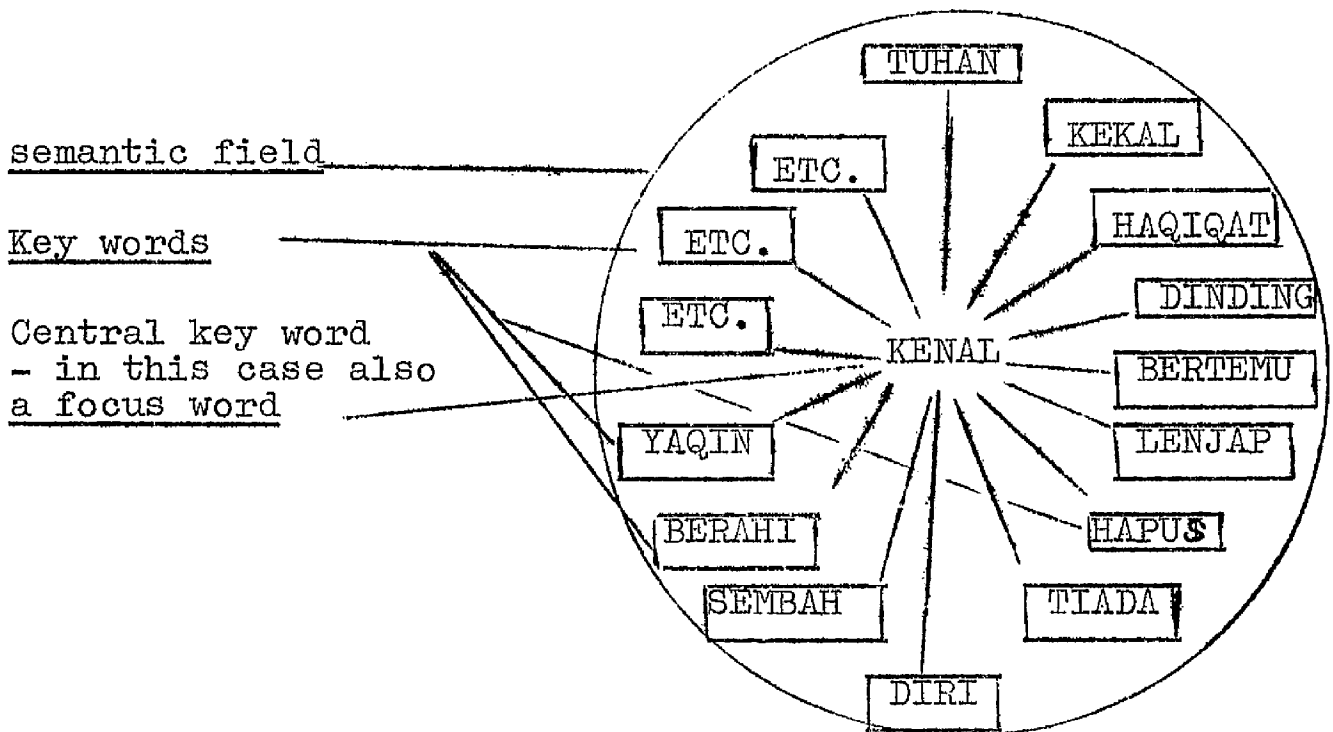
---

578. For the methodological concepts, I am greatly indebted to Professor Toshihiko Izutsu of Keio University, Tokyo, whose course of lectures at the Institute of Islamic Studies, McGill University, Montreal, in the springs of 1962 and 1963 has been of great benefit to me. These lectures have subsequently been expanded and published by the Keio Institute of Cultural and Linguistic Studies, Tokyo, 1964 under the title God and man in the Koran. Chapters I and II are relevant to the present study. Professor Izutsu's book will hereafter be cited as Izutsu.

category of being or existence. But Ḥamzah's use of it - as I will later demonstrate - has given new meanings which reveals no mere change in the Malay conception of the nature of being or existence, but a change, at once drastic and radical, in the whole conceptual system purporting to give a vision of the Universe. The vocabulary, then, has its own sphere of conceptualization, a network interrelated. The vocabulary is comprised of words that have significance in contributing to the overall picture of the author's vision of Reality. These words are like individual pieces of a jigsaw puzzle; each one contributing a particular aspect of the picture as a whole, and doing so only when each is set in relation to the others. Within the vocabulary, there are what is known as semantic fields or conceptual spheres which necessarily overlap with each other being, like the key words of which they are comprised, interrelated and interdependent. If a semantic field is large enough, it may be called a sub-vocabulary. A semantic field is comprised of key words clustering around a particular key word, and this key word may also be a focus word in that particular semantic field, although it may not necessarily be a focus word in other semantic fields in the same vocabulary. A key word is called a focus word if its semantic field is clearly defined and stands out above the others as an important field closely

connected with the central concept of the entire vocabulary. In this sense, the concept of the focus word corresponds to the Aristotelian concept of the archē.<sup>579</sup> An illustration of what has been said so far can be given in the following example taken from Hamzah's vocabulary where concepts do not stand alone, but are interrelated, ordered and systematized as gestalten. A group of key words such as hapus, lenyap, tiada (meaning fanā': mystical extinction or passing away); bertemu (meaning waṣl: mystical union); berahi (meaning 'ishq: mystical love of God); dinding (meaning hijāb: veil separating appearance from reality or phenomena from noumena); diri (meaning nafs: the Self); sembah (meaning to worship, from the Arabic root 'abada); Tuhan (meaning rabb: Lord); haqīqat<sup>580</sup> (meaning reality); kekal (meaning baqā': subsistence in God); nyata (meaning yagīn: certainty [achieved through illumination]) - all cluster around the semantic field of the key word kenal (meaning ma'rifah: gnosis):-

- 
579. Izutsu, p.29. This concept is found in Aristotle's Metaphysics, Book 1, 983b, 8., translated into English by W.D. Ross in the Great Books of the Western world series, vol.8, University of Chicago, 1952, pp.499-626: see pp.501foll. The expression archē is apparently first used by Anaximander (see Windelband, p.32, note 2).
580. The closest Malay equivalent of haqīqat is derived from the Malay word benar. But the form kebenaran as a translation of the word haqīqat is not found in Hamzah. He prefers to use the Arabic word, which seems to reveal that the word haqīqat has by then been accepted as a Malay word commonly used.



The key word kenal in the above example may also be regarded as a focus word, as the concept of gnosis (ma'rifah) is one of the most important concepts in Ḥamzah's system. Be that as it may, the key word kenal, in another semantic field, may only be one of the key words of relative importance as, for example, in the semantic fields of Tuhan (Lord), Diri (the Self) and Ḥaqīqat (Reality) which in the above illustration appear as key words. It clearly shows too that the semantic fields of Tuhan, Diri, Ḥaqīqat and Kenal overlap each other. In the semantic vocabulary, there is no semantic field that stands alone unrelated, as it were, to the other semantic fields within it. It is also this interrelation



that ultimately makes the semantic vocabulary an integrated whole. In the above example, the semantic field of kenal, apart from overlapping with those of Tuhan, Diri and Haqīqat, is also closely related with the semantic field of the focus word 'ālam (the World or Universe) around which cluster the key words dinding, lenyap, tiada, hapus, etc.; the four key words being also key words in the semantic field of kenal. Each semantic field, then, represents a relatively independent conceptual sphere.

Closely connected with the concepts or the semantic vocabulary, semantic fields, focus words and key words is the concept of 'basic' and 'relational' meanings. Words do not reveal the objective reality of the things described, but rather concepts of them.<sup>581</sup> What is important is therefore to comprehend the meanings of words not standing alone, but within their particular fields since the meanings of words are affected by the whole system.<sup>582</sup> To take a simple example from Ḥamzah, consider the Malay word titah which in the Malay language means simply a command. This command is generally that of a person set up in a position of assumed

---

581. See Ogden and Richards, The meaning of meaning, London, 1923, Chapter I.

582. See, for example, in Izutsu, pp.19-20, where the meaning of the Arabic word yawm (day) is affected by the Quranic eschatological field comprised of the key words qiyamah (resurrection), dīn (Judgement), ba'th (raising), ḥisāb (reckoning), etc.

divinity and charismatic authority such as a king according to the Malay concept of kingship particularly in pre-Islamic times. It is directed generally to his subjects who are merely human beings. Although the king is as much a human being as any other - and we may say that the word titah operates in the sphere of the same level of being - there is yet a clear hint that the word when given comes from 'above', not merely in the sense of a position or charismatic authority, but a position of divinity as well. The semantic field of the word titah taken in its original Malay form, that is, its basic meaning, would include such key words as raja (king), dewa (god), hamba (slave, i.e. subject), manusia (man), durhaka (treason), setia (loyal), kuasa (power), etc. In this sense, Ḥamzah's use of the word titah to translate the Arabic amr (command) of the Quranic Allāh seems to have been a fitting choice as far as the vocabulary of the Malay language goes, although it is most important to note that when Ḥamzah does so he has already caused an alteration in the basic meaning of the word and has given a new meaning to it - a relational meaning. The relational meaning of the word titah has an entirely different semantic field than its basic meaning, and it reveals a drastic change affecting the Malay cultural context as adumbrated in the basic meaning of titah. In its relational meaning, the semantic field of the word titah would include such key words as Allāh (God),

manusia (meaning in the Quranic context insān: man), kuasa (meaning in the Quranic context qudrah: power), Qur'ān, pesuruh (in the Quranic context rasūl: messenger), nabī (prophet), tanzīl (sending down [of revelation]), wahy (revelation), sembahyang (in the Quranic context ṣalāt: prayers), hamba (in the Quranic context 'abd: slave [of God], etc. It may be noticed that in the semantic fields of basic titah and relational titah, there are key words such as manusia, kuasa, hamba, and possibly even pesuruh, and sembahyang, which are common to both fields. One may be prompted to see in this presence of common words in the two semantic fields an overlapping of the two and a direct relationship between the one field and the other. But this would in fact be illusory as the key words in question would also acquire relational meanings in the semantic field of relational titah governed, as it were, by the influence of the Quranic context which contradicts the Malay cultural context reflected and crystallized in the semantic field of basic titah. Furthermore, apart from its relational meaning in the Quranic context, the key word titah in Ḥamzah has another relational meaning which may even be regarded as a technical term. This relational meaning is derived from the mystical context, where titah is identified as the Creative Word "Be!" (Kun), as an aspect of the Holy Spirit (rūḥ). This particular mystical context may in turn be subdivided

into ontological, cosmogonical, cosmological and psychological contexts. Here the semantic field of titah includes such key words as nyawa (meaning rūḥ: spirit; also meaning nafs: soul),<sup>583</sup> diri (meaning nafs: soul), jadi (derived from the Arabic root kwn, also from the imperative kun: to be), menjadikan (meaning khalāqa: to create), ada (meaning mawjūd: existing), berkehendak (meaning murīd: willing), nyata (meaning ẓāhir: manifest), nyawa berchampur (meaning rūḥ idāfī: relational spirit), chahaya [Muḥammad] (meaning nūr [Muḥammad]: Light [of Muḥammad]), khāliq (creator), makhḷūq (created), Dhāt (Essence), 'ilmu (knowledge [Divine]), ma'lūm (known), Ḥaqīqat Muḥammad (Reality or Idea of Muḥammad), 'Aql ([the First] Intellect), Qalam (Pen), etc.<sup>584</sup>

It is important, now that I have used the word 'context' in connection with relational meaning, to make a distinction between what I understand by context in its relation to semantic field. Although the concepts of context and semantic field bear a close relationship with one another and with the concept of relational meaning, they are by no means identical in meaning. Context is preparatory - it precedes the semantic field. Semantic field is the product

---

583. Usually, however, Ḥamzah means by nyawa: spirit (rūḥ) - although he once means by it the soul (nafs). The soul in Ḥamzah is usually referred to simply as diri or nafs.

584. Consult above, pp. 146-156.

of  
/context. But not all context produces a semantic field.

Consider, for example, the statement: 'There is a piano in the kitchen'. Contextually this is admissable as it describes a fact. But 'piano' and 'kitchen' do not produce any semantic field. There is no semantic value in their combination, no relational meaning. The nature and purpose of the kitchen is at variance with those of the piano. But if instead of piano we have 'knife', 'pot', 'spices', 'oven', etc., then a semantic field is produced as the objects denoted by those words are relational to cooking and general culinary activity. The association of words such as in this case 'knife', 'pot', 'spices', 'oven' and the key word 'kitchen' is a semantic field.

It will now become clear, with regard to my previous references about interpretations of the key words wujūd, ada, and diri in Ḥamzah's mystical system given by Rānīrī and Ḥamzah's assumed 'follower',<sup>585</sup> that they have confused their interpretations between basic and relational meanings, which led to further confusion in contexts and semantic fields. In Ḥamzah's context, all those key words belong to semantic fields pertaining to the ontological level above the Creative Word Kun, whereas their interpretations have effected a transference of semantic fields to those pertaining

---

585. See above, pp. 70; 72; 81; 84-87.

to the ontological level below the Creative Word. It is most important to note that the words that have played such a controversial role are not merely key words - they are also focus words, not only of individual or particular semantic fields, but of all the semantic fields in Ḥamzah's system.

All the key words in Ḥamzah's semantic vocabulary revolve around three major focus words: wujūd, ada, and diri, which together form the central concept in his mystical system. This central concept is that of the Absolute Being (Dhāt). From a philosophical point of view wujūd, denoting as it does an abstract concept of Being, pertains more to ontology; ada to cosmology; and diri to psychology, although in fact these divisions are never absolute and in the final analysis they overlap and merge as a single concept.

#### I Wujūd.<sup>586</sup>

No word presented itself in the Malay language, during the period of cultural change in the history of the Malays initiated by the coming of Islām among them, as an equivalent of the abstract concept of Being denoted by

---

586. On the genesis of the word wujūd as an abstract philosophical term approximating the Greek concept of being set forth briefly below, I am indebted to Professor Izutsu (see Izutsu, pp.71-72), and to Doctor Soheil Afnan (op.cit., pp.29foll.), also to Mlle. A.M. Goichon's Philosophie d'Avicenne et son influence en Europe médiévale, Paris, 1951, chapter II.

the Arabic wujūd. As a result of this, Malay Ṣūfī writers and translators, and writers and translators of other Muslim religious and scholastic works, all of which mainly appeared in great quantity in the 16th and 17th centuries in the Malay Archipelago, have kept the word wujūd untranslated, and have adopted it into the vocabulary of the Malay language. The resemblance between the Arabic and Malay languages, with respect to the cultural development having to do with a philosophical concept of being, is indeed remarkable. When Greek philosophy first made its influence felt among the Muslims, they were confronted with the problem of formulating a philosophical vocabulary to translate the Greek concepts. One of the major problems was the absence in Arabic of the copula; the auxiliary verb 'to be', corresponding to the Greek to einai, does not exist in Arabic. The translators of the Greek philosophical works had chosen the use of the verb wajada, a root word from whose passive sense wujida the abstract noun wujūd is derived.<sup>587</sup> Although the Translators as well as the Muslim philosophers were well aware that it was not the exact equivalent, the word wujūd, as an abstract philosophical term, was used and gradually came to be established by the Muslim philosophers as the equivalent of the Greek abstract

---

587. Wajada: to find; wujida: to be found; wujūd: being found.

concept of being couched in the Greek to einai. Many words offered themselves as candidates to become the Arabic equivalent of the Greek to einai,<sup>588</sup> but finally apparently only two were considered seriously: wujūd and kawn (from the root kwn [kāna]), and the former was preferred for two main reasons: (i) that the sense of something 'being found' couched in the concept wujūd, implying contingency, conveys a close correspondence with the meaning of to einai; (ii) that kāna conveys more the sense of 'becoming' as understood according to the Greek genesis.<sup>589</sup> With reference to the Malay language, the absence of the copula, as in the case of the Arabic language, is also a fact: there is no auxiliary verb 'to be'. Although the Muslim thought that presented itself to the Malay mind was not always couched in the philosophical vocabulary, but rather more in the theological vocabulary of the rationalist Mutakallimūn<sup>590</sup> and the mystical vocabulary of the Ṣūfī metaphysicians, yet the last

---

588. Al-Fārābī mentions such verbs as kāna, sāra, aṣbaḥa, amsa, ḡalla, but prefers wajada (Afnan, pp.29-30); the words huwiyyah, aysiyyah, anniyyah, kaynūnah, ithbāt and wujūd have been used to translate to einai (ibid., p.89.)

589. Izutsu, p.71.

590. The best examples of works in Malay containing definitive expositions of Mutakallimūn concepts are those written by Rānīrī. The Hujjah is a good example of the type of writing stated. See my Rānīrī and the Wujūdiyyah of 17th Century Acheh, now in print and published by the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society Malayan Branch, Monograph 4915.



two groups were profoundly influenced by philosophical speculations and employed philosophical terminologies in their writings. But the absence of an abstract concept of Being in the Malay language did not seem to present the writers and translators of the philosophical, theological and mystical works much difficulty for they simply adopted words such as wujūd and a great many others as loan words into the Malay vocabulary. In the case of the concept wujūd, two words may be considered as the logical candidates to denote it: the words jadi and ada, both of which convey the meaning 'to be'. But then jadi is a verb, and ada is a substantive; and in any case jadi, though a verb, cannot convey the meaning of wujūd or to einai, as the dominant sense in the meaning of jadi is 'becoming' rather than 'being'. In fact in the writings of Ḥamzah jadi used as an imperative translates the Arabic kun; and menjadi conveying the idea of 'becoming' translates yakūnu; menjadikan, kujadikan and yang dijadikan translate khalaqa, khalaqtu, and khalq respectively, so that the logical development of jadi is to make it the equivalent of the Arabic kawn. In the case of the word ada, it takes the function of the Arabic kāna, and this is manifested in the writings of Ḥamzah. Apart from that ada in fact means mawjūd, the passive participle of the verb wujida, rather than wujūd: it means 'existent' rather than 'being', and in this respect jadi also refers to

existence and not to being.<sup>591</sup> Because mawjūd as a philosophical terminology was rather confusing in that it continued to be understood in its basic sense of 'something found' instead of 'something that exists' or 'individual substance' in the Aristotelian sense (to on), the abstract noun huwiyyah, meaning 'heness' or 'itness' (from the pronoun huwa meaning 'he' or 'it'), came into use.<sup>592</sup> It is difficult to state precisely whether ada was also understood in the sense of huwiyyah, but some of the uses of ada in the writings of Rānīrī and especially Ḥamzah point towards huwiyyah, and depending upon actual context, also point towards māhiyyah, another philosophical term corresponding to the Greek to ti en einai meaning 'that by virtue of which a thing has its determinate nature'. It means also

---

591. Mawjūd itself, as a philosophical terminology became problematic as it conveyed the original connotation of 'something found' (cf. Izutsu, p.72), hence Ibn Rushd (Averroes) pointed out the confusion that arose regarding its use (cf. Tahāfut al-Tahāfut, p.224, and Notes, p.131). The distinction between 'being' as a substantive and 'being' as a verb is not made clear by Aristotle. If 'being's is taken as a verb as Ibn Sīnā (Avicenna) had done, then the substantive form is an accident of the verb form and it means 'existence' (see Tahāfut al-Tahāfut, p.179, and Notes, pp.110-111).

592. See above, note 591; also Afnān, pp.121-124; Goichon, op.cit., p.78.

quiddity or 'whatness'.<sup>593</sup> The question as to why either of the words ada or jadi has not been applied and accepted as the equivalent of the precise and abstract concept of being denoted by the word wujūd is perhaps because the words are far too non-abstract in their connotations and they refer generally to material existence. The very fact that the words ada, jadi, diri, and even wujūd have been the source of controversial polemics and misunderstanding which resulted in charges of zandaqa (heresy) and condemnations of death reveals beyond doubt that the basic meanings of ada, jadi and diri have continued to hold sway in the minds of the Malays. The writers and translators of the philosophical, theological and mystical works, aware of this difficulty

---

593. See ibid., pp.117-121; in the Hujjah (p.3) Rānīrī, defining being (wujūd) says that it is identical with essence (dhāt), and that essence in turn means 'the constituent determinant (keadaan) of a thing (shay')' and by keadaan he also means the inmost self (diri) (see his note on the margin of the page). The term diri can also be taken to mean quiddity. Rānīrī goes on to state that this dhāt, or keadaan of a thing, or diri of a thing, is none other than the being of God. Ḥamzah too identifies diri with ada in some contexts, and in some he identifies ada with 'ayn. In the writings of Ḥamzah, there occur instances in which ada seems to have been identified as wujūd in the sense of to einai. It must be noted that the word ada as used by Rānīrī above and in Ḥamzah's writings has been applied in a relational sense. Even to this day, for example, keadaan does not mean being, or constituent determinant of a thing, or the reality or inmost self of a thing, but it means 'the condition of a thing' or 'state of affairs'. With reference to the above exposition on jadi and ada in relation to wujūd, please consult the relevant references in the Index of semantic vocabulary in Appendix VII.

regarding basic meanings, decided quite logically, though not necessarily conscious of the fact, to use the original Arabic words in order to avoid confusion in meaning.

The theologians, the Mu'tazilah, the philosophers - in particular Ibn Sīnā - and the Mutakallimūn have made a distinction between possible being (mumkinu'l-wujūd) and necessary being (wājibu'l-wujūd).<sup>594</sup> Furthermore, the concept of wujūd including within its meaning the sense of contingency would result in confusion when applied to God's Being. It was necessary therefore that God's Being should be conceived as Necessary Being. Al-Ghazzālī revealed the confusion that arose among the philosophers resulting from their concept of the Necessary Being and pointed out that God's Being should be conceived as Necessary in the "causeless" sense, and that the necessity of His Being rests with His Essence with which His Being is identical.<sup>595</sup> The Ṣūfīs also affirm

---

594. Ibn Rushd credited Ibn Sīnā as the first man to bring into philosophy the proof of the impossibility of an infinite causal series, and this in turn led to the logical assumption of the dichotomy of being into possible and necessary (cf. Tahāfut al-Tahāfut, p.163). See also Arberry, A.J., Avicenna on theology, London, 1951, pp.25-32.

595. Ibn Rushd controverts al-Ghazzālī's statement about the mistake of the philosophers in their concept of the Necessary Being (cf. Tahāfut al-Tahāfut, p.227; see also ibid., pp.163, 164foll., 170, 171foll.; and Notes p.106). For Plotinus' exposition of this problem, see Ennead, VIII, 8-11 in MacKenna's translation, op.cit., pp.346-348.

as self-evident the dichotomy of being into possible and necessary and they further affirm that the Being of God is identical with His Essence. In Ḥamzah this is expressed thus:

Our Lord is the Possessor of the Essence (Dhāt). That is to say, [the Essence is] Unique (Semata), without Attributes. According to one expression, the Doctors of Theology call It Necessary Being because It is Self-Existent and does not exist through another. For this reason the Doctors of Theology call It Necessary Being. The People of the Path say that It is indeed Self-Existent, but It also gives existence (memberi wujud) to the World together with all its parts. It is called [by the People of the Path] Necessary Being because Being (wujud) and Essence are one.<sup>596</sup>

According to Ḥamzah, Necessary Being is the Self-subsistent Essence considered as attributeless; It is the Reality underlying all and giving existence to all; the Absolute (Muṭlaq); the Plotinian First (Yang Pertama);<sup>597</sup> the Transcendent One (Aḥad). In fact this Necessary Being is above Being and all relations to beings.<sup>598</sup> An important exposition must be made on one key word that appears in the passage quoted above, since this key word has a close semantic relation with wujud. This key word is the Malay semata, and what I wish to reveal is the remarkable manner in which

596. Asrār, pp.24-25.

597. Ibid., p.22; also Windelband, p.244, and the reference to Plotinus in note 595 above. Plotinus also refers to this 'First' as the 'One', Who precedes all thought and being (Ennead VIII, 8, op.cit., p.346).

598. Cf. Asrār, pp.26, 23, 62; Sharāb, pp.15, 11-12, 22.

Ḥamzah imposes upon it a transparent role of being the exact equivalent of the Arabic 'ayn'.<sup>599</sup> The highly synthetic 'ayn' means 'eye', 'fountain' or 'spring', 'self', 'origin', the 'quintessence' of a thing. As 'essence' or 'being' it generally refers in Ṣūfī thought to the Divine Essence. Now the word mata also means 'eye', and - undoubtedly due to the semantic influence of the Arabic 'ayn' - it came to this day to be used also to mean 'spring': mata air, literally the 'eye of the water'; the word mata in this case implying the meaning 'source' or 'origin'. But mata to mean 'very essence', 'being', or 'identity'<sup>600</sup> - if not found only in Ḥamzah's writings - is certainly perhaps first used with that connotation by Ḥamzah. The following two are examples among several:

(a) Al-'aynu wāḥidatun wa'l-ḥukmu mukhtalifun ...<sup>601</sup>

Yang semata itu esa juga; bermula,  
hukum jalannya berlain-lain ...<sup>602</sup>

---

599. Semata is derived from the word mata. In the form with the prefix se, semata is generally found in the repetitive form: semata-mata conveying a basic meaning synonymous with hanya: 'only', 'solely'. Its usage in Ḥamzah's relational sense is not found unless in Ṣūfī writings, and this was most probably through his influence.

600. In the Bṛhad-āraṇyaka Upanishad, IV.4.9, samata means identity or equality (Radhakrishnan, op.cit., p.275). But samata does not seem to be the equivalent of 'ayn' as Ḥamzah's semata is used.

601. Lama'āt, p.341.

602. Asrār, p.43.

(b) Ra'aytu rabbī bi 'aynī<sup>603</sup> rabbī.<sup>604</sup>

Kulihat Tuhanku dengan mata Tuhanku.<sup>605</sup>

In (a) semata translates 'ayn meaning 'essence' or 'being':  
 "The essence (or being) is one, but its ways are many ..."  
 The Arabic article al- is often in Ḥamzah translated as yang, as in the case of (a).<sup>606</sup> In (b) there is a play of meaning in the Arabic: the 'ayn is intended to mean both 'eye' and 'being', and this is so according to the mystical context.<sup>607</sup> The Malay mata in (b) is also intended to mean both 'eye' and 'being'. That there is no doubt that in Ḥamzah semata means the 'being' or 'essence' of something and in particular refers to essential nature can further be attested by another example:

603. Doorenbos' reading, 'aynay: 'two eyes' is based on the incorrect texts (Asrār, p.68 and Sharāb [Cod. Or. 7291 II], p.92). See Doorenbos, pp.164, 186. On the correct reading given above, see the original referred to in note 604 below.

604. Lama'āt, p.335.

605. Asrār, p.68; Sharāb, p.10.

606. Hence yang mengenal, for example, does not mean 'he who has gnosis', but 'gnosis'. The words translate al-ma'rifah (see Asrār, p.71: Yang mengenal dinding antara ... etc.)

607. An excellent example of the play of meaning in the usage of the word 'ayn in the mystical context is Shāh Ni'matu'llāh's du bayt quoted by Ḥamzah on p.120 of the Muntahī. The first bayt will suffice;

Ra'aytu'llāha fī 'aynī bi 'aynihi

Wa 'aynī 'aynuhu fa'nzur bi 'aynihi ...

I see God in my being with His Sight;  
 My being is His Being - see with His Sight ...

- (c) Adapun air serupa, sematanya air;  
tanah pun serupa, sematanya tanah.<sup>608</sup>

As to water, it remains the same, it is essentially water; earth too remains the same; it is essentially earth.

In the same context, another example - it is important to note - reveals the close semantic connection between semata and sendiri:

- (d) Adapun bumi, tanah sendirinya;  
hujan pun air jua sendirinya.<sup>609</sup>

As to the earth, it is in itself earth;  
rain too is in itself nothing but water.

The close semantic connection between diri and ada, and between ada and 'ayn has already been noted;<sup>610</sup> in these examples that I have quoted, the close semantic connection between 'ayn and semata, and between semata and diri is established, and the conclusion that can be drawn from this remarkable fact is that semata, ada, diri, and 'ayn are all together identical with dhāt; they all meet in identity in the concept dhāt although their application in different contexts reveals meanings that are not exactly identical. This is quite logical, for in different contexts they refer conceptually to different 'modes' or predispositions inherent in dhāt.

---

608. Asrār, p.53.

609. Ibid., p.52.

610. See above, note 593.



Being (wujūd), properly speaking, does not mean Essence, if Being is considered as one of the 'Modes' or Predispositions inherent in the Essence. The Unique Essence is beyond Being, for the latter is the first determination <sup>612</sup> (ta'ayyun)<sup>611</sup> of the former and one of the four hypostases by which the Unique Essence determines Itself<sup>613</sup> through all Its stages of determination.<sup>614</sup> Through Being as such, the Creator conceived as He Who 'draws forth' Possibilities from His Essence (Yang Mengadakan) and creation conceived as the deployment of the Possibilities in a relative mode (yang diadakan)<sup>615</sup> are made manifest (nyata).<sup>616</sup> A clue to

611. The second form of the verb 'ayn ('āna) from which 'ayn is derived. The term ta'ayyun is translated by Hamzah as nyata. In view of the identity of 'ayn with ada, it is clear that nyata, whose basic meaning is 'to be clear' or 'clarified', must be considered as an important key word in the semantic field of ada. Nyata is all the more important because the noun form kenyataan translates tajallī which in Ṣūfī thought means 'the manifestation of Being of God in the theatre of manifestation (mazhar: the World)'.  
 612. The term hypostases should not be understood as Person in the sense of the Christian theological connotation. As meaning 'singular substance', a materialistic interpretation should be avoided. It seems to me also that the fourfold first determination of the Unique Essence here meant can be conceived as archēs in the ancient philosophers' sense of the term (cf. note 579 above and also Windelband, pp.31-47), but again without materialistic connotations.

613. Sharāb, p.15.  
 614. Ibid., p.16.  
 615. Consult above, pp.134-135(1).  
 616. See Sharāb, p.15: Kerana Wujūd maka Yang Mengadakan dan yang diadakan nyata. This is a very important passage in Hamzah's ontological system and it will be treated properly in due course.

the conception of the nature of wujūd is given by Ḥamzah on page 52 of the Asrār:

The analogy is like clay (tanah) fashioned into drinking vessels, or cooking pots, or water jars, or earthen containers; the clay is the original being (aṣal wujūd)<sup>616</sup> of all the earthen vessels. Without the clay, how can the drinking vessel and the cooking pot acquire existence (wujūd)? From the point of view of external law (sharī'ah)<sup>617</sup> the being of the drinking vessel is other than the being of the clay. From the point of view of inner reality (ḥaqīqat) being refers to [the clay]; earthenware vessels are without being, the clay alone [has being] for all the forms (rupa)<sup>618</sup> are illusory (wahmī) and not real (ḥaqīqī).<sup>619</sup>

In one of his verses,<sup>620</sup> Ḥamzah conceives of Being as having three planes, each corresponding to the first, second and third determinations of the Essence. The first is called the plane of undifferentiated unity (wujūd jam'ī), wherein the Relational Spirit (ruh idāfī) is manifested, and the creatures individualized as a unity without any differentiation - as a 'general concept' (ijmālī), as it were - in the

---

616. Here the word aṣal means, apart from 'original', also 'pure' being or true 'cause' of being.

617. When the term sharī'ah is used in a context in contrast with the term ḥaqīqat as in the above case, it conveys the meaning 'exoteric' in contrast with 'esoteric'; 'appearance' or 'phenomenon' in contrast with 'reality' or 'noumenon', etc.

618. In Ḥamzah's writings, rupa means either surah: form; or shakl: shape or the ordinary sense of 'form', both of which it translates. Shakl has been used by the Philosophers to translate the Greek morphē (see Afnān, op.cit., pp.107-108). In the context above, 'form' means shakl since it refers to the shapes of the earthenware vessels.

619. See also Asrār, pp.43-44.

620. 2016, p.27. See Appendix V, (ii).

Divine Knowledge. The Idea or Reality of Muḥammad (ḥaqīqat Muḥammad) refers to this plane of existence. The second is called the plane of synthetical existence (wujūd tamyīzī), wherein the creatures are brought into existence synthetically. Here all spirits are manifested and the Idea or Reality of Man (ḥaqīqat insānī) refers to this plane of existence. The third is called the plane of analytical existence (wujūd mufaṣṣalī), wherein the creatures are made to exist analytically as potential existence, or 'exterior essences' ('a'yān khārijīyyah).<sup>621</sup> Being quā Being as understood in the analogy of the clay and the earthenware vessels, is Universal Substance; it is the abiding and immutable 'ground' of all existence.<sup>622</sup> Conceived as one of the planes of Being it is, as it were, a 'mode' of Being: it is Existence. In these verses Ḥamzah does not make any references to the fourth and fifth determinations of the Essence<sup>623</sup> that would correspond to particular planes of Being in the same manner the first three did. It is obvious, however, that since the fourth and fifth determinations pertain to the

621. Cf. above, pp. 24; 120-121.

622. Expressed also in one of his verses (2016, p.30):

WujūdNya itu upama dā'irah yang buntar  
Nanti asa tetap, tiada berkisar;  
KelakuanNya jua yang bertukar-tukar,  
Mengenal Dia terlalu sukar.

623. The Essence goes through five stages of determination. Cf. Sharāb, p.15.

world of forms, both psychic and corporeal, they would correspond with planes of Being that could be called external existence (wujūd khārijī), a term which Rānirī has used to that effect.<sup>624</sup> All the planes of Being mentioned also correspond to the schematic stratification or categorization (ṭabaqāt) of the mystical worlds ('ālam) ranging 'between' and including the two opposite domains: the Unseen, i.e. Intelligible World ('ālam ghayb) and the Phenomenal World ('ālam shahādah).<sup>625</sup> It is also quite evident that this division of Being in its existential modes into the purely

624. Hujjah, p.3.

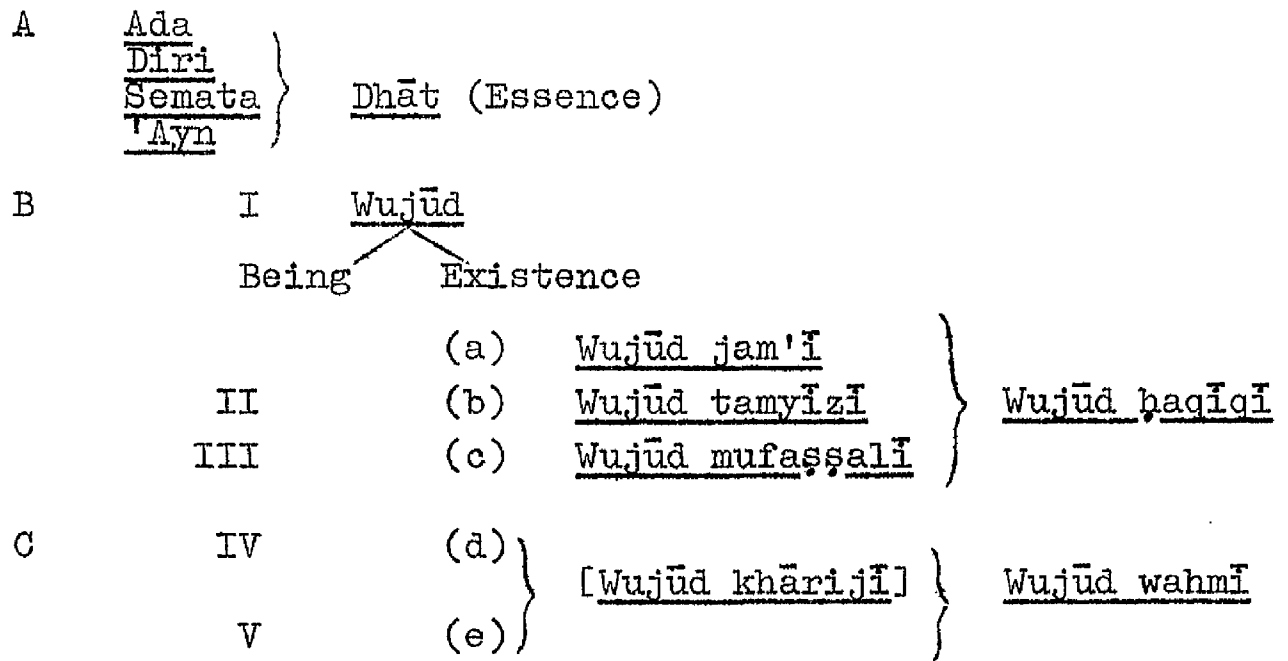
625. 'Between' the two opposite domains there 'lie' the World of Omnipotence ('ālam jabarūt), the world of pure spirits; the World of Dominion ('ālam malakūt), the world of the soul; the World of Similitude or Analogy ('ālam mithāl), the world of forms both psychic and corporeal. Transposed upon the planes of Being the Worlds of Omnipotence, Dominion and Similitude would correspond to the first three planes; the Worlds of Similitude and Phenomena would correspond to the last two planes. Other terms have been used to denote the various mystical worlds such as the World of Unity ('ālam jam') referring to the World of Omnipotence; the World of Pure Spirits ('ālam arwāh) and the World of Imagination ('ālam khiyāl) referring to the World of Dominion; the World of Man ('ālam insānī), the World of the Kingdom ('ālam mulkī), the World of Forms ('ālam ṣuwārī), the Physical or Corporeal World ('ālam jismānī) referring to the Phenomenal World. There are also terms to denote the natures, or rather aspects, of the mystical worlds in their definite classes like, for example, the World of Divinity ('ālam lāhūt) and the World of Humanity ('ālam nāsūt), referring to the worlds in the first three and last two determinations respectively. Cf. 2016, pp.43, 44, 67, 69, 71, 73.

intelligible - a combination of the intellectual and the spiritual - on the one hand, manifested in the first three determinations of the Essence; and the formal manifestation as a whole, including both the psychic and the corporeal, in the last two of the five determinations on the other hand, naturally leads to the logical assumption of the dichotomy of Being as Real (ḥaqīqī) in the case of the former category, and Illusory (wahmī) in the case of the latter category.<sup>626</sup> So far, the nature of wujūd as understood by Ḥamzah can be represented in the following schema:<sup>627</sup>

---

626. The aspects of Being divisible into Real and Illusory would correspond to the aspects of the Essence as Divine (lāhūt) and human (nāsūt) respectively. The intermediate stage between the Divine and the human aspects of the Essence is called in mystical language the Barrier (al-barzakh). Cf. 2016, pp.44, 66-67, 68; Asrār, pp.40-41. Cp. Ibnu'l-'Arabī's conception of al-barzakh, 'Affīfī, pp.74, 82, 91; and of lāhūt and nāsūt, pp.13-14. Of the assertion of "dualism" in al-Hallāj's conception of lāhūt and nāsūt by Massignon and 'Affīfī, see Lings, p.125, note 3.

627. The Roman numerals in the schema represent the five stages of determination of the Essence. Compare with the schema of the ontological descent of Absolute Being on p.120 above.



There is, then, only one Being, the rest are existential modes of the same Being.<sup>628</sup> From the above schema, it is at once seen that the existential modes of Being range themselves under four and not five classes: (a), (b), (c), and (d) plus (e). The reality of each particular class of existential mode is relative<sup>629</sup> to that which logically preceded it; the higher ontological order is considered real

628. In the Greek to einai, as in the Arabic wujūd particularly in the mystical context, apart from meaning 'Being' it also means 'Reality' (Cf. Windelband, p.38, note 1).

629. By 'relative' is also meant 'subjective'. Since there is only One Real Being, the existential modes are - to the mystic - as 'veils' concealing the One Reality, and as the mystic passes on (fanā') from stage to stage, the 'veils' fall away so that ultimately he is veiled only by the One Reality (Dhāt).

in relation to the one immediately below it.<sup>630</sup> The four classes of existence correspond each to one of the four 'veils' (ḥijāb) which conceal the Essence: the Divine Attributes (ṣifāt (a)); the Divine Names (asmā' (b)); the Divine Acts (af'āl (e)); and the Divine Effects (āthār (d) plus (e)).<sup>631</sup> The term wujūd, when used with reference to the world, means āthār (effects):

630. One is tempted to see in this another version of the Plotinian theory of emanation, but see above, pp. Plotinus in contrast with the relevant Ṣūfī doctrine seems to bestow creative powers to his emanations of the First, the Origin, the Good, the One. The separation of Soul (Psychē) is, for Plotinus, self-willed, whereas for the Ṣūfis generally it is simply an Act of God. See Ali Hassan Abdel-Kader's The life, personality and writings of al-Junayd, London, Luzac, 1962, pp.104-116.

631. Ḥamzah says:

When one has achieved extinction (fanā') from His Effects, and His Acts, and His Names, and His Attributes, then one can be united (bertemu) with the Essence; for His Effects are as veils unto His Acts; His Acts are as veils unto His Names; His Names are as veils unto His Attributes; and His Attributes are as veils unto His Essence. All these [i.e. Effects, Acts, Names and Attributes] are but His Predispositions (kelakuan).

Asrār, p.72. See also ibid., p.73. The word kelakuan in Ḥamzah translates the Arabic shā'n (pl. shu'ūn) and is described as the keadaan (existential mode) of the Essence. The Divine Names the First (al-Awwal), the Last (al-Ākhir), the Outwardly Manifest (al-Zāhir), the Inwardly Hidden (al-Bāṭin) play an important role in this fourfold aspect of Being. See Asrār, pp.28, 52. Shaykh al-'Alawī's formulations of the doctrine of Oneness of Being is most relevant - see Lings, pp.131-147.

... His Effects (āthārNya) are most clearly manifested (nyata) upon the whole world, and not hidden, for they [i.e. the Effects] exist (wujūd) through the Mercy (rahmat) of the Compassionate One (al-Rahmān), and give existence (wujūd) to the entire world. Were it not for that existence (wujūd) [i.e. the existence of Mercy of the Compassionate One],<sup>632</sup> how can Effects be derived? Since the effects upon the whole world are His Effects, [the world] thereby derives existence (wujūd).<sup>633</sup>

Rahmān is a Divine Name. Each Divine Name presupposes the hidden existence of the Quality or Attribute which it describes in the Divine Essence. Hence before the Essence can be called by the Name Rahmān, the Quality rahmat must first exist in the Essence. Thus the Name depends upon the Qualities or Attributes, in the same manner that the Divine Effects depend upon the Divine Names, for each Divine Name displays its Effects upon the world through a continuous series of manifestations (kenyataan: tajalliyāt).<sup>634</sup> The

632. Cf. Asrār, p.40: ... daripada rahmat Rahmān sekalian beroleh wujūd.

633. Ibid., p.52; cf. also p.46.

634. Note the passages in ibid., p.49:

the world is His Manifestation (kenyataanNya), for God, the Glorious and Exalted, His Essence, Attributes, [Names], Acts, and Effects are continuously manifest (nyata).

... His Effects (bekasNya) flow (lalu) like the waters of the river flowing without cessation, without end... 'Every day He is in a State of Activity (kelakuan: sha'n) - [Qur'ān 55:29].



existence (wujūd) of the world - as the passage above says - is the effects (āthār) of the Divine manifestations. To endow existence (memberi wujūd) is synonymous with to bestow Mercy (memberi rahmat), and this means to create (menjadikan)<sup>635</sup>. It is upon the doctrine of the role of the Divine Attributes and Names, and the incessant operation of the latter through series of manifestations that the doctrine of perpetual creation<sup>636</sup> in Ṣūfī cosmology is based.<sup>637</sup>

The analogy of the clay and the earthenware vessels purporting to demonstrate the nature of wujūd may be considered as static rather than dynamic. But this analogy

635. I.e. khalāqa. Ibid., p.40: Adapun al-Rahmān pertama memberi rahmat bagi semesta sekalian 'ālam; ya'ni menjadikan semesta sekalian ... Rahmān empunya rahmat memberikan wujud pada semesta sekalian 'ālam ... See above, p.135. It is significant that menjadikan is used instead of mengadakan.

636. Tajdidu'l-khalq bi'l-anfās: renewing of creation at each breath. The 'breath' refers to the Breath of the Compassionate One (nafasu'l-Rahmān). Cf. above, pp.136; 161-162.

637. Cf. above, pp.130-136. This doctrine is clearly and briefly outlined in Jāmī's commentary of the Fuṣūṣu'l-Hikam of Ibnu'l-'Arabī, the Lawā'ih. See above, pp.107; 128; 161-162; and 165-166, where some relevant passages from the Lawā'ih are quoted. The atomistic theory of the Muslim scholastic theologians (al-Ash'arī and the Mutakallimūn) pertaining to substance (atoms) and accidents greatly influenced the Ṣūfī cosmology, though the Ṣūfīs modified the theologians' theory of substance (atoms) and classified substance (atoms) as accidents along with the others. For the theologians' theory of atoms and accidents, see chapter I of Fakhry, op.cit., Elder's introduction to Taftazānī gives an outline of the theory (pp. xxv-xxvi).

is merely intended to express the essential Unity of things, and solely for that purpose the simple static picture is quite acceptable.<sup>638</sup> In all of Ḥamzah's writings that have come down to us, many kinds of analogies (sing: 'ibārat; mathal) have been employed to describe the concept of Oneness of Being (waḥdatu'l-wujūd), for example: the clay and the earthenware vessels; the cotton and the cloth; the sun and the reflection (and its light); rain, earth, and plants (connected with the concept of the Pure Potentialities

---

638. The same kind of analogy has been used by Hindu mystics who adhere to the doctrine of non-duality (advaita), but those who make use of analogies - of any analogy for that matter - in their attempt to describe God are well aware of the inadequacy of the picture presented. Moreover, as Burckhardt says, the very self-evident nature of the inadequacy of any analogy purporting to describe God renders the analogy harmless by making people understand it merely as a symbolic allusion and nothing more. It is true that sometimes the analogy employed can have considerable influence in determining the conception envisaged. This is indeed the case with Plotinus and his analogy of light (cf. Windelband, p.245). In the case of the Ṣūfīs generally, who uphold the doctrine of Oneness of Being, among them Ibnu'l-'Arabī, 'Irāqī, Shabīstarī, Jāmī, Jīlī, the analogy that they have favoured most for its aptness and conformity with their conception of Being seems to be that of the fathomless ocean and the waves. The same conclusion is certainly true for Ḥamzah. But to speak of the determining influence of this analogy in their conception of Being is not worthwhile, for they and Ṣūfīs generally constantly remind themselves, in the last analysis, of such Quranic passages as Subḥāna'llāh 'amma yasifūn; Laysa kamithlihi shay', etc. which they insert in significant places in their writings.

(isti'dād aṣlī); the wine and the cup (glass); the ocean and the waves. They have each been employed according to the context and intention of the discourse. But the analogy which has the most persistent influence, whose application is again and again resorted to by Ḥamzah, is the analogy of the fathomless ocean and the waves. Indeed, this analogy has been the favourite of Ṣūfīs generally in their attempt to describe their conception of Being. Ḥamzah in the Asrār alone occupies himself with at least no less than two of his fifteen bayts in elaborating upon this analogy.<sup>639</sup> Of all the analogies employed,<sup>640</sup> that of the fathomless ocean and

639. Asrār, pp.54-60.

640. One interesting analogy in the Muntahī, p.114, employed to interpret the meaning of 'Wheresoever you turn there is the Face of God' is that of milk and butter (or clarified butter): 'Tamthil seperti susu dan minyak sapi; namanya dua, haqīqatnya suatu jua. Kesudahannya susu lenyap [apabila di] putar - minyak jua kekal sendirinya.' 'The analogy is like milk and butter; their names are two, but their real essence is one. Ultimately the milk disappears [when it is] churned - butter alone remains.' This seems to hark back to well-known Sanscrit texts, for example, Sri Krishna says to Arjuna: 'I am the melted butter' (Bhagavadgīta, IX:16, translated with introduction and notes by E.J. Thomas, London, 1948, p.74). In the Arjuna Wiwāha, one of the most famous poems of Old Javanese literature, the same analogy is found in canto 10, stanza 1, the last two lines:

sang lwir agni sakeng taken kadi miñak sakeng  
dadhi kita,  
sang sāksāt metu yan hana wwang amuter tutur  
pinahayu.

You are the honoured one with the aspect of  
fire that comes



Dhāt).<sup>641</sup> The billows (halun) symbolize the being (keadaan)<sup>642</sup> of the world, and the waves (ombak) symbolize the forms (rupa) of the phenomenal world.<sup>643</sup> The colour (warna)<sup>644</sup> of the waves symbolizes the visible and knowable qualities. The bubbles of foam (buih) symbolize man.<sup>645</sup>

641. It is important to note, as in this case, that keadaan is employed as synonymous with kelakuan (shu'un).

642. By 'being' (keadaan) in this context is meant the immediate ground of the existence of the world; this ground has merely a relative reality, for the real ground of all existence is Being (wujūd). Therefore, in the sense above, keadaan means 'ayn. For an example in which keadaan means 'ayn, see Muntahī, p.120:

Kulihat Allāh pada keadaanku ('aynī) dengan  
penglihatNya;

Bermula: keadaanku itu keadaanNya ('aynuhu) ...

See above, note 607. Keadaan, then, is closely connected sematically with semata. See above, pp.238-241.

643. Cp. Lawā'ih, p.31, the first two rubā'īs on the page; and p.35, the last rubā'ī on the page.

644. In Hamzah, warna translates the Arabic lawn and the Persian rang. In the latter case, there seems to be direct influence from Jāmī whom Hamzah frequently quotes. See, for example, Muntahī, p.122; and Lawā'ih, p.13, the second rubā'ī on the page. Cf. also Qur'ān, 2:138: Wa man aḥsanu mina'llāhi ṣibghatan: And who can dye so well as God? (Jāmī). In 'Abdu'llāh Yūsuf Ali's translation (Lahore, 1 vol.), p.56 and notes 137-138. The Persian rang is from the Sanscrit rangga and not varna.

645. The form of the bubble (man) is twofold: gross (kathīf: keras), and subtle (laṭīf: lembut or lemah) - cf.

Asrār, pp.77-78. This seems identical with the Vedantic distinction between the sūkshma-sharīra or linga-sharīra (subtle form) and the sthūla-sharīra (gross form), which constitutes the fourth and fifth 'envelopes' (koshas) of the Self (Purusha or Ātmā manifesting itself as jīvātma in the living form of the individual being).

Transposed into the order of the Divine Names, the ocean symbolizes the Knower (al-'Ālim), and the billows, being the Effects (āthār) of the Name 'Ālim, symbolize the known (al-ma'lūm).<sup>646</sup> The Predispositions in the Essence symbolize the Divine Name al-Qāsim (One Who Distributes, Apportions or Allocates), and the waves are the Effects of that Name and hence are called al-maqsūm (the distributed, apportioned or allocated).<sup>647</sup> The tempest (ṭūfān) symbolizes the Name al-Hākim (One Who governs and decides), Whose rule and

---

See René Guénon's Man and his becoming, London, 1945, chapter IX. Relevant references mentioned in Guénon's footnotes may be consulted in Radhakrishnan's The principal Upanishads. Kraemer also holds the same view - cf. Kraemer, op.cit., p.89.

646. The analogy is further developed logically to include vapours, clouds, raindrops, rivers, etc. See above, pp.104-106.
647. The 'division' or 'allocation' done by al-Qāsim corresponds to creating in the sense of 'drawing forth' (mengeluarkan) of the Pure Possibilities (kelengkapan: isti'dād asli) in the Divine Essence (see above, pp.134-135; 147 - 148). The concept of creating, as has previously been pointed out (above, pp.134; 148) conveys two possible meanings corresponding to mengadakan (i.e. mengeluarkan), and menjadikan - cf. above, p.251), and the latter means further assigning to each thing its proper measure': Maqsūm corresponds to creation in both the mengadakan and the menjadikan senses. Moreover, the 'division' or 'allocation' is done harmoniously as it is governed by Divine wisdom (hikmat). Hence the reference to al-Hākim in the sentence following implies that the 'governing' and 'deciding' is wisely done, for both hakim and hikmat are derived from the same root hakama. Cf. Asrar, pp. 38-39.

decision holds sway over His Predispositions (kelakuan: shu'ūn), and hence the Predispositions in the Divine Essence are called al-mahkūm (the governed). The tempest which is called al-Ḥākim also alludes symbolically to the Creative Command 'Be!' 648

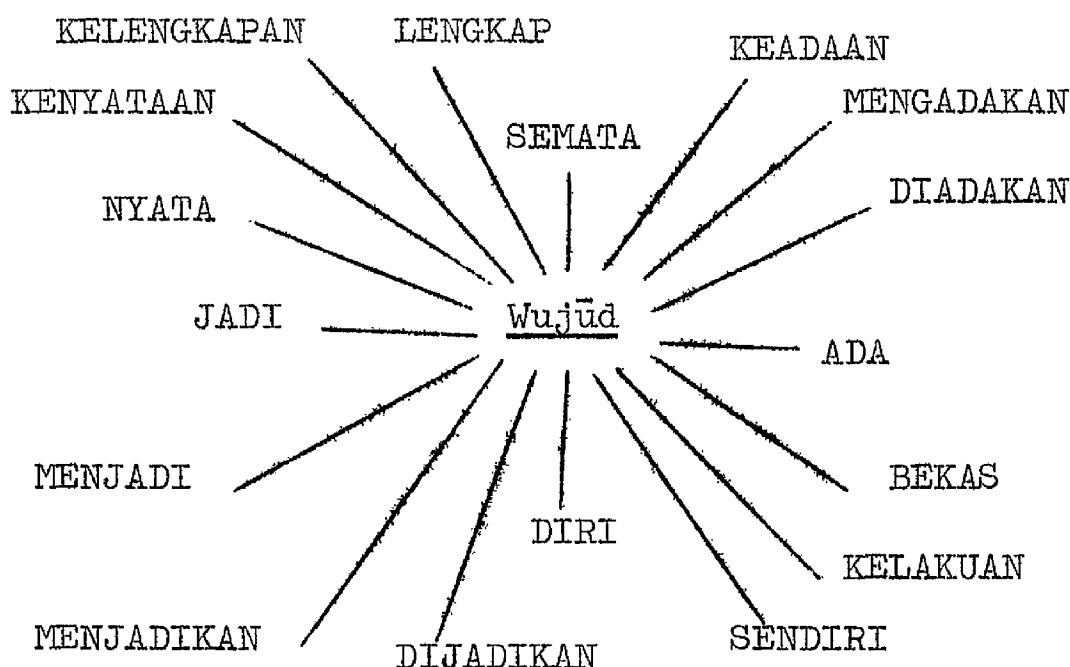
From the foregoing analysis of Ḥamzah's concept of wujūd, a definite conclusion about what wujūd denotes in his writings can now be established. Wujūd denotes three possible concepts in Ḥamzah; (i) as the second of the fourfold hypostasis of the Essence, it denotes the Universal Substance to which Jāmī refers as the 'Single Substance', 649 and which I have designated simply as Being; (ii) it denotes the existential modes of Being, meaning Existence; this Existence is dynamic as it is none other than Divine Creative Activity (shu'ūn, ta'ayyunāt, tajalliyāt, āthār) which is referred to as Real or True Existence (wujūd haqīqī); 650 (iii) it denotes existence that is metaphorical or illusory (wahmī). In the sub-vocabulary of wujūd, the most immediate or major key words that cluster around wujūd can be diagrammatically

648. Asrār, pp. 54-55; 57-59; 77-79.

649. I.e.: 'ayn waḥid. See Lawa'ih, Flash XXVI.

650. It is Real or True only because it is the reality or true essence of metaphorical or illusory existence. When set against Being quā Being, however, it cannot be regarded as having independent reality or truth, for its reality or true essence in turn is nothing but Being.

shown thus:<sup>651</sup>



- 
651. Reading clockwise, the Arabic equivalents of the major key words in the sub-vocabulary of wujūd are as follows: Semata ('Ayn); Keadaan ('Ayn, Shu'ūn); Mengadakan (synonymous with Mengeluarkan: abraza-ījād in the sense of 'drawing forth' from 'Nothing'); Diadakan (passive form of mengadakan); Ada ('Ayn, mawjūd, huwiyyah, māhiyyah); Bekas (Āthār); Kelakuan (Shu'ūn - see keadaan); Sendiri (synonymous with semata: 'Ayn); Diri ('Ayn, Huwiyyah); Menjadikan (khalāqa in the sense of 'actualization as external existence'); Dijadikan (passive form of menjadikan); Menjadi (Kawn); Jadi (Kun); Nyata (Ta'ayyun, it also conveys the basic meaning of mubīn); Kenyataan (Tajallī - see nyata); Kelengkapan (Isti'dād aṣlī); Lengkap (Muḥīṭ - see Kelengkapan; lengkap is also used synonymously with penuh or pejal which translates ṣamad).



II Ada.

In Malay the meaning of ada has a very close semantic relationship with the Malay word isi, and this can be established by the fact that in the Malay (Austronesian) family of languages the two words ada and isi have been interchangeably used to mean the same thing, namely: existence. For example, in Malay, Toba-Batak, Javanese, isi means 'content'; in Tagalog isi means 'occupation' (of space or place); in Ngaju-Dayak isi means 'flesh' or 'meat' (the same meaning is also conveyed in Malay); in Hova isi means 'existence';<sup>652</sup> In Malagasy isy means 'existence';<sup>653</sup> and in Mantra issi means 'existence'.<sup>654</sup> In Hova, Malagasy and Mantra, the meaning of isi as 'existence' is synonymous with the Malay ada. The word isi in Malay conveys basically the meaning 'content'. Other meanings such as 'flesh', 'meat', 'to fill' or 'occupation' of space or place refer to the basic meaning of 'content'. An important element in the conceptual structure of isi in Malay is that the 'content'

---

652. Cf. Dempwolff, O., Vergleichende Lautlehre des Austro-nesischen Wortschatzes, (in 3 vols.), Berlin, 1934-1938, vols. 1, p.49; and 3, p.70.

653. Cf. Abinal, R.P., and Malzac, R.P., Dictionnaire Malagache-Français, Paris, 1955, p.284.

654. Cf. Borie, H., An account of the Mantras, a savage tribe in the Malay Peninsula, Miscellaneous Papers relating to Indo-China and the Indian Archipelago, edited by R. Rost, London, 1887, second series, vol.1, pp.286-307. See pp. 303-304. The above mentioned account was translated from the Tijdschrift (T.B.G.) vol.X, (1861), pp.413-443.

meant is of a corporeal, tangible or material nature as opposed to the abstract. In the case of ada, it conveys basically the meaning 'to be' or 'existing' in the sense of the basic Arabic mawjūd; it conveys the sense of some thing existing. Another basic meaning of ada in Malay is 'to have', and in this sense it is closely related semantically with one of the meanings conveyed by the Malay prefix ber.<sup>655</sup> But the basic meaning 'to have' is, so to speak, secondary to the basic meaning 'to be', since in the final analysis the former meaning implies necessarily the existence of the latter. The concept of existing conveyed by ada, like that of content conveyed by isi, refers to material, tangible or corporeal existence. Bearing in mind the close semantic relationship between ada and isi, the word ada considered as reflecting the Old Malay vision of being resembles the Parmenidean corporeality (to pleon) filling space, i.e. "the full". This space filling is being; it is all that 'is', and all that 'is' not is empty space (to kenon).<sup>656</sup> Now in

---

655. See above, pp. 208-209. An example of what I intend to convey here is the usage of ber and ada in the following way: 'Orang itu berharta' and 'Orang itu ada harta', both conveying the meaning 'That person has wealth'. But in another example: 'Orang itu berkemeja putih' and 'Orang itu ada kemeja putih', the meaning is not exactly the same, for the former means that the person actually has a white shirt on, whereas the latter simply says that the person has a white shirt.

656. Windelband, p. 37. According to Zeller Parmenides' concept of to kenon is derived from part of the Pythagorean doctrine, namely that which they called the 'unlimited' or apeiron (Zeller, pp. 36, 49).

Malay the word tiada (tidak + ada : 'no thing' or 'not existing') corresponds to the Parmenidean to kenon and to me on.<sup>657</sup> But the resemblance between the Malay ada and the Parmenidean to pleon is limited only to the first part of the Parmenidean conception of being, and does not resemble Parmenides' philosophical abstractions all the way.

The development towards philosophical abstractions in the Malay conception of being or existence, as reflected in the Malay language, is first found in the writings of Ḥamzah. Indeed, they are the earliest evidence I have come across in which the usage of ada reveals a semantic change reflecting a new world view - a Ṣūfī world view, which though no doubt introduced with the coming of Islām, achieved its full definitive and systematic Malay expression in them. All subsequent Malay Ṣūfī literature and their Javanese versions and equivalents have been profoundly influenced by the new meanings Ḥamzah unfolded in such well known words as semata, which has already been treated, and ada, tahu and kenal; jadi, titah, diri, etc.

Several different meanings are conveyed, apart from the basic meaning of ada defined above, in Ḥamzah's usage of

---

657. For Parmenides, non-being, or to me on means, accordingly, to kenon, i.e. empty space. The Malay ada and tiada corresponds to the Javanese hana and tan hana respectively.

ada, depending upon actual context. The first important point to note is that ada in Ḥamzah's writings generally translates the Arabic kāna; and this is found consistently not only in the form kāna, but also in its conjugated forms such as kuntu, kuntum, kunnā, yakun and takun, with the exception of the imperative form kun and the form yakūn which are translated as jadi and menjadi respectively for cosmological reasons I have already explained in several places. The usage in Malay literature generally of adapun to begin paragraphs or sentences seems definitely to be the result of the influence of the Arabic kāna, which is also used in that way, and the same can be said of the literary Malay adalah and adanya. Since there is every reason to conclude that the earliest Malay Ṣūfī writings, or for that matter, systematic (i.e. rational and intellectual) Malay writings of any kind, are those of Ḥamzah,<sup>658</sup> there seems to be no doubt that a great deal of influence in the origin of such usage in Malay literature can be traced to Ḥamzah. Sometimes, when kāna refers to the past, the translation ada is preceded by the word dahulu ('before' or 'was'). But in spite of this ada does not mean kawn, whose equivalent

---

658. See below, p. 297 foll.

is in fact jadi,<sup>659</sup> being the 'result', as it were, of the Creative Kun. Ada in Ḥamzah is yang dijadikan (i.e. kejadian).<sup>660</sup> Ada is mawjūd; but mawjūd, as can be seen in the passages quoted below, is understood in two different senses: (i) as being outwardly manifest (ẓāhir), in which case it refers to the phenomenal world, and even then it is not the equivalent of the basic Arabic mawjūd, but rather the relational metaphysical mawjūd which includes within its meaning, when it refers to the phenomenal world, a world of constant annihilation and rehabilitation; illusory when viewed in the sense of the former, real when viewed in the sense of the latter; (ii) as being inwardly hidden (bāṭin), in which case it refers to the permanent and transcendent principle underlying (i), i.e. God:

... the meaning conveyed by 'to it' [i.e. lahu] refers to something existing (mawjūd), that is, it is present (ḥāḍir) [to God]. Hence it is admissible [for Him] to say 'to it', for 'to it' is an allusion referring to something existing (mawjūd). Were it not existing (tiada mawjud), God the Glorious

---

659. See above, pp.250-252. According to the Mutakallimūn kawn means 'coming into being' (genesis). It is a category of place ('ayn); it is the obtaining of a boundary (i.e. of jawhar : atom) or existence. There are four species of kawn: motion, (al-ḥarakah), rest (al-sukūn), being separated into parts (al-iftirāq), and an aggregation of the parts (al-ijtimā'). Cf. Taftāzānī, pp.28-35.

660. See above, p.251. The word kejadian is my own, and in the sense meant is not found in Ḥamzah.

and Most Exalted would not refer to it as  
'to it' ...<sup>661</sup>

... although outwardly (pada zāhirnya)  
it is not existing, inwardly (pada bāṭinnya)  
it is existing (mawjūd): it is existing (ada),  
like the three in our analogy; though it  
has not yet emerged from within the seed,  
the judgement is that it exists (ada) within  
the seed - there can be no further doubt.<sup>662</sup>

As to the world, although it is  
existing (mawjūd) it is yet nothing but the  
shadow of the Known [in God's Knowledge].  
Whatever the content of the Known, is here  
seen, ...<sup>663</sup>

I am the Existent One (al-mawjūd), seek  
Me and you will find Me ...<sup>664</sup>

In the case of ada understood as the 'outwardly existing',  
it conveys both its basic and relational meanings, but in  
the case of ada as the 'inwardly existing' it conveys the  
relational meaning, which in turn is understood in two  
senses: (i) as individual substance or huwīyyah (the  
Aristotelian to on); and (ii) as quiddity or māhiyyah (the  
Greek to ti en einai). It must be noted that a study of the

661. Ḥamzah's interpretation of Qur'ān 36:82

Verily His Command is, when He is in the state of  
desiring a thing, to say to it (lahu): 'Be thou!' -  
and it becomes.

See Asrār, p.30. I have translated the above Quranic  
passage from Ḥamzah's Malay translation of it. See  
also Sharāb, pp.17-18.

662. Ibid., pp.30-31. This also alludes to the 'Hidden  
Treasure'.

663. Ibid., p.32.

664. Ibid., p.50. Ḥamzah attributes to the Psalms (al-Zabūr):  
Ana'l-mawjūd fa'ṭlubnī tajidnī ...

works of the Muslim Philosophers and Translators reveals that to ti en einai was not the only Greek equivalent for māhiyyah. In fact no definite Greek equivalent is found. It was believed that another word, mā'iyah, was an early form for māhiyyah, and the basis for this belief is that both forms were used interchangeably by al-Kindī. According to Mlle. Goichon quoting Tahānawī in support of her view, māhiyyah was coined as a compound of the Arabic words mā (what) and hiya (it [is], feminine form of huwa).<sup>665</sup> In view of this theory, an important ḥadīth quoted by Ḥamzah indicates ada to mean māhiyyah:

Allāhuma arinī'l-ashyā'a kamā hiya.

Ya Tuhanku, perlihatkan padaku sekalian seperti  
ada nya.<sup>666</sup>

We know here that ada means māhiyyah not only because the words ma hiya is translated as adanya, but also because according to the context ma hiya means the real essence (ḥaqīqat) of things. Ḥamzah compares "seeing things as they really are" with knowing the self (diri) through gnosis (mengenal), for things as they really are and the self as it really is are the same when seen in this way.<sup>667</sup>

665. See Afnan, pp.117-120.

666. Asrar, p.61.

667. Loc.cit. The Malay word Ḥamzah used here is pandang, meaning 'to see', used interchangeably by Ḥamzah as the equivalent of the Arabic ra'a and shuhūd. Shuhūd is defined by Ḥamzah as "seeing the Truth by means of the Truth" : Erti shuhūd itulah melihat Ḥaqq dengan Ḥaqq (2016, p.45). The Malay words lihat (melihat), and tilik (menilik) have also been used synonymously with pandang (memandang). Lihat and tilik is the equivalent of the Arabic naẓara.

Therefore ada is synonymous with diri here, in the same manner as ada understood as māhiyyah is, in this context synonymous with huwiyyah.<sup>668</sup> That ada is synonymous with diri is very clearly stated in the Muntahī,<sup>669</sup> and as such it is identified as the Divine Huwiyyah (Ada) which, regarded in relation to the creatures is Absolute (muṭlaq):

All forms that can be seen and apprehended by the intellect and gnosis are restrictions (quyūd).<sup>670</sup> Since the Essence of God is Absolute, It is not to be found in our forms; and the forms of the world in its entirety, the outwardly manifest and the inwardly hidden, are other than the Unique Essence. That is Absolute. When we cast away all restrictions with our vision and in our discourse, then only can we be united with the Absolute, meaning: the Being (Ada, i.e. Individuality) Who is Most Pure, beyond form.<sup>671</sup>

In this sense too Ada is synonymous with the Essence (Dhāt), often referred to as the Face of God (wajhu'llāh) as in the Quranic passages: Fa aynama tuwallu fa thamma wajhu'llāh

668. Cp. the Mutakallimūn's definition of the real essence (al-ḥaqīqah) of a thing, in which ḥaqīqah, māhiyyah and huwiyyah are the same, i.e. 'that which constitutes the identity of a thing'; but viewed in different aspects are either a real essence (ḥaqīqah), a certain particular thing (huwiyyah), or a quiddity (māhiyyah). Taftāzānī, p.11, quoted above, pp.

669. Page 117: The meaning of "Man 'arafa nafsahu ...": his being (adanya) and the Being of his Lord (Ada Tuhannya) is one.

Ibid., p.111: The meaning of knowing one's Lord and knowing oneself is this: the Self (Diri) of 'I was a Hidden Treasure' is his self.

670. I.e. impediments that conceal the Essence making 'union' with It impossible.

671. Asrār, p.62.



(2: 109);<sup>672</sup> and Kullu shay'in hālikun illā wajhahu (28: 88).<sup>673</sup>

It is now possible to conclude that in Ḥamzah there are seven different uses of the word ada in the relational sense, each defining a particular concept of Being; and yet these particular concepts are at times regarded as identical in certain contexts, i.e. the ontological, cosmological and psychological contexts, all three of which are included in the metaphysical (macrocosmic) and mystical (microcosmic) domains.<sup>674</sup> These different uses are:

(1) Ada conveying the concept mawjūd, which has already been said as being understood in two different senses:  
 (i) the outwardly manifest (ẓāhir), i.e. corporeal existence. But this corporeal existence must not be understood in the sense of the Parmenidean to pleon, which is the meaning of ada in its basic sense, conveying the vision of a 'block universe' filling space; rather it is a somewhat Heraclitean vision of the universe that is conveyed, a dynamic, 'atomic' universe of constant flux; (ii) the inwardly hidden (bāṭin), i.e. the Reality underlying (i), and this is necessarily beyond form and immutable:

672. Sharāb, p.10; Muntahī, p.114.

673. Sharāb, p.17.

674. See above, p.248.

(2) Ada conveying the concept māhiyyah, which viewed from one standpoint is none other than mawjūd in (1),(ii); it is quiddity, which can sometimes be the equivalent of the Greek to ti einai, the Universal Substance;

(3) Ada conveying the concept huwiyyah, the Aristotelian to on or Individual Substance; it is also understood as meaning the Divine Individuality (Huwiyyah), and as such it comes under (7), below.

(4) Ada conveying the concept nafs, the Soul (nyawa),<sup>675</sup> which can be regarded as the Universal Soul, corresponding with the Plotinian psychē, or the Individual Soul or Self. Both the Soul or Self are called diri in Ḥamzah, and they resemble māhiyyah and huwiyyah respectively and are closely connected with the concept of the Divine Consciousness (sirr: rahasia);

(5) Ada conveying the concept of 'ayn, the being or essence of things which is the immediate ground of existence of things corresponding with Jāmī's Single Substance ('ayn wāḥid);

(6) Ada conveying the concept mutḥlaq, the Absolute;

(7) Ada conveying the concept Dhāt, the Essence:

---

675. See above, p.246, note, 583.

'Everything perishes but His Essence':  
 that is, His Ada, That forever is (ada);  
 that which is other than It forever 'is'  
 not (tiada ada), for to the People of the  
 Path, that which 'is' (ada) becomes existing  
 (ada: mawjūd), that which 'is' not cannot  
 become existing.<sup>676</sup>

Here at last Ḥamzah identifies ada as the abstract concept of Being qua Being (wujūd). In the development of the assimilation of Muslim philosophical terminologies, the relational use of ada in the writings of Ḥamzah is to be regarded as the supreme achievement in Malay mystical literature. Subsequent Malay Ṣūfī writers and their equivalents among the Javanese have been profoundly influenced by the introduction of new philosophical concepts in Ḥamzah's pioneering works, but they never seemed to carry the intellectual development further ahead. I will attempt to clarify what I believe to be the reasons for this in the next chapter.

In the course of my analysis of the concept of wujūd, I have already touched upon the concept of keadaan in various places. There is no need to elaborate any further here, as a conclusion can be drawn with regard to keadaan in the light of what has been said so far. Keadaan is understood in two different senses. The first sense, which bears a considerable affinity with the basic sense of

---

676. Sharāb, p.17.

'condition' of a thing, or 'state' of affairs, is that which refers to existential condition or mode, and not to being or essence. This is why keadaan is very closely connected and often refers to the concepts of kelakuan, i.e. the Divine State of Activity; kenyataan, i.e. the Divine Manifestations, continuous and never repeating themselves (tajalliyāt), which is closely related to the concept of the Determinations of the Essence (ta'ayyunāt). Bearing in mind the proximity between the concepts of keadaan and ta'ayyunāt, it is logical that keadaan, in Ḥamzah, also means 'ayn, i.e. being or essence. This second sense in which keadaan is understood can be clearly distinguished from the first if it were written as ke"ada"an as distinct from keadaan. In one relevant context Ḥamzah, defining ada, says that ... "what is called ada is the being of His Predispositions (wujūd shu'ūnNya)."<sup>677</sup> By 'being' here is meant Jāmī's 'ayn wāḥid as stated in (5).<sup>678</sup> Ke"ada"an refers to this, and even in Rānīrī we find him identifying wujūd with Dhāt, with ke"ada"an, with diri.<sup>679</sup> The distinction between keadaan and ke"ada"an seems to be that the former implies dynamism and contingency whereas the latter implies immutability and necessity.

---

677. Sharāb, p.18: ... yang dinamai ada itu wujūd shu'ūnNya.

678. See above, p. 284.

679. See above, note, 593.

One of the most important cosmological concepts in Ḥamzah is that of mengadakan, which is inextricably linked with the concept of tiada. In order to clarify the former I will begin with an analysis of the latter. Tiada in Ḥamzah conveys three different meanings. In the cosmological context it means 'nothing' or 'nihil'. To translate it as 'non-existence' in that context may not necessarily be precise for non-existence can imply the possibility of being. It means, in fact, the Parmenidean to kenon or to me on, the non-being which is empty space. This is the basic meaning of tiada, and it plays a major role in Ḥamzah's polemics against the Doctors of Theology on the subject of creation from nothing. Since ada always implies tiada<sup>680</sup> Ḥamzah never uses ada as an imperative to be the equivalent of the Creative Word Kun, for this would mean that what is commanded to 'be' (ada) comes from nothing (tiada). Hence Ḥamzah uses jadi as the equivalent of the imperative kun,

---

680. This is so because the basic meaning of ada denotes some thing contained in something else, i.e. space or place. Before the thing becomes contained in the space or place, i.e. before it fills the space, the space or place is 'empty', i.e. the space contains nothing. Thus before ada can occur tiada is logically necessary. It is this basic concept of ada as isi which in the Malay linguistic consciousness brings immediately to the mind the picture of something suddenly appearing out of nothing when the word ada is used as an imperative in the sense pertaining to the doctrine of creation mentioned above.  
See above, pp. 275-277.

for jadi always implies ada, so that what comes into existence (jadi) comes into existence from something existing (ada) and not from nothing (tiada). In the ontological context tiada does not mean nothing as it does in the cosmological context; it means 'non-being', but not equivalent with the Parmenidean to me on, for in the ontological context what is tiada is at the same time ada. For example, the world is ada, yet at the same time tiada, i.e. non-being ('adam'). Finally we have tiada in the psychological context meaning lenyap or hapus, i.e. fanā' or self-extinction, and by extinction is not meant 'becoming nothing' in the sense of being reduced to empty space. It denotes entrance into the mystical (microcosmic) domain whereby the self that is outwardly manifest 'perceives' its ada as such to be in fact tiada, and whereby it 'apprehends' the external world, from the point of view of the metaphysical (macrocosmic) domain, to be in reality tiada.

Bearing in mind that ada always implies, or rather, presupposes tiada, when Ḥamzah uses the term mengadakan he means 'to bring forth' implying that what is brought forth is brought forth from Nothing. This notion of 'bringing forth' is in fact confirmed in its definition by his use of the term mengeluarkan (to draw out) as synonymous with mengadakan.<sup>681</sup> But the implication of bringing forth from

---

681. See Asrār, p.38.

nothing inherent in the very concept of ada in this case does not mean nothing as nihil; it means the Non-Existent, referring to the Unique Essence.<sup>682</sup> Ḥamzah does not anywhere use tiada to translate the Non-Existent I mean, but he calls this Non-Existent ma'dūm.<sup>683</sup> Mengadakan and mengeluarkan in Ḥamzah then means abraza and ījād respectively in the sense Jīlī uses those terms.<sup>684</sup> The whole outline of the cosmology envisaged in Ḥamzah's system is reflected in these terms, and can be summarized in the following formula:

- I    Ma'dūm → mengadakan + mengeluarkan = ada;  
 II   menjadikan (jadi = kun) = menjadi (yakūn) = kawn

---

682. Frithjof Schuon explains clearly what I wish to refer to when he says:

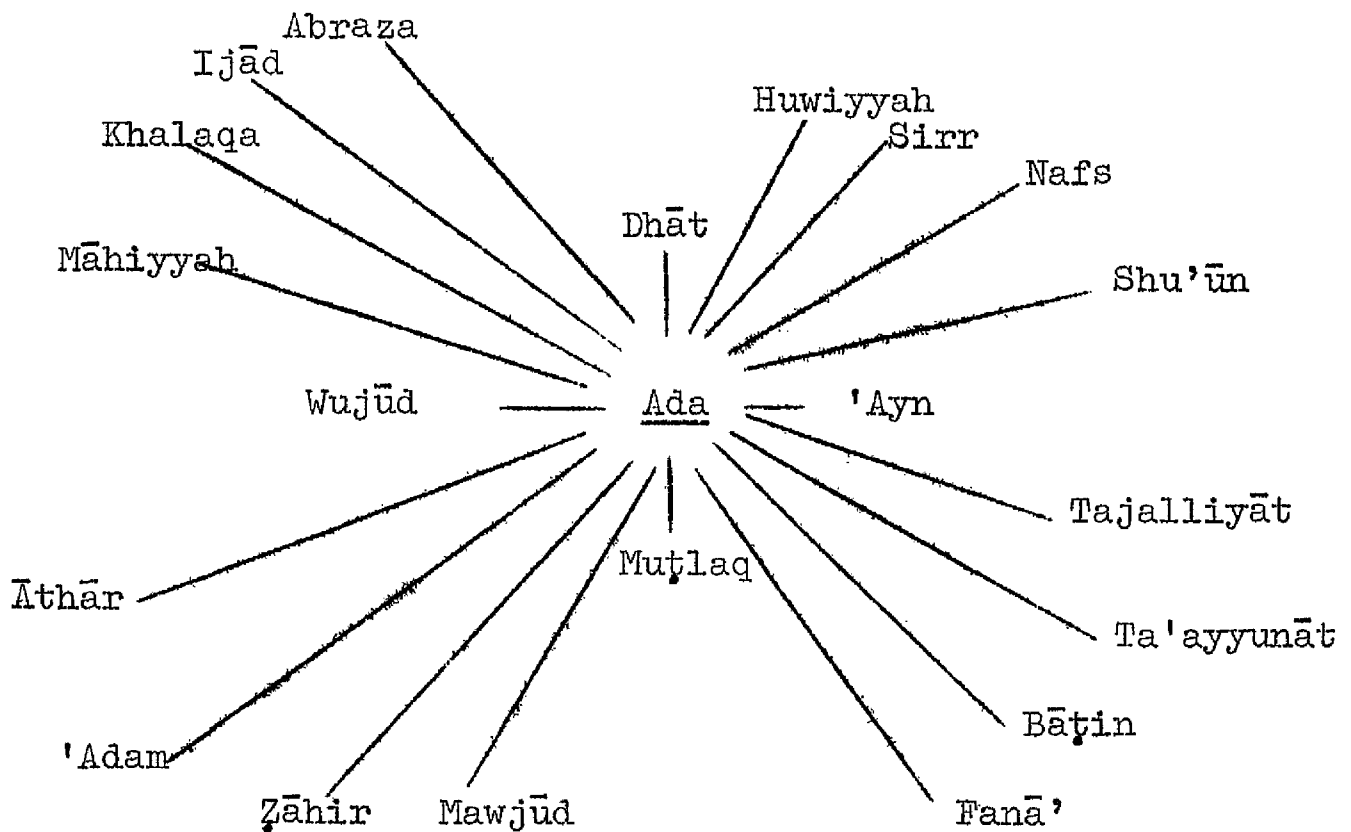
God is not 'in existence' - He is beyond Existence - but He can be said to be 'not inexistent' if one is concerned to underline the evident fact that He is 'real' without being 'existent'. In no case can it be said of God that He is 'inexistent'; He is 'non-existent' inasmuch as He does not depend on the existential domain, but 'non-inexistent' inasmuch as His transcendence evidently could not involve any privation.

(Understanding Islam, translated by D.M. Matheson, London, 1963, p.157, note 2).

683. See above, p.143.

684. See above, notes, 564 and 568.

In the sub-vocabulary of ada the most immediate or major key words that cluster around ada can be diagrammatically shown thus:<sup>685</sup>




---

685. The English and Malay equivalents of the Arabic major key words are, reading clockwise from Dhāt (Essence: Dhāt): Huwiyyah (Individual Substance, Individuality: Ada); Sirr (Inmost Secret, Consciousness: Rahasia); Nafs (Soul, Self: Nyawa, Diri); Shu'ūn (Predispositions; Kelakuan, Keadaan); 'Ayn (Being, Essence: Semata, Ada); Tajalliyāt (Manifestations: Kenyataan); Ta'ayyunāt (Determinations); Bāṭin (Inwardly Hidden: Terbuni); Fanā' (Annihilation, Extinction: Hapus, Lenyap); Muṭlaq (Absolute); Mawjūd (Existent: Ada); Zāhir (Outwardly Manifest: Nyata); 'Adam (Not-Being: Tiada); Āthār (Effects: Bekas); Wujūd (Being); Māhiyyah (Quiddity, Universal Substance: Ada); Khalaqa (Create: Menjadikan); Ijād (Production to Existence: Mengadakan); Abraza (Bringing forth to Existence: Mengeluarkan).



### III Diri.

The basic meaning of diri in Malay refers to both the visible being and the human individuality or ego of which such attributes pertaining to forms (shapes, i.e. rupa), knowable and visible qualities (i.e. 'colours': warna), and names (nama) are predicated. This basic concept of diri is found in Ḥamzah in contexts pertaining to fanā' in the mystical (microcosmic) domain. In other contexts - in particular the ontological context - diri does not refer to the visible human being or to the human individuality or ego at all, but rather to the Self (Ada); and this Self is none other than the Divine Individuality (Huwiyyah : Ada), the Divine Consciousness (Sirr: Rahasia), the Very Essence Itself (Dhāt). The Self is also spoken of as the Soul (al-Nafs), which refers to the Divine Consciousness. The Self is the superior 'part' of the human individuality or ego. It is the transcendent and permanent principle of which the ego (diri) is merely one of Its many and different states of manifestations. The ego, then, is but a transient and contingent modification of the Self, which modification does not effect the Self, for It can never be individualized. The Self cannot be other than Itself, which It would be if

---

686. The ego as such (i.e. diri yang zāhir) can never be identified with the Self, contrary to what our anonymous "follower" of Ḥamzah maintains (see above, pp. ).

It were individualized as an ego.<sup>687</sup> The Self may be envisaged as the Universal Soul (al-nafsu'l-kulliyyah). The Self and the Universal Soul understood here are the same thing diversely phrased, and they are so phrased so that an important distinction may be made of two aspects of the same thing. The Universal Soul is the Self when considered in relation to the world and all created things. The Self qua Self is beyond relations whatsoever. It is of the concept of Diri as the Universal Soul that Ḥamzah alludes to when he says:

... when they cast their vision 'outside' their selves (dirinya), whatever they see, it is their Self (Dirinya) that they see; whatever they contemplate, it is their Self that they contemplate; for to the People of the Truth, the world and their Self are one and the same, and not two or three ... (688)

... the People of the Truth say that all creatures are none other than our Self; all human beings are our brothers ... (689)

---

687. Hence Ḥamzah repeatedly says, in the same manner as true Ṣūfīs would say, that the Self is only apprehended and known by the Self alone; and this happens only when the ego has been utterly effaced, for the ego, being a creature (makhlūq), is a veil concealing the Self from itself. E.g.:

The attribute related (nisbah) of the Truth Most Exalted is not the attribute related of ourselves, and this is so because we see with a veiled seeing. As the Message of God (God bless him and give him peace!) says: "Whosoever knows his self knows his Lord" - and this [i.e. knowing] must be understood as a symbolic allusion (ishārah). In reality He is the One Who is known and He is the One Who knows. (Muntahī, p.116)

See further, Asrār, pp.33, 48, 50-51, 55, 57;

Sharāb, p.9.

688. Sharāb, p.10.

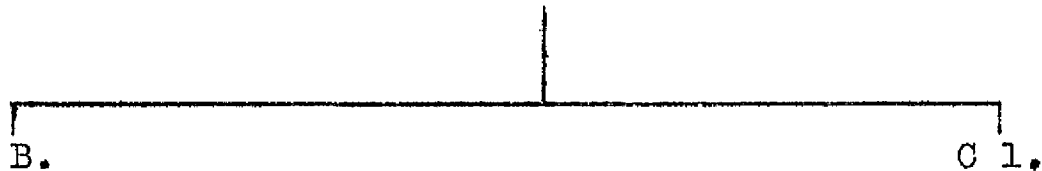
689. Loc. cit.

... for the meaning of 'wheresoever you turn there is the Face of God' is exceedingly clear to them. (690)

The Universal Soul (Diri) which in the ontological context is referred to as Ada (i.e. Dhāt, Sirr, Nafs and Huwiyyah), when transposed into the cosmological context is also designated as Ada, but refers both to the Universal Substance (Māhiyyah), and to the Individual Substance (Huwiyyah).<sup>691</sup> The schema of Diri corresponds with that of the Spirit:<sup>692</sup>

A.

Diri : Dhāt, Nafs, Sirr, Huwiyyah



Ada: Māhiyyah

Ada : Huwiyyah

C 2.

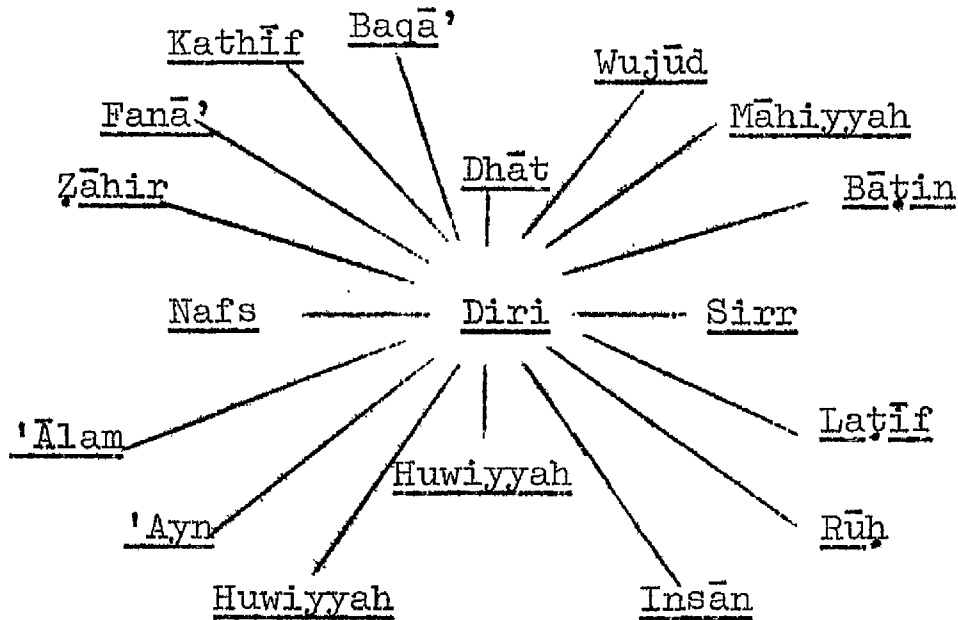
ada : Insān

690. Ibid., p.11.

691. Compare with the section on the Spirit in Chapter III, (e), pp. 145 - 156. The distinction between three different orders of the Spirit mentioned on p.146 above, also applies to the Soul. In order to avoid confusion, it must be reminded that the term Huwiyyah which is mentioned twice in the above sentence, refers in the first case to the Divine Individuality, and in the second case to the Individual Substance (to on). See Taftāzānī, p.11, quoted above, pp. 104 - 105.

692. See above, p.149.

In the sub-vocabulary of diri the most immediate or major key words that cluster around diri can be diagrammatically shown thus:-<sup>693</sup>




---

693. The English and Malay equivalents of the Arabic major key words, reading clockwise from Dhāt (Essence), are: Wujūd (Being, Existence); Māhiyyah (Universal Substance: Ada); Bāṭin (Inwardly Hidden: Terbuni); Sirr (Divine Consciousness: Ada); Laṭīf (Subtle: Lembut); Rūḥ (Spirit: Nyawa); Insān (Man: Manusia); Huwiyyah (Divine Individuality: Ada); Huwiyyah (Individual Substance: Ada); 'Ayn (Being, Essence: Ada); 'Ālam (World); Nafs (Soul, Self : Diri); Zāhir (Outwardly Manifest: Nyata); Fanā' (Annihilation. Extinction: Hapus, Lenyap); Kathīf (Gross: Kasar; Laṭīf is also Halus, Lemah); Baqā' (Abiding: Kekal).

## CHAPTER VI

### CONCLUSION

Whosoever is able to understand his books  
He it is who knows the sources of Ḥamzah's learning.<sup>694</sup>

According to al-Qushayrī, an eleventh century Ṣūfī who wrote on the Ṣūfī doctrines, the Khurāsānī and 'Irāqī Ṣūfīs disagreed on the concept of riḍā (satisfaction in God); the former, saying that it was a progression from the culmination of the station of tawakkul (trust in God), declared riḍā to be a mystical station (maqām), while the latter held to the view that it was a mystical state (ḥāl).<sup>695</sup> Although this point of disagreement between early Ṣūfīs centuries before Ḥamzah may be regarded as of relatively minor importance, it may yet prove to be of some significance to mention that on the basis of this information we are able to say that Ḥamzah's concept of riḍā agrees with the Khurāsānī school of Sufis.<sup>696</sup> From the names of the

---

694. 2016, p.91; Barangsiapa mendapat mengetahui kitābnya, ialah tahu akan asal 'ilmunya.

695. Al-Risālatu'l-Qushayriyyah fī 'Ilmi'l-Taṣawwuf, accompanied on the margin by notes selected from Zakariyyā al-Anṣārī's commentary, Cairo, 1900, p.105. See also above, note 440.

696. This conclusion is deduced from Ḥamzah's application of the term rāḍī in his writings, and of his interpretation of Qur'an, 89:27:30:

Yā ayyatuhā'l-nafsu'l-muṭma'innatu irji'ī ilā  
rabbiki rāḍiyatan marḍiyyah.  
O soul that are at rest, return to your Lord,  
well-pleased, well-pleasing.

Other indications that throw light on Ḥamzah's concept of riḍā are his concepts of tawakkul (menyerahkan diri), faqīr and 'abīd. See e.g. Sharāb, pp.6-7, 57; Muntahī, pp.125 foll.; 2016, pp.41-42.

classical Ṣūfīs whom he quotes in many places throughout his writings we know that every single one of them were famous Persian and Arab Ṣūfīs, the former predominating. The only exception to this was Nasīmī, the famous Turkish Ḥurūfī poet who was greatly influenced by the teachings of al-Ḥallāj. Of significance too is Ḥamzah's mention of 'Alī Abū'l-Wafā, for he was a disciple of the great Arab Ṣūfī poet 'Umar ibnu'l-Fāriḍ, to whom, then, Ḥamzah is linked at least spiritually. The names of all the Ṣūfīs mentioned by Ḥamzah belong to the school of Ṣūfīs well known for their adherence to the doctrine of wahdatu'l-wujūd (Oneness of Being); Ṣūfīs whom Rānirī would refer to as the Muwahhidūn. According to Rānirī speaking of the Wujūdiyyah:

The Wujūdiyyah are of two groups: the one, the Wujūdiyyah who truly affirm the Unity of God (muwahhidah); and the other, the Wujūdiyyah who deviate from the truth (mulhidah)... The Wujūdiyyah who truly affirm the Unity of God are all the Ṣūfīs (may God count us from among them!), and the Wujūdiyyah who deviate from the truth are all the Zindīqs (may God preserve us from them!). The reason why the Wujūdiyyah are called wujūdiyyah is because in their discourses, utterances and belief, they dwell upon the Being (wujūd) of God.

Let me now elucidate the beliefs of both the groups of the Wujūdiyyah in order that I may draw a distinction between them. According to the Wujūdiyyah who deviate from the truth, being is one, and that is the Being of God. This Unique Being of God does not exist by Itself by which It can be distinguished save in relation to the creatures. The world is then God, and God is the world. In this way they affirm that the Being of God Who is

Unique is completely immanent in the being of the creatures, and they say that nothing exists but God. Furthermore they believe the formula: 'there is no god but God' to mean: 'there is no being in me save God's Being.' They desire its meaning to be: 'there is no being in me save God's Being which is this being of mine.'<sup>697</sup> They further say that: 'we are of the same kind and being as God'. And they say further that <sup>698</sup> the Essence of God Most Exalted can be known, <sup>699</sup> and that His Qualities and Dimensions<sup>700</sup> are clearly visible by virtue of His external existence in time and space. Indeed, these are utterances and belief of those who are manifestly infidels.<sup>701</sup>

From the foregoing detailed and comprehensive exposition of the mysticism of Ḥamzah, there is overwhelming proof that Ḥamzah belongs to the Wujūdiyyah who truly affirm the Unity of God in the manner of the classical Ṣūfīs, and not to the deviating group that Rānīrī has consigned him. This conclusion should now be unanimous and indisputable, and nothing further about this is to be said.

Ḥamzah Fanṣūrī must be regarded as the first man to set in Malay all the fundamental aspects of the Ṣūfī

---

697. Italics mine. The reference Rānīrī makes here is to the claim that the Self is identical with the human individuality or ego, which claim is, of course, rejected by true Ṣūfīs.

698. The word 'known' here does not refer to kenal, i.e. gnosis, but tahu, i.e. discursive knowledge, knowledge by inference (text: diketahui).

699. Rānīrī's note: I.e. by Qualities (kayfiyyāt) is meant colour, taste and smell, heat and cold, wetness and dryness, and such things that are the attributes of bodies.

700. Rānīrī's note: I.e. by Dimensions (kammiyyāt) is meant largeness and smallness, length and breadth, depth and weight, and so on.

701. Hujjah, pp.9-10. See Appendix IV, (ix).

doctrines, and his writings must be regarded as the earliest of the kind in Malay, and, for that matter, in any other languages of the Malaysian Archipelago. I would go so far as to suggest that as far as systematic, i.e. logically consistent and intellectual, writing in Malay is concerned the suggestion that his writings are the earliest should not be taken as covering only the field of Malay mystical literature, but also the field of Malay literature in general: in the entire field of Malay literature before Ḥamzah we know of the existence of no comparable work, and whatever we know tend to suggest that there was in fact none. With regard to mystical works we know that mention has been made of earlier ones, such as the Durru'l-Manẓūm (String of Pearls) in the Sejarah Melayu,<sup>702</sup> and Al-Sayfu'l-Qāṭi' (The Sharp Sword) in the Bustānu'l-Salāṭīn of Rānīrī,<sup>703</sup> but there is enough evidence to show that these works were not written in the Malay language. When the Durru'l-Manẓūm was received in Malacca, it was sent to Pasai to be interpreted, not translated, as the story in the Sejarah Melayu clearly shows. There are in fact no records whatever that show the evidence of Malay mystical works earlier than those of Ḥamzah, and this is not all - there are even no records that show the possible existence of such works. The argument may be put

---

702. Chapter XX in 'Abdu'Llāh's text.

703. Cf. Winstedt, R., A History of Classical Malay Literature, J.M.B.R.A.S., vol.31, pt. 3., 1958, p.113.



that the fact that there are no known records showing the existence of Malay mystical works earlier than Ḥamzah's does not necessarily mean that it is a fact no earlier works existed. Such argument has thrown many into the stagnancy of doubt! Doubt in itself is permissible particularly in historical writing; as prudence it is wisdom. But there are two kinds of doubt: reasonable doubt and unreasonable doubt. It is the latter kind of doubt that I have referred to as stagnant. The argument is not valid because the doubt entertained is not supported by reasonable evidence. In fact the above argument can be said to be so problematic that every known evidence shows it to be unreasonable, for if the doubt were indeed reasonable then there would be no difficulty in answering the following questions, for example:

(i) If earlier works existed, why have they not been preserved as other earlier non-mystical works have been preserved? To simply say that they could have been "lost" is like invoking the deus ex machina shibboleth of some early theologians.

(ii) In comparison with epic, romantic and semi-historical works, would not the mystical works have been regarded as more important, particularly in the interest of Muslim missionary activity, to preserve? - like those of Ḥamzah and Shamsu'l-Dīn, in spite of the fact that they have been made into bonfires.

(iii) Does not the fact that, in spite of some mystical works being consigned to the flames, copies of their texts have been preserved demonstrate that they were important enough to preserve?

(iv) If there have in fact been earlier works, whether they were of the "heretical" or "orthodox" category, and they were subsequently lost, why have their titles, at least, not been recorded by later writers who were indeed in the habit of mentioning such titles, like the titles of lost works mentioned by Rānīrī?

(v) Why would not the Malays themselves preserve Malay works which they could understand better than Arabic and Persian? - the Malays who in fact have demonstrated well in their subsequent history - indeed right up to modern times - how carefully they have preserved such works as best they could.

It will be found that the more such questions are put the more will it be realized that the only solution for those who adhere to the above argument is to maintain that the earlier works were completely lost even beyond recall. But to maintain such a stand is unreasonable because, apart from the fact that from what is known in the history of the Malays we find no credible evidence for the possibility of arriving at the above solution, to do so would mean to stop further historical enquiry into the subject! To those who may use

such an argument it will be worth their while to remember the apt expression of Ḥamzah: "doubt is a veil concealing the Truth". The truth is that, in this case, there were no earlier Malay mystical works, for there can be no reasonable doubt to contradict this conclusion. Now let us consider, for example, this remarkable statement on the first page of the Sharāb:

Know that this insignificant one, this poor one, Ḥamzah Faṣṣūrī, wishes to make known to you in the Malay language - God willing - the way to God, the Glorious, Most Exalted, and the gnosis of God, in order that all servants of God who do not understand Arabic and Persian may discourse upon it.

The fact that Ḥamzah says he writes the book in Malay so that those (i.e. Malay Muslims and those who know Malay) who do not understand Arabic and Persian may be able to discourse upon the subject seems to me to show clearly that before Ḥamzah wrote such a book, all known books on the subject were written in Arabic and Persian. Furthermore this opening statement implies that the Sharāb is Ḥamzah's first complete prose work, and that the Asrār and the Muntahī and others - if any - are later ones. This implication is substantiated by the very content, the subject matter of the book itself, which is of an introductory nature. It begins with the basic exposition on the nature of the Sharī'at (Religious Law), its distinction and, at the same time, identity with Ṭarīqat (the Ṣūfī Path), Ḥaqīqat

(Truth) and Ma'rifat (Gnosis); a brief summary of the doctrines of the Tajalliyāt (Divine Manifestations) and the Ṣifāt (Divine Attributes); and finally concluding with a concise exposition on 'ishq (love of God) and shukr (thankfulness to God). The exhortation in the preface to find an accomplished teacher, to seek knowledge and to know true religion; the emphasis on the indispensability of the Sharī'at, and the warning in the conclusion not to abuse the ecstatic utterances of true Ṣūfīs by pretending to experience mystical ecstasy - all these reveal the introductory function of the Sharāb. Ḥamzah himself says that the book is a summarized form and a concise exposition of the fundamental points discussed. In comparison, the Asrār, written somewhat on the rough model of Ibnu'l-'Arabī's Tarjumān al-Ashwāq, 'Irāqī's Lama'āt and Jāmī's Lawā'ih, cannot be considered as introductory in nature, except in the sense that it is an introduction to his bayts (verses), and the manner in which they are to be interpreted and understood. The opening lines of the Asrār begin with a hint of controversy centered around the concept of creation; it repeats some of the more difficult concepts mentioned in the Sharāb, such as those pertaining to cosmology and ontology, and it concludes again with an exhortation not to wander away from the enclosure of the Sharī'at. As regards the Muntahī, it is an advanced work meant for the adept, and therefore most probably a

much later product of Ḥamzah's literary efforts.

To return to the suggestion put forward here that the Sharāb is the earliest book on Ṣūfism in Malay, and the earliest complete prose work of Ḥamzah, we must visualize the spiritual climate preceding the writing of the Sharāb - on the basis of what is implied in the Sharāb itself - to be most confused and unhealthy. It is only in this context, it seems to me, that the following quotation and all its implications are to be understood:

...Then Ḥamzah Fansūrī in the land of Aceh composed a book entitled Drink of Lovers (Sharābu'l-ʿĀshiqīn). In it are manifested teachings (literally 'words': perkataan) on the doctrine of Oneness of Being (waḥdatu'l-wujūd). He made symbolic allusions pertaining to the relationship between God Most Exalted and the creatures, such as the analogy of the name 'cotton' and the cloth; and the sun and its reflection; and the waves and the ocean; and the earthenware vessels and the clay. Then this knowledge entered into the breasts of the dull-witted, and it became as it were poison most venomous, and they refused to let go of their hold on it. God alone knows best!<sup>704</sup>

---

704. See Doorenbos, p.222, note 1, where this passage is quoted. But in Doorenbos it serves a different purpose. The passage runs:

...Kemudian dikarang pula oleh Ḥamzah Fansūrī didalam negeri Aceh suatu kitāb yang bernama Sharābu'l-ʿĀshiqīn. Dalamnya ẓāhir perkataan waḥdatu'l-wujūd. Maka di'ibaratkannya Allāh Ta'ālā dengan makhluk seperti nama kapas dengan kain; dan seupama matahari dengan bayangnyalah; dan upama ombak dengan laut; dan upama kendi dengan tanah. Maka masuk'ilmu ini kedalam dada orang dungu, jadilah ia rachun yang amat

It must be noted, as Winstedt has pointed out on the authority of the Sejarah Melayu, that the most learned of Malacca Malays knew only Arabic grammar and a little jurisprudence at the end of the fifteenth century.<sup>705</sup> It is reasonable to assume that the same could be said of the Malays of Aceh, although there - in particular Pasai - the interpreters of religion, law and mysticism flourished. But who were these interpreters? Ḥamzah's attacks against certain jurists (sing. faqīh) and their works on jurisprudence (fiqh) couched in his verses imply that the jurists had been interpreting Ṣūfism, and that their interpretations were not as profound as it would have been had it been done by Ṣūfīs themselves.<sup>706</sup> We must assume therefore that by the

bisa, tiadalah ia mahu melepaskan dia. Wa'llāhu a'lam!

This quotation serves well to add further proof to my point mentioned in several places in this thesis that many claimed to be Ḥamzah's "followers" who were in fact misrepresenting Ḥamzah's actual teachings. Ḥamzah reiterates with much emphasis on what must be understood in his Asrār Muntahī and Sha'irs.

705. Winstedt, op.cit., p.112.

706. See e.g. 2016, pp.33-34; ref. well known fiqh books: Maḥallī and Muḥarrar, see Juynboll, Th.W., Handleiding tot de kennis van de Mohammedaansche Wet, Leiden, 1930, pp.9, 374, and 379. Ghazzālī, it is true, stressed the importance and necessity for every good Muslim to study jurisprudence, the science of the origins of Muslim law (uṣūl) and mysticism (Ṭaṣawwuf), the last being the spiritual element that unites the former two into a harmonious system. But he was one of very few Ṣūfīs who harmoniously united within his person not only the three accomplishments, but theology and philosophy as well. Indeed the jurists in Aceh cannot be compared with him. Ḥamzah, it must be emphasized, was not attacking jurisprudence, but jurists who taught mysticism without having a profound grasp of the knowledge. See, e.g. 2016, p.32.

time Ḥamzah began writing his mystical works, there was a great need to understand Ṣūfism, which cannot be grasped simply by understanding Arabic grammar and a little jurisprudence. The time, then, was "ripe", as it were, for Malay expositions on Ṣūfism to appear, and the person to do just that was available. That there was such a need, there can be no doubt. Rānīrī himself many years later was asked by some of his "influential friends", presumably in the court of Aceh, to clarify some of the most fundamental concepts in Ṣūfism in Malay.<sup>707</sup> But it is also revealed in the anonymous passage just quoted that expositions in the indigenous language (Malay), particularly when it is the first of its kind, and when the words and terminologies used convey relational meanings and new concepts, are apt to be misunderstood, and will not all be understood merely through the process of many readings and the impressions of many decades, for even in Rānīrī's time he still had to clarify what Ḥamzah had been clarifying, this time through a different method of approach - a method of approach more in line with that of the scholastic theologians.

In the Bustānu'l-Salāṭīn, Rānīrī mentions the arrival in Aceh of two pundits from Makkah in 1582, who attempted to define the nature of the Fixed Essences

---

707. Hujjah, p.3.

(al-a'yānu'l-thābitah).<sup>708</sup> One of these was Abū'l-Khayr ibnu'l-Ḥajar, the author of Al-Sayfu'l-Qāṭi' previously mentioned, and the other a man of Yaman. Now in one of his important verses on the same subject of the Fixed Essences, Ḥamzah writes as though he is refuting someone; contradicting and even ridiculing certain views on the Fixed Essences that must have been discussed before he wrote those verses.<sup>709</sup> In view of Rānirī's mention of the debate between the two pundits mentioned above, there is every possibility that Ḥamzah in his verses on the Fixed Essences is refuting the views of Abū'l-Khayr ibnu'l-Ḥajar in Al-Sayfu'l-Qāṭi', or the views maintained in the debate between ibnu'l-Ḥajar and Muḥammad al-Yamanī. If this is true, then that particular set of verses is written by Ḥamzah some time in or shortly after 1582.<sup>710</sup>

---

708. Cf. Winstedt, op.cit., pp.112-113.

709. 2016, pp.33-35. Appendix V, (i). A full expository treatment of these verses has been given above, pp.136-14

710. It must be noted that Ḥamzah's refutation could also have been directed against views put forward by Rānirī's uncle, who was in Aceh between 1580 and 1583 teaching logic, rhetoric, ethics and jurisprudence, and who, dismayed that he could not generate interest in these subjects journeyed to Makkah to study Ṣūfism, returning to Aceh a few years later to teach mysticism. This seems very probable and, moreover, would explain considerably Rānirī's chief motive for attacking Ḥamzah the way he did.



It seems to me, on the basis of my opinion about the Asrār being an introduction to Ḥamzah's verses and to the manner in which they are to be interpreted and understood, that the verses as a whole or a large portion of it, particularly those dealing with "an exposition of the Science of the Path and the Doctrine of Divine Unity",<sup>711</sup> are written after the Asrār and possibly also after the Muntahī.

Another remarkable thing, aside from the evidence in the opening lines of the Sharāb suggesting that Ḥamzah's prose works are the earliest Malay texts on Ṣūfism, expounding for the first time the Ṣūfī doctrines in systematic and definitive expression, is the fact that Ḥamzah's texts remain the best and most lucid texts on the subject. It is indeed astonishing that this fact has not been given due notice and attention.<sup>712</sup>

---

711. Sha'ir Jāwī fī bayān 'Ilmi'l-Sulūk wa'l-Tawḥīd.

712. The works of Ḥamzah have been referred to in the past as being saturated with Arabic words rendering them unintelligible. Anyone who would now study Ḥamzah's works again will agree with me that his Malay is indeed very intelligible and closely resembles modern Malay! The so-called unintelligibility of expression, for those who find it so, in Ḥamzah has for the most part been largely due to: (i) not being sufficiently acquainted with the religion of Islām, particularly with the doctrines of the Ṣūfīs; (ii) generalizations based upon conclusions drawn from studies of merely lesser works in which so-called Arabic influence predominates; (iii) the manner in which Ḥamzah's writings have been presented which renders the works well-nigh incomprehensible to the layman. The Arabic words found in them are necessary, for in the event of the introduction of a new weltanschauung there will always be the adoption of

From the point of view of Malay literature in general, in addition to the introduction of new technical terms and concepts in the Malay language having to do with philosophy and metaphysics, there is enough evidence that Ḥamzah introduced new forms of poetry into the Malay language. I am speaking of the rubā'ī and the sha'ir. In the preface to his Asrār, introducing his verses and their commentaries, Ḥamzah explains:

However, before you meet with one whose gnosis is perfect, consider these fifteen bayts. These [fifteen bayts] are [composed of] a verse of four lines to each bayt. Should you fail to comprehend the meaning of these fifteen verses, consult their commentaries ...

---

new words and the assimilation of new meanings by old words - and these are neither "murder" nor "mutilation"; on the contrary, they denote enrichment and the widening of scope in language. This very same phenomenon of the "murder" and "mutilation" of the Malay language - this time, in Malaya for example, through the influence of English - is taking place again, and the causes must be attributed not to English (in modern times) nor to Arabic (in earlier times), but to the authors and writers whose mastery of their own language and the languages they translate - whether it be the words or the ideas - and whose mastery of the subjects they write are very much in need of improvement. With respect to studies pertaining to the influence of Arabic upon Malay, and Malay literature, it seems to me that no reliable conclusions can be drawn from studies of lesser works whose very unintelligibility resulting from awkward arrangement of expression reveals that they were the works of those who had neither the mastery of the Malay and Arabic languages nor the total grasp of the subject matter they translated. More benefit could perhaps be derived from studies of consistent, intelligent and systematic works like those of Ḥamzah, Rānirī and Shamsu'l-Dīn, by means of a semantic method of analysis such as introduced in this thesis.

It is clear that the term bayt was already understood by the time Ḥamzah writes his verses in the Asrār, otherwise he will obviously have to explain the meaning of bayt. But the term bayt, as it must have been understood then, means a half verse - a verse of two hemistichs (miṣrā'), as this was and still is the meaning generally understood in Arabic and Persian prosody.<sup>713</sup> Ḥamzah refers to the verses in the Asrār as couched in the form of the rubā'ī,<sup>714</sup> a verse form of Persian origin. Yet in fact a rubā'ī is composed of two bayts, as the Persian name for it shows: dū bayt, and not one bayt as Ḥamzah says. However, Ḥamzah here obviously means by rubā'ī verses composed of four lines, and thus he says so in order not to confuse his readers who were accustomed to understand bayt as meaning two hemistichs, which written in Malay would correspond to two lines. This definition by Ḥamzah of his own bayt to mean a verse of four lines suggest that Ḥamzah is introducing something new to his Malay readers. Ḥamzah also calls his verses sha'irs, and his sha'irs are in

---

713. Hence the confusion in Wilkinson's Dictionary on the definition of bayt. The many meanings of bayt in Malay literature, I suggest, was partly caused by Ḥamzah's unconventional use of it. As is shown above, Ḥamzah already defines his bayt as a rubā'ī, and this rubā'ī, in turn is none other than his sha'ir.

714. See 2016, p.91:

Asrāru'l-'Ārifīn pun perbuatnya  
Rubā' al-Muḥaqqiqīn nama baytnya.

fact composed of units of verses of four lines (bayts). The rhyme scheme is always AAAA. In the true rubā'ī the rhyme scheme is generally AABA, although AAAA is permissible. The choice of the rubā'ī to convey his mystical poems is undoubtedly influenced by the works of the Persian Ṣūfī poets who have been making extensive use of it as Shāh Ni'matu'llāh and Jāmī, for example, both of whom Ḥamzah quotes. In view of the predominantly Persian influence in the writings of Ḥamzah; his mysticism, his sources, his verse form - his intimate connection with Shahr-i-Naw, where I have suggested he was born, and where Persians predominated among the Muslim population, makes very clear now what was once obscure.

- 
715. Another most interesting evidence connected with Shahr-i-Naw is Ḥamzah's familiarity with the Ashrafi dīnār which he uses analogically in Sharāb, p.14. The Ashrafi dīnār was struck in Mamluk Egypt by order of al-Malik al-Ashraf Barsbāy on December 28, 1425. It was of the finest gold and remained throughout the century the preferred gold coin in trade. Its quality was so well-established that the word dīnār without qualifying adjective meant the Ashrafi dīnār, and Ashrafi alternates with dīnār in quotations as the term for gold. After the Ashrafi had been introduced to Persia, the name Ashrafi became the usual term for the native Persian gold coin. Ḥamzah's familiarity with the Ashrafi could not have been obtained from Acheh, where by Ḥamzah's time the Egyptian Ashrafi would presumably no longer be known or used in trade. His familiarity with the Ashrafi could only have been derived, it would seem, from Persians who used Persian Ashrafis in their trade at Shahr-i-Naw. This evidence substantiates further my point about Persians predominating the Muslim population in Shahr-i-Naw (see above, pp. 29-30), and reveals that Muslim trade there was most probably in the hands of the Persians. For more information on the

This study on the mysticism of Ḥamzah Fanṣūrī, which inevitably involves the study of other writings in Malay on Ṣūfism; and the discoveries made resulting from close comparisons with the concepts and philosophical and mystical terminologies of classical Ṣūfīs, of the Muslim philosophers and scholastic theologians, in particular the Mutakallimūn, supported by the application of methodological concepts in a modern semantic analysis, have opened before our vision other horizons intimately connected with the historical problem of islamization of the Malays and with a more accurate cultural assessment of the impact and influence of the Islamic weltanschauung upon that which was radically different. Throughout this study we are led to see that the fundamental problem was to transform the Malay world view into that of Islām, as understood particularly by the Ṣūfīs. This world view centered around the conception of being. The whole vista of intellectual and spiritual activity which seemed to galvanize the Malays beginning perhaps from the fifteenth and carried on through the seventeenth centuries can be said to be embodied in the works of their greatest intellectual representative: Ḥamzah

---

Ashrafi dīnār, see Popper, W., Egypt and Syria under the Circassian Sultans, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1957, pp.49-50. See also Rabinovich di Borgomale, H.L., Coins, Medals and Seals of the Shahs of Iran, Hertford, 1945, p.14.

Fanṣūrī. In order to visualize how he fits into this important phase - perhaps the most important - of the islamization process I would like to put forward the general outlines of a theory of the islamization process in the Malay-Indonesian Archipelago based on every relevant fact and idea stated, referred to and implied in this study. Before this can be done, however, it is necessary that some coherent background, even if only a skeleton survey of the pre-Islamic cultural background, pertaining to matters relevant to the conception of being, will first have to be attempted.

At the outset I declare my agreement with van Leur that Hinduism, as the Malay-Indonesian peoples practised it, was merely a superstructure maintained by the ruling group above an indifferent community. The Malay-Indonesian community's participation in Hinduism was a necessary influence from above; the religion was imposed upon the community by the authority of the ruling group. The Malay-Indonesian society was therefore not a Hinduized society; rather the Malay-Indonesian ruling groups were legitimized sacrally by an Indian hierocracy.<sup>716</sup>

---

716. Consult van Leur, J.C., Indonesian Trade and Society, The Hague, 1955, pp.89-110. The same conclusion can be said of the Malay-Indonesian community's participation in Buddhism, particularly as manifested in Java.

Both Hinduism and Buddhism have been clothed in the garment of symbolic forms that tend to be more anthropomorphic than abstract; and this is true indeed not through any lack of profound philosophy, but, it seems to me, to the proneness to underline the aesthetical rather than the intellectual elements of philosophy in religion. This clearly defined characteristic of these great religions happens to coincide with what appears to be the dominant natural tendency in the Malay-Indonesian world view,<sup>717</sup> for in their active, selective assimilation of Hinduism and Buddhism on their own initiative, they appear to have ignored the profundities of Hindu-Buddhist philosophy and metaphysics in favour of what was less complicated and more readily acceptable to their own world view. What philosophy they took they

---

717. My conclusion on the tendency for the Malay-Indonesian world view to underline the aesthetical rather than the intellectual elements of philosophy is derived from a comparative study of the non-Islamic and Islamic classical literature, from general observation and from knowledge obtained from works of scholarship on relevant subjects. This view seems confirmed by the works of the modern Indonesian literatus Sutan Takdir Alisjahbana, whose more extensive scope, but different method of approach is given in his recently published works: Values as integrating forces in Personality, Society and Culture, University of Malaya Press, Kuala Lumpur, 1966; and Indonesia's social and cultural revolution, Oxford University Press, Kuala Lumpur, 1966, chapter on 'The Prolificness of the Arts'.

transformed into art at the expense of the rational and intellectual elements. It is significant, with respect to Hinduism, that the religion as was popularly understood seemed to have radiated not necessarily from direct Upanishadic sources, but more from the artistic formulations depicted in the Mahābhārata and Bhagavad-gīta, which in comparison with expository works on Vedantic doctrines, have been copiously translated first into Javanese and then from the Javanese into Malay.<sup>718</sup> The original Mahābhārata and Bhagavad-gīta, particularly the latter, are by no means merely epical, romantical, or mythological in character - but in the translations it was these aspects that were emphasized. In Hindu-Javanese and Hindu-Malay literature, it would be no exaggeration to say that epics, romances and mythologies predominated whatever else there were and apparently the number of copies was determined by its popularity in court, which usually chose in favour of the epics, romances and mythologies. To cite one significant

---

718. As far as I know there has been no Javanese translation of the Upanishads, or even full expository translations of the Hindu doctrines according to the Vedānta, in spite of centuries of Indian-Hindu influence. Neither has there been, as far as I know, any translations of works of Buddhist theology and philosophy in Malay. The Qur'ān, however, has been fully translated with commentary in Malay in the second half of the seventeenth century.



example, Prapañca's works, which were mostly of erudition rather than effusions of the poetical spirit, were criticized by the female critics at court so that even his most famous work, the Nāgara Kertāgama, has come down to posterity in one manuscript.<sup>719</sup> Although it may be conceded that Old Javanese literature embodied much that was philosophical such as, to mention one example out of the few, the Arjuna Wiwāha of Mpu Kanwa, written over three centuries before the Nāgara Kertāgama, yet most were in poetic form, as is the case with the Arjuna Wiwāha, lacking exposition and commentary, so that they were not really meant for the general public.<sup>720</sup> For this latter group, the philosophical-mystical world view envisaged by the poets of Old Javanese literature

---

719. Cf. Pigeaud, T.G.Th., Java in the 14th Century, the Hague, 1962, (5 vols.), vol.4, p.548.

720. The Arjuna Wiwāha was again meant for the court - of king Airlangga. After islamization spiritual refinement and knowledge was shared with the people; the intellectual and rational impetus conveyed by Ṣūfī and Mutakallimī literature was not only meant for the courts, but perhaps more so for the people in general. The existence of numerous copies of treatises on metaphysical topics expounding a cosmology and ontology that can be traced back to well known classical Ṣūfīs, Mutakallimūn, Falāsifah, and further back to Plotinus, Aristotle and Plato demonstrate that Islamic-Malay literature was neither the preserve of the courts nor determined by their values, but was more democratic than the past in the selection of its audience and readers. Furthermore the above mentioned type of Islamic-Malay literature was neither meant nor used in any way for court rituals or sacral purposes, but for the consolidation of islamization in its process of conversion of the spirit which is outlined in the next few pages.

was glimpsed in the wayangs (theatres); filtered, as it were, again through the medium of art.<sup>721</sup> No doubt the doctrine of the Ātman as propounded in the Bhagavad-gīta was known, and made to run through the veins of Hindu-Javanese and Hindu-Malay literature, but it is still to be argued whether there was anything really deep, in the sense in which it is understood in the Hindu doctrines. No one can be certain - for so far there has been no sure scientific way of ascertaining - that the philosophical and mystical elements of Upanishadic Hinduism that trickled through the sieve of art into Javanese-Malay literature before Islām were understood by the Javanese-Malay interpreters and their public in the same sense in which they were understood by the Hindu sages. The doctrine of the Ātman interpreted as the Brahman "lodged within" the individual being was more likely taken in the literal sense - particularly by the people in general - for in this sense it would be more congenial to the autochthonous world view of the Hindu-Javanese-Malay in which animism continued to dominate.

---

721. In The Romance of Amir Hamza in Java (Bingkisan Budi, Leiden, 1950, pp.235-240), Th. Pigeaud makes this interesting remark: "Almost all myths, history, stories and tales written in Javanese have been turned, at one time or another, into plays for the various kinds of theatre or theatrical dancing in which the Javanese excel." - p.236.

The same could be said of Buddhism in its contact with the Malay-Indonesian peoples. For many centuries, from the sixth to the eleventh centuries, Sumatra seemed to have been a great centre of Buddhism and Buddhist philosophy. Yet the influence of the Buddhist clergy in Sumatra did not seem to have made any impression in the realm of philosophy - but again in that of art. It is significant that this artistic manifestation should have occurred in Java in the form of the great Borobudur, the Chandi Mendut and the Chandi Sewu complex. We are told in the late sixth century of the existence of one thousand Buddhist monks in Sumatra, where Buddhist philosophy and theology flourished; of the venerable Atisha, the great reformer of Buddhism in Tibet, who had sat at the feet of Dharmakirti, high priest of the Buddhist clergy in Sumatra in the early eleventh century. Considering the powerful influence of the Sumatran Buddhist clergy in being able to produce or train from among them one who would rise to the eminence of a reformer in a distant land, it seems strange and surprising that Buddhist philosophy did not seem to spread its influence in Sumatra itself. Was it perhaps that Buddhism, not being a missionary religion charged with an expansive missionary movement, was not really interested in imparting a new world view to the Sumatrans themselves? Or was it that the Buddhist clergy were not mainly composed of indigenous people, but of people from

Bengal who came to Sumatra to find peace and seclusion for the purpose of meditation; who regarding Sumatra as a retreat shut themselves in their monastery oblivious of the outside world around them? We have no firm evidence of the Malay language ever being used to convey Buddhist theology and philosophy, even in the sense in which the Javanese language has been used in connection with Hinduism. Could it have been that the Malay language was then not yet developed as a medium for philosophical concepts and ideas? Neither the Hindu-Malay nor the Buddhist-Malay, as far as we know, have produced any thinker or philosopher of note.

The reputation spread abroad of the Malay-Indonesian peoples - particularly in Java - as being refiners of great cultures, who excelled in syncretizing the great pre-Islamic religions such as Hinduism and Buddhism, in the sense of fusing and blending them, has no firm basis. If Kertanāgara practised the Siva-Buddha cult and finally assumed divinity as a Buddha-Bhairava in 1275, this does not necessarily reveal the possibility of fusion between Sivaite Hinduism and Mahayana Buddhism. It would simply reveal that the king, being ruler of both Hindus and Buddhists, would logically unite within his person the divinity worshipped by both religious groups in order to enhance his charismatic sway over the people. As Rassers and others have pointed out, the term 'syncretism' must be regarded with

some degree of caution in this respect; perhaps 'parallelism' would better describe the fact, and this is clearly brought forth in the significance of the story of Gagang-aking and Bubukshah.<sup>722</sup>

Unlike Hinduism and Buddhism, Islām is traditionally linked with the West. It carried on the traditions of Judaism and Christianity, and by the time it came to the Malay-Indonesian Archipelago, it brought with it also important elements of Greek philosophy such as conveyed by Plato, Plotinus and the Neo-Platonists. Apart from these elements of Greek philosophy it brought with it also its own contribution to philosophy - the elaborate theory of atoms, accidents and substance of the Mu'tazilah, al-Ash'arī and the later Mutakallimūn.<sup>723</sup> The islamization of the Malay-Indonesian

---

722. Cf. Rassers, W.H., Pañji, the culture hero, the Hague, 1959, pp.65-91.

723. Western scholars, with the exception of perhaps certain Western orientalists, have tried to ignore this genuinely Islamic contribution to philosophy, maybe due to too much indulgence in Maimonides who reported that everything the Muslims, Mu'tazilis and Ash'aris have professed concerning these subjects, have been borrowed from the Greeks and Syrians (The Guide of the Perplexed, Chicago, 1963, 1.71[p.177]). Maimonides' remark is rather sweeping and is still a debatable point. While it is true that some Greek and Syrian thinkers have challenged Aristotelianism, and have held atomistic theories of nature, it cannot be said that theirs were fully developed into well-defined systems as the elaborate Mutakallimūn theory was. Furthermore the Muslims were not merely Translators of the Greeks. Their philosophy centered around concepts mainly influenced by the Quranic world view. This world view is non-Aristotelian in nature - it is a world view that Korzybski would perhaps define as "non-elemental" as against the "elemental" world view of Aristotelianism.

Archipelago should therefore not be compared, it seems to me, with the earlier hinduization, as has been traditionally done.<sup>724</sup> It would be more relevant to compare the islamization process with Western elements, and to a certain extent with the influence of the impact of Islām upon Europe in the Middle Ages in the manner Pirenne has shown;<sup>725</sup> for in several respects certain factors were similar, primarily the introduction of rational and intellectual elements whose profound effect, generally revealed in the language in which these elements are couched, was to introduce a world view aimed not so much at the conversion of the 'body', so to speak, but more so the conversion of the spirit. From the point of view of cultural history it would also be relevant to compare the impact of the Islamic weltanschauung upon the Malay-Indonesian world view, with that of Islām - in particular the Qur'ān - upon the Arabs, their language and the revolutionary changes that have been reflected in it as manifested, for example, in comparative studies of the Jāhiliyyah and Islamic world views.<sup>726</sup>

---

724. The best example is Schrieke, B., Indonesian Sociological Studies, the Hague, (2 vols.), 1955-1957, see relevant sections on the penetration of Islam in the Archipelago and Appendix II of vol.2.

725. Pirenne, H., Muhammad and Charlemagne, translated by B. Miall, London, 1940, chapter I, part II.

726. The most lucid accounts and the most recent and new in their methodological approach, in my opinion, are the comparative studies of Professor T. Izutsu of Keio University, Tokyo. For some of his relevant works and other relevant references, see above, notes, 11, 578.

Islām came to the Malay-Indonesian Archipelago. I suggest, not as one identical historical process which merely gained momentum throughout several centuries. The islamization process, from the evidence we have of religious and mystical literature, must be seen, it seems to me, as proceeding according to three phases which may briefly and generally be clearly distinguished as follows:

(i) the conversion of the Malay-Indonesians in which jurisprudence (fiqh) played the major role of interpreting the religious law (sharī'ah). In this first phase of the process one can generally say that it was a conversion of the 'body'. By conversion of the 'body' I mean acceptance of the religion by strength of faith not necessarily accompanied by an understanding of the rational and intellectual implications such acceptance entailed. It is possible to conceive, therefore, that in this first phase of the islamization process many fundamental concepts connected with the central Islamic concept of the Divine Unity were still vague in the minds of the Malay-Indonesians; and they were understood in an opaque sense, some of their old concepts overlapping and clouding or confusing new ones.

(ii) the continuation of the process described in (i), but in this phase the major role of interpreting the religious law have passed on to mysticism (taṣawwuf) and other rational and intellectual elements such as dialectics (kalām)

and theology. In this phase Ṣūfism and Ṣūfī writings primarily, and the writings of the Muṭakallimūn played the dominant role, and the aim was the conversion of the spirit. By this I mean that the fundamental concepts introduced in the Islamic weltanschauung, some of which were still understood in the opaque sense influenced, as it were, by the old weltanschauung, were expounded and defined so that they could be understood in both the transparent and semi-transparent senses;<sup>727</sup>

(iii) continuation of (i) and the consummation of (ii), which has been largely successful. What is important is not so much to discover the possibility that the islamization process underwent three distinct but not separate phases generally from the beginning of the advent of Islām in the Malay-Indonesian Archipelago to the present day, for it ought to have been obvious that the more mystical philosophical and theological elements in religion should usually be preceded by general acceptance of the religion on the basis of faith (I mean by faith both its aspects of īmān and islām), and the external expression of this faith by works ('amal), fortified by a firm foundation of law. What is indeed more

---

727. In case the meanings of the semantic terminologies I have used here, such as opaque, transparent and semi-transparent, are not self-explanatory, please consult relevant explanations in Ullman's and Izutsu's works cited in note, 11 above.



important is to discover in what periods of history these phases became noticeable as such, so that a particular period can be distinguished from another, for such a discovery would throw considerable light on the history of the Islamization of the Malay-Indonesian Archipelago itself. Provided we understand - as I have noted above - that the phases are not separate in the sense that one ceased at the emergence of the other, I suggest that the first phase, became more noticeable perhaps from the twelfth century, when historical evidence so far imply the existence of large numbers of Muslims in the Archipelago and the beginnings of Malay Muslim kingdoms, and dominated the process of islamization up to the fifteenth century, when the second phase noticeably began to take over. The second phase continued to dominate the process up to about the end of the eighteenth century. The evidence that I wish to marshal in support of this theory are mainly derived from a study of the mystical and religious literature - the best examples of which are the works of Hamzah here presented - since these are to my mind the most convincing and indeed the most relevant to any study of the process of islamization.

As far as we know, going back from the fifteenth century, it was the fifteenth century - the first half of the century, to be precise - and the centuries before that, that revealed a predominance of works on Muslim Law and the

high positions occupied by jurists (fugahā') in the courts of the Malay kingdoms.<sup>728</sup> In this period there was hardly any mention of Ṣūfīs at court, or of Ṣūfī works or discussions on mysticism on the scale that was to come. The Hikāyat Raja-Raja Pasai, the oldest extant Malay chronicle, mentions again jurists - Sayyids from Persia - who lived in the court of al-Malik al-Zāhir in the first half of the fourteenth century in the capacity of religious advisors to the Sultān and his sons.<sup>729</sup> These were possibly the jurists Ibn Baṭṭūṭah mentioned he met when he visited the Sultān's court in 1345-1346.<sup>730</sup> Although even then Ibn Baṭṭūṭah reported that the Sultān was a lover of religious debates and discourses, and had himself surrounded by Ulamā' and Fugahā', it is possible to assume that debates on mysticism and philosophy centering around the fundamental conception of being were not discussed, or if discussed, were not conducted in masterly style, as later was to happen. The first mention of a serious Ṣūfī work, the Durru'l-Manẓūm of Shaykh Abū Ishāq, a Ṣūfī of Makkah - which has been mentioned

---

728. For the extent and nature of these works on Muslim Law, see for example, Juynboll's work cited in note 706. above.

729. The Hikāyat Raja-Raja Pasai is said to have been written between 1350 and before 1524. The version I am quoting belongs to Raffles Ms. no.67. Catalogue of the R.A.S. London, romanized by J.P. Mead in the J.R.A.S.S.B., March, 1914, pp.17 foll.

730. See Travels of Ibn Baṭṭūṭah in Asia and Africa, translated by H.A.R. Gibb, London, 1929, pp.273 foll.

previously - was during the reign of Sulṭān Maṣṣūr Shāh of Malacca in 1459. It was after this period that more and more emphasis on mysticism became noticeable. But, as Ḥamzah revealed in his verses I mentioned and quoted in several places, it was again jurists, or in any case men who were not thoroughly grounded in mysticism, who attempted to discuss and expound Ṣūfī concepts that increasingly and persistently demanded exposition. Pundits arrived from Makkah to debate and write about the Fixed Essences, and it is significant to note that when Rānīrī's uncle arrived in Aceh expecting to teach logic, rhetoric, ethics and jurisprudence in 1580 - presumably on the assumption of his knowledge of the practice in the past - he had to be disappointed, and had speedily to acquire knowledge in mysticism in Makkah before he could return to meet the popular demand.<sup>731</sup> This was the period Ḥamzah wrote followed by Shamsu'l-Dīn of Pasai, who - it is significant - even became Shaykhu'l-Islām of the kingdom of Aceh. This was the period of the first Malay written expositions of the Ṣūfī doctrines began by Ḥamzah and carried on assiduously by Shamsu'l-Dīn and Rānīrī. This was the period that Rānīrī found fit to translate into Malay - among others - the famous Sharḥ al-'Aqā'id al-Nasafiyyah compiled by al-Taftāzānī. This was the period of the first complete

---

731. See above, pp. 305-306.

Malay translation and commentary of the Qur'ān done by 'Abdu'l-Ra'ūf of Singkel after al-Bayḍāwī's famous work. This was in fact the period of the prolificness of Malay writings on Ṣūfism and rational theology. After 'Abdu'l-Ra'ūf, at the beginning of the eighteenth century, this prolificness decreased, and although works on Ṣūfism continued to be translated, paraphrased and summarized right up to the nineteenth century, the second phase of the islamization process has passed, for the conversion of the spirit has to a considerable extent been accomplished and consolidated. What I mean when I said that perhaps the most important period in the process of islamization was the second phase is precisely this: that in the second phase Ṣūfī metaphysics predominated the interpretation and consolidation of Islām; that it was through Ṣūfism that the highly intellectual and rationalistic religious spirit entered the receptive minds of the people, effecting a rise of rationalism and intellectualism not manifested in pre-Islamic times; that this emergence of rationalism and intellectualism can be viewed as the powerful spirit that set in motion the process of revolutionizing the Malay-Indonesian world view, turning it away from a crumbling world of mythology, which can be compared with the Greek world in the Olympian era, to the world of intelligence, reason and order; that it emphasized the belief in a God whose Power is governed by Wisdom, whose

Creative Will works in accordance with Reason; that it emphasized Man as the epitome of Creation, whose very essence is rationality which is the connecting link between him and Reality; that, finally - to use a pregnant remark - it prepared the Malay-Indonesians, in a sense, for the modern world to come.

The most remarkable thing during this second phase of the islamization process was the emphasis laid on one identical factor throughout, which reveals that this factor was regarded as of utmost importance due to its fundamental nature - and this is the conception of being. From the time immediately preceding that of Ḥamzah up to Rānīrī's time all the major debates, discourses and writings we know of revolved around this concept. The significance of this seems to me clear, in that here we have the first real coming to grips with the fundamental problem that must have plagued the Malay-Indonesian Muslims since the coming of Islām until then: the problem of the relationship between God, Man and the World, the solution to which will have been none other than the answer to the perplexing question: 'What is being?'. That the conception of being was a problem was due to the definite existence of conflicting notions about it, and these conflicting notions arose because the Malay-Indonesians were now Muslims and the old conception of being clashed with the new. Such a problem did not apparently exist in Hindu-

Buddhist times for Hinduism and Buddhism did not demand the conversion of the spirit, or perhaps they were interpreted in such a manner as to render non-existent the problem of the conception of being. As far as Hinduism and Buddhism were concerned, the manner in which they were interpreted, where the conception of being was concerned, was to identify it with their own world view which was basically dominated by the notion of corporeality filling space, being 'contained' in something. This somewhat Parmenidean conception of being was congenial to the animistic notions held by them, for even their spirits were indeed in some sense non-abstract, subjected as they were to 'being contained in' some thing. This basic definition, loose as it may be, of the old Malay-Indonesian vision of being, seems to me quite accurate; for not only is it substantiated by the literature and the vestiges of ancient practices we still observe today, but more important perhaps, by the testimony of the basic concepts underlying such key words as ada, tiada, isi, diri and jadi.<sup>732</sup> It would therefore not be surprising if the Hindu-Malay or Javanese were to have understood the concept of the Ātman as the Brahman "lodged within" the individual being in the strictly literal sense, for it was in this same sense that some Muslim Malays and Javanese understood the

---

732. See above, chapter V.

concept of the Self (diri: nafs) as the God 'in' Man.<sup>733</sup>

- 
733. On a study of the Javanese Sulūk literature see Zoetmulder, P.J. Pantheïsme en Monïsme in de Javaansche Soeloek Litteratuur, (diss.), Nijmegen, 1935. Zoetmulder mentions that the doctrine of the God in Man, which in Ṣūfism is the doctrine of the sirr, corresponds to the Hindu doctrine of the Ātman. In Javanese sulūk literature this doctrine is designated as (a) rasa (essence, taste, etc.); (b) rahasia (secret, mystery); (c) urip (life); and (d) suksma (the immaterial soul), with (a) and (b); (e) and (d) each running together (see pp. 420-421). It must be noted, it seems to me, that if in Javanese Ṣūfī literature it is found that terms referring to the Hindu doctrines according to the Vedānta have been employed in the correct sense, this fact might not necessarily indicate that the doctrine of the Ātman, for example, was understood in the Hindu period in the correct, original sense; for it could well have been Islamic influence (through the Ṣūfī interpretation of the relevant Hindu doctrines) that have contributed such interpretations. It is well known that the Ṣūfīs on the whole saw eye to eye with the Hindu Sages in these matters. The coming of Islām to Java, then, could also be conceived as effecting a corrective influence in the interpretation of the Hindu doctrines carried out through the medium of Ṣūfī literature. Following this very important point, it could be conceived as more likely that the 'conflict' which most scholars on the subject think they see between Islām and Javanese Hindūism, as manifested in Javanese Ṣūfī writings which - they say - were deliberately and consciously made to hark back to the old Hinduism thus indicating Javanese resentment towards Islamic encroachment, does not really indicate conflict, but an ingenious missionary technique devised to bring the Javanese around to the Islamic (Ṣūfī) point of view. Ingenious Muslim missionary techniques making use of what would be regarded as familiar mediums, closely and intimately linked with old concepts and old weltanschauung, seems to have been resorted to by Muslim missionaries in Java in the past. One that is a well-known fact was Suuan Kalijaga's use of the wayang to spread Islam in Java.

Ḥamzah's writings, especially his verses, without doubt reveal that many have interpreted the doctrine of the Self (diri: nafs) in the sense of the indwelling of God in the human individuality or ego (diri yang zāhir) - so that God is 'contained in' man, or that He 'fills' man, a notion closely connected with the doctrine of incarnation (ḥulūl) condemned by the Ṣūfīs.<sup>734</sup> Rānīrī's attacks against the Deviating Wujūdīyyah centered around the same issue. The root of this problem was precisely the opaque manner in which the old pre-Islamic Malay-Indonesian conception of being as couched in the word ada viewed the new Islamic conception of being. The first time in Malay writings we find ada applied relationally to convey transparent and semi-transparent meanings in the context of the Islamic conception of being is in the writings of Ḥamzah.<sup>735</sup> It indicates a conscious

---

734. On his verses showing the practice of some people being influenced by the old conception of being, see above, pp. 41-43.

Another example from 2016, p.56:

DhātNya itu tiada berkiri-kanan.

ZāhirNya dā'im tiada berkesudahan,

Tiada bersifat belakang dan hadapan.

Manakan dapat manzil Nya kau adakan?

His Essence has no 'left' or 'right',

His being manifest is always, without end,

His Nature does not have a 'back' or a 'front'

How can you ascribe existence of place to Him?

For the profane type of the doctrine of the Self, see above, pp. 51-56.

735. See above, pp. 275-290.



attempt on Ḥamzah's part to include within its basic meaning new concepts that would gradually effect the desired semantic change according to the influence of the Islamic mystical context, but such a development apparently never took place, even though to a certain extent Ḥamzah's successors used ada in their writings in his relational sense. By the time Rānīrī wrote and after his time we find less and less of the use of ada in Ḥamzah's sense, and the reason for this seems to me clearly because ada is a word that would always be susceptible of opaque connotation and for this reason it would be dangerous to establish its use as a mystical term, particularly having to do with God's Being. The same kind of problem existed in Muslim philosophy in connection with the word mawjūd, until finally the philosophers had to introduce a new word huwīyyah, so that they could rely on the accuracy of what they intend to mean.<sup>736</sup> In the case of Malay mystical literature, the word wujūd became established to mean being in the abstract sense, and it was assimilated and adopted into the Malay-Javanese mystical vocabulary. The history of the term wujūd and its intimate connection with Muslim philosophical and mystical vocabularies, and its foreign (Arabic) origin were sufficient enough to guard it against being understood in the same sense as ada, and ada - in spite

---

736. See above, p. 252.

of the abstract uses to which it had been put by the Ṣūfīs - continued to this day to convey the old basic meaning.

One of the most important single cultural phenomenon directly caused by the influence of Islamic culture, and especially this second phase of the islamization process, was the spread and development of the Malay language as a vehicle, not only for epic, romantic and historical literature, but even more so for philosophical discourse. The use of Malay as the language of Islamic philosophical literature in the Malay-Indonesian Archipelago enriched its vocabulary and technical terminology considerably and was one of the paramount factors that displaced the hegemony of Javanese. It is important to note that the stories in the Mahābhārata epic and many others of Hindu origin were translated into Malay from the Javanese. The latter's influence on Hindu-Malay literature was predominant. But a preponderant number of Islamic philosophical writings in Javanese are of Malay influence, and there is indeed a large number of Javanese translations from the Malay - such as for example some of the works of Ḥamzah - whereas there is hardly any from the Javanese into Malay. Connected closely with this phenomenon another important point is that with the coming of Islām, it was the Malay kingdoms as opposed to the Javanese (i.e. Sumatra represented by Pasai and Aceh, and the Malay Peninsula represented by Malacca) that played the dominant

role in the spread of Islām and Islamic theology and philosophy (mysticism) in Java and the whole of the Malay-Indonesian Archipelago. In the spread of the Malay language used as a medium for religious, philosophical and mystical literature, there seems to be no doubt that Pasai played the dominant role. Such was Pasai's role even at the height of Malacca's glory, for it appeared to be the custom in Malacca to refer the above types of literature to Pasai for authoritative interpretation.<sup>737</sup> Ḥamzah himself, when referring to the Malay language, speaks of the language of Pasai; and apparently 'Abdu'l-Ra'ūf of Singkel, the earliest translator of the Qur'ān in Malay, considered good Malay to be Pasai Malay.<sup>738</sup>

As I have indicated earlier, this theory of the periodization of the islamization process has an important bearing upon any theory of the Islamization of the Malay-Indonesian Archipelago. Several theories of the Islamization of the Archipelago have been put forward, notably by Schrieke and van Leur in their works cited. Detailed criticism of their theories, however, is best done elsewhere, but two important points will have to be made here as they are directly connected with several points stated in the preceding pages of this chapter. These points indicate rejection

---

737. See Sejarah Melayu, Chapter XX.

738. For Ḥamzah's reference, see Muntahi, p.127; Winstedt (op.cit., p.113) notes that in a Batavian manuscript of his Mir'āt al-Tullāb, 'Abdu'l-Ra'ūf in the preface states that not being adept at Malay he got the help of two experts to write the treatise in the language of Pasai.

of two important and generally accepted notions about the Islamization of the Archipelago: the first is Schrieke's theory that the intensification of Muslim missionary activity was due to a "race" with Christianity at the coming of the Portuguese in the sixteenth century; the second is the generally accepted idea that India and Indians played the major role in bringing Islām to the Archipelago. The basis of Schrieke's theory is the observation that considering the probability that Arab settlements had been established on the coastal regions of Sumatra as early as 674 and 878; in Java in 1082; in Champa in 1039; in the Malay Peninsula in 878 and in 1302, we discern little missionary activity when compared with the spread of missionary activity among the Muslims at the end of the thirteenth century, which in the fourteenth century increased in momentum, dominating the entire Archipelago in the fifteenth century. Schrieke concluded that this was due to the coming of the Portuguese who brought Christianity along with them. There was a "race" with Christianity. Aside from the fact that Muslim missionary activity had begun its intensification, almost a century before the Portuguese and Christianity appeared on the scene, spreading Islām to many parts of the Archipelago, Malacca, which the Portuguese captured in 1511, had long been the headquarters for the Muslim missionary invasion of Java. Hence the saying: 'Java was converted in Malacca'. Further-

more, Christian missionary activity - when it came - could hardly be said to have constituted a serious rival for a "race" to occur. While we concede that the appearance of the Portuguese and Christianity in the Archipelago must have had some effect on the historical process of the spread of Islām, we maintain that their role had been magnified at the expense of other more important factors. Now the second phase of the theory of the process of islamization suggested here, which was perhaps the most important phase, coincided with the period Schrieke observed as the period of intensification of Muslim missionary activity. Would not this second phase of the islamization process as outlined here and the complementary role of Malacca as the headquarters for the missionary invasion of Java be more relevant than the Portuguese and Christian factor in directly influencing the intensification of Muslim missionary activity in the entire Archipelago? On the role of India and Indians in the spread of Islām in the Archipelago - this too has been magnified. The evidence of written sources such as the religious, legal and mystical literature point to the Middle East as the major spiritual influence. The sources of those works were either Arab or Persian, hardly Indian. Known early missionaries too were Arabs and Persians. India was the springboard for the Middle-Eastern missionaries, large numbers of which came from the Ḥaḍramawt in South Arabia, as indicated by their

families who to this day have settled in Sumatra, Malaya and Java. Even missionaries who came from India direct, like Rānīrī, did not reflect the Indian milieu, but rather that of the Middle East (of Ḥaḍramawt in Rānīrī's case). Mystical polemics in India like those of Aḥmad Fārūqī Sirhindī and Shāh Walīyyu'llāh did not leave traces in the Malay-Indonesian Archipelago, nor were there any traces in connection with Akbar's Dīn-i-Ilāhī, or other peculiarities of 'Indian Islām' found in the Archipelago, which one would generally expect to find if indeed Islām had come from India conveyed by Indians. Some of the so-called Indian influences could well have been the vestiges of the old contact with India and with Hinduism and Buddhism still to be found after Islamization.<sup>739</sup> It would be more correct to maintain that a great deal of material Islamic influence came from India without, however, concluding that the spiritual Islamic influence also came from India. Moreover, on the spiritual aspect the earlier one goes back from the seventeenth century the more definitely one finds that almost all works on religious law, philosophy and mysticism were of Arab-Persian sources and authorship -

---

739. It was most likely this type of Indian influence that I have referred to in p.41, above. But even if the Indian influence described there came from Islamic India, that would not have made much difference to the above contention that the role of India and Indians in connection with Islamization of the Archipelago has been unduly magnified.

even if some of them might have been written in India. Apart from the works of Rānīrī, who quotes always non-Indian authors and sources, another Indian work known in Aceh at the time was Al-Tuhfah al-Mursalah ilā'l-Nabī by Fadlu'llāh al-Burhānpūrī who, like Rānīrī, also did not reflect the Indian milieu.<sup>740</sup>

With the exception of Aceh, all other areas in the Malay-Indonesian Archipelago were converted to Islām during the second phase of the islamization process in which mysticism predominated. This accounts for the notion, among others, that Ṣūfīs were the disseminators of Islām in the Archipelago, and that Aceh, compared with the other areas, appears more consolidated in Islām. That Aceh appears more consolidated in Islām particularly in comparison with Java seems to me not only because it was the first part of the

---

740. The doctrine of the seven grades mentioned in the Tuhfah, which was not necessarily developed in this treatise, seems to me to be a 'clarified' version of the Ṣūfī doctrine of the stages of determination of Absolute Being. In Ḥamzah's schema of ontological descent the first, second and third determinations are uncreated, the third determination having the double aspect of being uncreated or created depending upon the point of view from which it is envisaged. In the Tuhfah only the first and second determinations are uncreated - the rest are created. This simplifies the problematic third determination, and makes the distinction between God and Man more clearly. It is most significant that the Tuhfah should appear in Aceh during the second phase of the islamization process when the consolidation of the conversion of the spirit was at hand, for it would certainly help clarify the conception of being which was the crux of the problem of conversion of the spirit. See further, above, pp. 120-121; 139-140(5); 143; 260-265.  
The Tuhfah has been translated into Malay and Javanese.

Archipelago to receive Islām long before the others, but also to experience the dominant role of jurisprudence in the first phase of the islamization process. The dominance of jurisprudence and jurists in Acheh during the first phase does not, however, preclude Ṣūfīs from being the disseminators of Islām from the very beginning and during the first phase itself, for the characteristics of the first and early propagators of Islām - from what we know in available sources - reveal traits peculiar to Ṣūfīs.



PART II

9.

## INTRODUCTION

The only romanized Malay edition of the known works of Ḥamzah Fanṣūrī to be published to date appeared in 1933. It had been prepared by Johan Doorenbos of Holland as a doctoral dissertation to satisfy the requirements of the University of Leiden. The works presented are various mystical verses taken from manuscripts in the Leiden University Library,<sup>741</sup> and a fragment from van de Wall's Collection.<sup>742</sup> Also included in the edition are two prose works of Ḥamzah: the Asrāru'l-ʿĀrifīn and the Sharābu'l-ʿĀshiqīn (also called Zīnatu'l-Muwahhīdīn and Asrāru'l-ʿĀshiqīn). Both were taken from manuscripts belonging to the Snouck Hurgronje Collections.<sup>743</sup>

Another version of the Sharābu'l-ʿĀshiqīn is the Banten version found in Cod. Or. 2016, but although Doorenbos has made use of this version in conjunction with his work on the Sharābu'l-ʿĀshiqīn in Cod. Or. 7291 (II), he has not given us the full text of this manuscript.<sup>744</sup> The edition of all these works of Ḥamzah, both the verse and the prose, has been briefly annotated.

In fairness to Doorenbos, we must concede that he is to be applauded for his painstaking efforts in bringing these

---

741. 3374, 3372, 2016 and 7291.

742. No. 32.

743. 7291 (I) and (II).

744. see further below, pp. 361-363.

very important works to light. But we must also give due criticism.<sup>745</sup> Although there is ample evidence to show that Doorenbos has availed himself of the knowledge, or assistance as the case may be, of scholars such as Hurgronje, Kraemer, Kramers, Rinkes, van Ronkel and Drewes - all of whom have made their impressions on Indonesian Studies - there is yet more evidence to reveal that Doorenbos was not sufficiently familiar with the structure of the Malay language in general, and Hamzah's individual use of it in particular, to be in a position to fulfill his task satisfactorily. This judgment is based upon scrutiny of his edition which, in certain respects, reveals much to be desired and in others to be fraught with telling errors both trivial and grave.

With respect to the prose works, it is no mere exaggeration to say that almost every page needs considerable improvement in the arrangement of sentence structure and the proper distribution of punctuation symbols - the better to bring forth the style and meanings of the texts. With respect to the edition of the verses, however, it must be conceded that Doorenbos fared better.

In dealing with the edition of works in mystical

---

745. Drewes, G.W.J., has reviewed Doorenbos' work in the Tijdschrift, part LXXIII, 1933, pp.391-398. The following comments on Doorenbos' work are by no means exhaustive, and they are based on a different approach from that of Drewes.

literature, particularly when the author himself was a mystic and, in the unique case of Ḥamzah, was employing his language as a medium for philosophical and mystical ideas certainly never before employed in that manner and for that purpose, one cannot adequately emphasize the need for careful and conscientious treatment of the works. Once the sentence structure in an edition is not correctly constructed, or the punctuation symbols not properly distributed, then the meaning structure collapses; the semantic vocabulary of the system of thought no longer presents itself as a coherent and consistent configuration. Of this very important point Ḥamzah himself was very much aware, and he took pains to caution those who would transcribe or make copies of his works (and here I would include editors as well):

Whosoever transcribes [or make copies of] this book,<sup>746</sup> let him verify them twice or thrice so that the letters and the sentences may not exceed or fall short [of my intentions]. Should they exceed<sup>747</sup> or fall short, then the meanings perish.

Although the errors in Doorenbos' edition of the

746. Ḥamzah here refers to his book the Sharābu'l-Āshiqīn. But this warning must surely be intended for his other prose works as well.
747. 2016, last page of the Sharāb. The Sharāb, as I have suggested, is the first book Ḥamzah wrote (see above, pp. 301, 303) and it would be most reasonable for him to warn future scribes to copy correctly, since he would be very anxious to see that what he says in the book is understood the way he intended.

prose works of Ḥamzah Faṣṣūrī may all stem from lack of satisfactory knowledge of the language, they can all be classified under four distinct categories.

In the first category are errors in simple punctuation which, however, do not necessarily alter the spirit and intent of the texts, but which are not in conformity with proper Malay. To this category belong errors which I have referred to as being found in every page. By virtue of their triviality, we may dispense with a detailed exposition of these errors, and content ourselves only with examples of a few.

On pages 33-34 of the Asrār:<sup>748</sup>

Adapun Allah qadīm dengan ketujuh sifatnya  
tiadakan lenyap baṣīrnya kerana namanya  
(wa huwa s samī'u-l baṣīru). Lagi firman  
Allah (wa llāhu bi mā ta'malūna baṣīrun)  
ya'ni: barang diperbuat mereka itu A.T.  
melihat, kerana sifat ketujuhnya ini [34]  
qadīm; bukan hayy ada, 'ilmu tiada atau 'ilmu  
ada, irādat tiada atau irādat ada, qudrat  
tiada atau qudrat ada, kalām tiada atau kalām  
ada, samī' tiada atau samī' ada, baṣīr tiada  
atau suatu dahulu atau suatu kemudian atau  
suatu lama atau suatu baharu; tiada demikian  
adanya.<sup>749</sup>

The correct form should be:

Adapun [apabila] Allāh Subḥānahu wa Ta'ālā  
qadīm dengan ketujuh SifatNya, tiadakan lenyap  
BaṣīrNya, kerana NamaNya wa huwa'l-samī'u'l-baṣīr.

---

748. Page number refers to page number in the manuscripts,  
i.e. 7291 (I) and 7291 (II).

749. Doorenbos, p.135.

Lagi firmān Allāh Subhānahu wa Ta'āla:  
Wa'LLāhu bi mā ta'malūna baṣīr - ya'ni: Barang  
 [sesuata yang] diperbuat mereka itu Allāh  
 Ta'ālā melihat. - kerana Ṣifāt ketujuhanya ini  
 [34] qadim; bukan Hayy ada, 'Ilmu tiada; atau  
 'Ilmu ada, Irādat tiada; atau Irādat ada, Qudrat  
 tiada; atau Qudrat ada, Kalām tiada; atau  
 Kalām ada, Samī' tiada; atau Samī' ada Baṣīr  
 tiada; atau suatu dahulu atau suatu kemudian;  
 atau suatu lama atau suatu baharu - tiada  
 demikina adanya.

On page 47, a passage is presented thus:

Kata ahl as sulūk: pada haqīqat semesta  
 sekalian makhlūqāt ya'ni pada 'arsh hukumnya  
 tiada demikian takhṣīṣ tempat akan A.T.; jika  
 demikian takhṣīṣ tempat, ...<sup>750</sup> maka dikatakan  
 jalāl sebab perhimpunan segala wujud daripada  
 rahmatnya qadīm [48].<sup>751</sup>

The correct form is:

Kata Ahlu'l-Sulūk [āyat itu] pada haqīqat  
 semesta sekalian makhlūqāt  
 ya'ni pada 'arsh hukumnya, [suugguh pun] tiada  
 demikian takhṣīṣ tempat akan Allah  
 Ta'ālā.<sup>752</sup> Jika demikian takhṣīṣ tempat  
 adapun. Maka dikatakan Jalāl, sebab  
 perhimpunan segala wujud daripada  
 rahmatNya qadīm.

On page 52:

Fa'lam memberikan wujud pada sekalian  
 'ālam, ya'ni: āthārnya itu pada sekalian  
 'ālam terlalu nyata, tiada terbuni, kerana  
 ia wujud daripada rahmat Rahmān lagi  
 memberikan wujud akan sekalian 'ālam;

---

750. Here Doorenbos omitted the word adapun, which follows, because he could not make head or tail of it if it were inserted in its place.

751. Doorenbos, pp.146-147.

752. Jika demikian takhṣīṣ tempat adapun, then, simply means: sekalipun ada ditakhṣīṣkan tempat kepadaNya seperti demikian.

tiada wujud itu, dimanakan beroleh āthār kerana āthār sekalian 'ālam daripada āthārnya jua, maka beroleh wujud seperti tanah diperbuat akan dia atau periuk atau buyung atau tempat tanah; <sup>753</sup> itulah asal wujud sekalian bajan itu.

But this should read:

Fa'lam - Memberikan wujud pada sekalian 'ālam.

Ya'nī ĀthārNya itu pada sekalian 'ālam terlalu nyata, tiada terbuni, kerana ia <sup>754</sup> wujud daripada rahmat Rahman, <sup>755</sup> lagi memberikan wujud akan sekalian Sālam. [Jika] tiada wujud itu, dimanakan beroleh Āthār? Kerana āthār sekalian 'ālam daripada ĀthārNya jua, maka [ia] beroleh wujud. Seperti tanah diperbuat <sup>756</sup> kendi, <sup>757</sup> atau periuk, atau buyung, atau tempat; tanah itulah asal wujud sekalian bejana itu.

This is in fact a very important passage, for it contains a definition of existence and of the essences of things. <sup>758</sup>

As such, therefore, proper treatment on passages such as this must be emphasized. On page 66:

Adapun akan makan, sama tiada makan;  
sama duduk dengan orang [sama tiada  
duduk dengan orang]; sama berkata-[kata],  
sama diam; sama dalam hutan, sama  
dalam negeri; semesta sekalian tiada hijāb  
padanya. <sup>759</sup>

753. Doorenbos, p.150.

754. Ia refers to ĀthārNya.

755. Ia wujud daripada rahmat Rahman is to be translated as: they exist through the Mercy of the Compassionate One.

756. Doorenbos is mistaken in reading this as akan dia. The same applies to page 43 (Doorenbos, p.143).

757. Tempat here means: containers.

758. See above, p. 266.

759. Doorenbos, p.162.

But this should read:

Adapun akan makan sama, tiada  
makan sama; duduk [dengan orang]  
sama, [tiada duduk] dengan orang sama;  
berkata-[kata] sama, diam sama;  
dalam hutan sama, dalam negeri [sama];  
- sekalian [ini] tiada hijab padanya.

On page 92 of the Sharāb:

Adapun ahl al haqīqah ... jika makan-  
makan dengan dirinya, jika duduk-duduk  
dengan dirinya, jika tidur-tidur dengan  
dirinya, jika jaga-jaga dengan dirinya, jika  
berjalan-jalan dengan dirinya;  
tiada ia lupa akan dirinya kerana ...<sup>760</sup>

This should read:

Adapun Ahlu'l-Ḥaqīqah ... jika  
makan, makan dengan dirinya;  
jika duduk, duduk dengan dirinya;  
jika tidur, tidur dengan dirinya;  
jika jaga, jaga dengan dirinya;  
jika berjalan, [ber]jalan dengan dirinya  
- tiada ia lupa akan dirinya, kerana ...

On page 102:

Adapun Dhāt Allāh, lengkap kepada  
jamāl pun serta, [lengkap] kepada jalāl  
pun serta, kerana jalāl dan jamāl ṣifātnya  
juga; ada kalanya daripada jamāl menjadi  
jalāl; ...<sup>761</sup>

Which should read:

Adapun Dhāt Allāh lengkap; kepada  
Jamāl pun serta, kepada Jalāl pun serta,  
kerana Jalāl dan Jamāl ṢifātNya juga,  
Ada kalanya daripada Jamāl  
menjadi Jalāl; ...

---

760. Ibid., p.186. It is the Sharāb in 7291 (II) that is referred to here.

761. Ibid., p.197.



One more example on pp. 103-104;

Adapun Dhāt Allāh qadīm, isti'dād makhlūqāt  
sekalian yang dalam 'ilmunya pun qadīm;  
barang dijadikan A.T. muwāfaqat dengan  
isti'dād itu jua, kerana isti'dād sekalian islām  
daripada jamāl, isti'dād kāfir daripada jalāl,  
kerana jamāl sebagai laṭīf, jalāl sebagai qahhār,  
maka dikeluarkan ASWT dengan af'ālnya  
daripada laṭīf - 'azīz; daripada qahhār -  
dhalīl [104] kerana namanya al Mu'izz, al Mudhill,  
maka dimasukkannya mereka itu kedalam  
shurga dan kedalam neraka dengan isti'dād  
mereka itu jua kerana shurga daripada laṭīf  
neraka daripada qahhār, maka dipulangkan ...<sup>762</sup>

Which should read:

Adapun Dhāt Allāh qadīm; isti'dād  
makhlūqāt sekalian yang dalam 'ilmunya  
pun qadīm. Barang dijadikan Allāh Ta'ālā  
muwāfaqat dengan isti'dād itu jua. Kerana  
isti'dād sekalian islām daripada Jamāl,  
isti'dād kāfir daripada Jalāl - kerana Jamāl  
sebagai Laṭīf, Jalāl sebagai Qahhār -  
maka dikeluarkan Allāh Subhānahu wa Ta'ālā dengan  
Af'ālNya daripada Laṭīf, 'Āzīz; daripada  
Qahhār, Dhalīl [104]. Kerana NamaNya  
Al-Mu'izz [dan] Al-Mudhill, maka  
dimasukkannya mereka itu kedalam shurga  
dan kedalam neraka dengan isti'dād  
mereka itu jua, kerana shurga daripada Laṭīf,  
neraka daripada Qahhār. Maka dipulangkan ...

In the second category are errors both in present-  
ing quotations in Arabic, and in allowing errors in the  
texts themselves to pass uncorrected. It is true that in  
certain cases this class of errors is not grave, but it  
serves well to reveal either the editor's carelessness or  
lack of knowledge of the materials he handled. It further

---

762. Ibid., p.198.

reveals that the editor had no grasp of the meanings of individual words. On page 16 of the Asrār, Doorenbos did not understand the meaning of the word sechawang<sup>763</sup> in the sentence: Adapun ini empat sechawang pada sebuah bayt. The word chawang is actually chabang, meaning branch, bough, fork of road, etc. Chawang (spelled with a w instead of a b) is used more frequently in Sundanese, and in a limited sense only in Malay. Sechawang as it is used in the above sentence would never appear in that construction in modern Malay, where the word will be replaced by serangkai, meaning bunch, cluster, collection, etc. The sentence, then, in modern Malay would be Adapun ini empat serangkai pada sebuah bayt. All that Ḥamzah is saying here is simply that his verses of fifteen bayts consist of four lines to a bayt. A bayt, according to Ḥamzah's use of the term, is a verse consisting of four lines. It is precisely this failing to understand the meaning of sechawang that made Doorenbos fail to realize that five verses are in fact not part of Ḥamzah's fifteen bayts.<sup>764</sup> Since Ḥamzah gives a commentary on each line of his fifteen verses, one can be led to discover easily that the verses not commented upon do not form part of the whole i.e. they do not belong to the Asrār. Doorenbos knew that

---

763. Ibid., p.120.

764. These are the second and third verses on p.17 Doorenbos, p.121), and the last three verses on p.20 Doorenbos, pp.123-124.

the verses have not been commented upon,<sup>765</sup> but he did not know that they do not belong to the group of fifteen bayts. These verses have apparently wandered, thanks to the random hand of the scribe, from elsewhere.<sup>766</sup> Indeed, may one not say that these too are zwervende verzen?

On page 32 of the Asrār, Doorenbos rendered the following passage thus:

Apabila bertukar, nāqis hukumnya qudrat yang sedia itu ya'ni belum sempurna maka hendak diperbaiknya sekali lagi jikalau sudah dari (?) sana permai tiada<sup>767</sup> ... dan ...;<sup>768</sup> sebab inilah maka pada hukum shari'at kalām tiada makhlūq.<sup>769</sup>

This should be corrected to:

Apabila bertukar, nāqis hukumnya qudrat yang sedia itu; ya'ni belum sempurna maka hendak diperbaik[i]Nya sekali lagi. Jikalau sudah dari sana permai tiada harus [diperbaikiNya lagi].

765. Doorenbos, p.127, note 2.

766. The last verse on p.20 belongs to the set on p.79 of 2016. The verse third from the last on p.20 belongs to the set on p.12 of 3374. The first two lines of the third verse on p.17 belong to the first two lines of the second verse on p.12 of 3374 and the last two lines of the same verse on p.17 belong to the last two lines of the verse on p.20. See also for these Doorenbos, pp.124, 48, 123, 104, 121, 104, 121, 124 respectively.

767. Doorenbos, p.133, note 3 omits hrs which follows. My answer is that hrs is harus.

768. Doorenbos could not read what follows here. See below my note 770.

769. Doorenbos, p.133.

... dan suara kita.<sup>770</sup>  
 Sebab inilah maka pada hukum  
 shari'at Kalām tiada makhlūq.

On page 36:

Adapun kepada 'ulamā: ma'lūm juga  
 menurutkan 'ilmu kerana kepada 'ulamā  
 isti'dād asli tiada masuk bilang;  
 apa kehendak 'ālam timbul seperti rupa  
 kehendaknya itu?<sup>771</sup>

The word 'ālam in the above sentence is obviously wrong and  
 should be replaced with 'ālim. Furthermore, the sentence  
 should end, in place of the question mark, with a full stop.

On page 48:

Adapun firmān A.T. (fa subhāna lladhī bi  
 yadihi malakūtu kulli shay'in wa ilayhi  
 turja'ūna) ya'ni: maka mahasuchi Tuhan  
 iaitu dengan tangan haqiqat sekalian;  
 bermula: kepadanya jua pulang.<sup>772</sup>

This should read:

Adapun firmān Allāh Ta'ālā:  
 Fa subhāna'l-ladhī bi yadihi malakūtu  
 kulli shay'in wa ilayhi turja'ūna -

---

770. The text reads: swrkit. My reading: suara kita is  
 relevant and quite correct. This makes these three words  
 the last part of a sentence, and this sentence should  
 belong to the following paragraph which - as Doorenbos  
 rightly pointed out (p. 133, note 5) - forms part of  
 the commentary on the Kalāmu'LLah. My reason for  
 including the three words (dan suara kita) as part of  
 the discussion on the Speech of God is based on the  
 word suara, meaning in this case [our] voice, which is  
 relevant to the discussion mentioned. See Taftāzānī,  
 ch. VI on 'Speech of God'.

771. Doorenbos, p. 137.

772. Ibid., p. 147.

ya'ni: Maka mahasuchi Tuhan - Ia itu  
dengan tangan[Nya] [memegang] haqīqat  
sekalian! Bermula: kepadaNya jua [kamu akan di]  
pulang [kan].

On pages 89-90 of the Sharāb:

Adapun kepada haqīqat: jangan mintak  
sekali-kali kerana kepada ahl al haqīqah [90]  
rezeqi kita telah tersurat pada lauh mahfūz  
dan sudah terbahagi yang akan banyak,  
yang akan sedikit, <sup>773</sup>tiadakan lebih dan  
tiadakan kurang.

Which should read:

Adapun kepada Haqīqat, jangan mintak  
sekali-kali, kerana kepada Ahlu'l-Haqīqah [90]  
rizqi kita telah tersurat pada Lawh Mahfūz,  
dan sudah terbahagi; yang akan banyak,  
banyak; yang akan sedikit, sedikit; tiadakan  
tebih dan tiadakan kurang.

On page 90:

Lagi seperkara: A.T. tahu akan lapar kita  
dan dahaga kita, kenapa kita mengadukan  
hāl kepada lain? Oleh rādī akan kenyang  
dan tiada rādī akan lapar, kerana sabda  
rasūl Allah (man lam yarda bi qadā'ī wa lam  
yaşbir 'alā balā'ī wa lam yashkur 'alā ni'amī  
fa lyakhruj min taḥṭi s samā'ī wa min fawq  
al arḍi fa l yaṭlub rabban siwā'ī) ya'ni:  
barang siapa tiada rādī akan barang  
kubahagikan dan tiada <sup>774</sup>sabar atas ku ...  
dan tiada shukur ... <sup>775</sup>

And this should read:

Lagi seperkara, Allāh Ta'ālā tahu akan lapar  
dan dahaga kita. Kenapa kita mengadukan

773. Ibid., p.184.

774. The word which Doorenbos could not read here is ktqk,  
and this is in fact kutukKu which translated  
balā'ī.

775. Doorenbos, p.184.

hāl kepada lain? [Se]olah-olah rāḍi akan kenyang dan tiada rāḍi akan lapar! Kerana [ini] firman Allāh [dalam Ḥadīth Qudsī?]: Man lam yaḍa bi qadā'ī wa lam yaḥbir 'alā balā'ī wa lam yaḥkur 'alā ni'amī fa'l-yakhruj min taḥti'l-samā'ī wa min fawqi'l-ardī fa'l-yaṭlub rabban siwā'ī - ya'nī: Barangsiapa tiada rāḍi akan barang Kubahagikan, dan tiada ṣabar atas kutukKu, dan tiada shukur ...

On page 105:

... tetapi tiada ia mahu mengubah dia kerana apabila ia mengubah dia, binasa kamālnya yang sedia dioleh-oleh belum kamāl baharu hendak mengadakan kamālnya dan kebesarannya jua.<sup>776</sup>

This should read:

... Tetapi tiada ia mahu mengubah dia, kerana apabila ia mengubah dia binasa kamālnya. Yang sedia seolah-olah belum kamāl-baharu hendak mengadakan kamālnya dan kebesarannya jua.

In the third category are errors in and resulting from the transcription of certain individual words that are in fact key words in Ḥamzah's system. This is a very important class of errors, as such errors influence our conception of the author's ideas. I have already demonstrated the paramount importance of the concept ada in Ḥamzah's system, and of the necessity of understanding its meaning and conceptual structures.<sup>777</sup> Yet it is precisely a lack of understanding of this important fact that made Doorenbos transcribe Ādam for what should in fact read adamu in this important passage on page 73 of the Asrār:

---

776. Ibid., p.200.

777. See above, pp. 275-290.

- maka dapat Adam ini fanā, hendak[nya]:  
 maka dapat bertemu dengan Tuhannya.  
 Fa'lam tidakkan dapat Adamu kau hapus,  
 ya'ni: jika belum fanā daripada ribu dan  
 ratus, dimanakan dapat Adam kau hapus?<sup>778</sup>

This conveys the meaning, when translated into English:

- then can Adam be annihilated; the  
 desired [meaning] is: then he can meet his Lord.  
 Know [that by] 'Adam you cannot annihilate'  
 is meant that if Adam is not yet extinct from  
 hundreds and thousands, how can he be annihilated?

And this is most certainly not correct! This passage should  
 in fact read:

- [demikian] dapat adamu ini fanā'. Hendak[nya]:  
 maka [dia] dapat bertemu dengan Tuhannya.  
Fa'lam - Tiadakan dapat adamu kau hapus.  
 Ya'nī jika belum fanā' daripada ribu dan ratus,  
 dimanakan dapat adamu hapus?

and the translation in English is:

- [When you are such, then] can your existence  
 be effaced. <sup>779</sup>  
 The desired meaning is: then he can meet his Lord.  
 Know [that by] You will never be able to annihilate  
 your existence is meant that if you are not yet  
 extinct from hundreds and thousands, how can  
 your existence be annihilated?

The term ada here means existence of self as the lower  
 self or ego, not existence of self as the higher Self. The  
 subtle distinctions between the various concepts of Exist-  
 ence and of the Self has already been discussed.<sup>780</sup>

---

778. Doorenbos, p.169.

779. He and his refer not to Adam but to the one whose  
 existence has been effaced.

780. See above, pp. 291-294.

Finally, in the fourth category are errors in transcription of individual words, in punctuation and in the arrangement of sentence structure which are grave in that they alter the meanings, the spirit and intent, of the texts. We shall deal with this in a somewhat detailed manner. On pages 23-24 of the Asrār, Doorenbos rendered the following passage thus:

Fa'lam dengan ketujuh şifāt bersama-sama,  
 ya'ni: tiada bercherai dengan ketujuh şifātnya;  
 sungguh dikata Dhāt. Allah yang pertama tetapi  
 'ibarat mushkil, ya'ni [24] jadi ia bercherai  
 dengan ketujuh şifātnya, nāqış hukumnya.<sup>781</sup>

The above passage when translated into English conveys this meaning:

Know [that by the line] 'Is One with His seven Attributes' is meant that [He] is not separate from His seven Attributes; even if [He is] called Essence. Allāh is the first, but expression becomes difficult, that is, [24] He becomes separate from His seven attributes - then [He is] insufficient.

Now the main point of error here is the full stop after the word Dhāt, and this changes the meaning. What Ḥamzah considers mushkil here is the allusion to pertama, not to Allāh. In fact by arranging the sentence in the manner he did, Doorenbos now makes Ḥamzah contradict himself in saying that Allāh is the First. If we but take a glance at a preceding passage in which Ḥamzah comments on the meaning of what is

---

781. Doorenbos, p.126.



the First,<sup>782</sup> then we will see at once that the First is the Essence Unique, devoid of Attributes. The symbolic Name Huwa is an allusion to this Unique Essence. But Allāh is the Name of the Essence together with Attributes. It is the sum of all Names. Clearly, therefore, to return to the passage in question, the First to which Ḥamzah refers is not Allāh but Dhāt Allāh. So, then, the passage should read:

Fa'lam - Dengan ketujuh Ṣifāt bersama-sama.

Ya'ni tiada bercherai dengan ketujuh ṢifātNya sungguh [pun] dikata Dhāt Allāh yang Pertama. Tetapi 'ibārat mushkil; ya'ni [24] jadi Ia bercherai dengan ketujuh ṢifātNya - nāqis hukumnya.

Know [that by the line] Is One with His seven Attributes is meant that [He] is not separate from His seven Attributes even though it is said that the Essence of God is the First. But [here] expression becomes difficult; that is, [24] [if we say that the Essence is the First, it conveys the impression as though] He is separate from His seven Attributes - and this makes Him logically insufficient.

On page 25:

Adapun kepada 'ulamā shari'at: ... wujud Allah  
dengan Dhāt Allāh  
mithl matahari dengan chahayanya; sungguh  
pun esa, pada penglihat mata dan penglihat 783  
hati, dua hukumnya; matahari lain, chahayanya lain.

This means:

According to the Doctors of Theology ...  
God's Being and His Essence is like the sun

---

782. See Asrār, p.22; Doorenbos, p.125.

783. Doorenbos, pp.127-128.

and its light; though one and the same, to outward and inward perception they are two [things]: the sun is other than its light.

And this is exactly the opposite of what the 'Ulamā' say, for they would never admit that the sun and its light are one and the same, and that it appears to be two things only when viewed with the eyes of internal and external perception. What Ḥamzah reports of the 'Ulamā''s stand on this point is that to them the sun and its light (God and His Essence) are in fact two things; they appear to be one only because of an illusion on our part. The passage should read:

Adapun kepada 'Ulamā' shari'at ... wujūd Allāh dengan Dhāt Allāh mithal matahari dengan chaha yanya; sungguh pun esa pada penglihat mata dan penglihat hati, [pada haqīqatnya] dua hukumnya: matahari lain, chahayanya lain.

According to the Doctors of Theology ... God's Being and His Essence is like the sun and its light; although they appear as one and the same [thing] to external and internal perception, they are in fact two [things]: the sun is other than its light.

From this it can be seen how one comma placed after the word esa can wreak havoc to the meaning intended! In another passage, it is the omission of a full stop that makes Ḥamzah spurn the shari'at:

Adapun madhhab Mu'tazilah dan Rāfiqī dan zindīq, kalam Allāh makhlūq pada hukum shari'atnya; barangsiapa mengatakan kalam Allāh makhlūq, kafir - na'ūdhubi llāhi minhu!<sup>784</sup>

---

784. P.31; ibid., p.133.

Which in English means:

To the schools of the Mu'tazilah, the Rāfiḍī and the Zindīq, God's Speech is created according to the sharī'ah. Whosoever says that God's Speech is created is an unbeliever - may God preserve us from him!

But this should in fact be:

Adapun [kepada] madhhab Mu'tazilah dan Rāfiḍī dan Zindīq, Kalām Allāh makhlūq. Pada hukum sharī'atnya, barangsiapa mengatakan Kalām Allāh makhlūq, kāfir - na'ūdhu bi'LLāhi minhu!

To the schools of the Mu'tazilah, the Rāfiḍī and the Zindīq, God's Speech is created. According to the sharī'ah, whosoever says that God's Speech is created is an unbeliever - may God preserve us from him!

In another passage, the misplacement of a full stop makes Ḥamzah demand the impossible of the votaries of the Ṭarīqat who are already burdened with injunctions to

... mengurangi makan minum dan mengurangi tidur dan mengurangi berkata-kata dan jauh daripada orang banyak dan daripada sekalian perbuatan. Ini Ṭarīqat namanya, tiada lain daripada' Ḥaqīqat; ...<sup>785</sup>

In English this means:

... lessen food and drink, and sleep, and conversation; and to <sup>786</sup>keep distance from the crowd and from all action. This is called Ṭarīqat, [and it is] not different from Ḥaqīqat; ...

Surely Ḥamzah is not advocating that Ṭarīqat means the cessation of all action! The full stop should be inserted

785. Ibid., p.183.

786. *Italics mine.*

after the word ini, not before, so that now we get the true sense:

... lessen food and drink, and sleep and conversation; and to keep a distance from the crowd and from every such action. It is called Tarīqat [and it is] not different from Ḥaqīqat ...

Consider this passage on page 98:

... kerana kepada ahl as sulūk:  
yang ada jua, menjadi; ada yang  
tiada itu, tiada dapat menjadi ada.<sup>787</sup>

which means:

... for to the People of the Path that which exists becomes; the existence of that which is non-existent, cannot become existent.

How can that which is non-existent, and cannot ever become existent, exist! The passage must read:

... kerana kepada Ahlu'l-Sulūk  
yang ada jua menjadi ada; yang  
tiada itu tiada dapat menjadi ada.

... for to the People of the Path it is only that which exists that becomes existent; that which is non-existent cannot become existent.

Finally, there occurs on pages 27-28 this interesting error:

Adapun maka dikatakan 'ilmu pertama nyata daripada segala nyata, kerana tatakala (lā ilāha S.W.T.) menilik dirinya dengan 'ilmunya maka jadi tiga, bergelar:<sup>788</sup> 'ilmu, 'ālim, ma'lūm; yang menilik bernama 'ālim, yang ditilik bernama ma'lūm, tilik-menilik bernama 'ilmu. Ketiganya esa juga, namanya berlain-lainan tetapi kerana 'ilmu juga [28]

---

787. Doorenbos, pp.193-194.

788. The text has bergelarnya.

maka 'ālim dan ma'lūm beroleh nama dan beroleh kenyataan, Tuhan pun *ẓāhir*lah dengan hambanya, hambanya pun *ẓāhir*lah dengan Tuhannya; sebab inilah maka dikatakan 'ilmu pertama nyata daripada segala nyata. Kerana Dhāt semata memandang dirinya, 'ālim pun kelihatan 'ilmu pun kelihatan, ma'lūm pun kelihatan. Adapun Dhāt semata tiada dengan *ṣifāt*, itulah yang pertama hukumnya; apabila ia menilik dirinya, dilihatnya dirinya dengan sekalian *shu'ūn*nya. Pada ketiga itu, yang menilik bernama 'ālim, yang ditilik bernama ma'lūm, tilik [menilik] bernama 'ilmu.<sup>789</sup>

Translation:

The reason why Knowledge is said to be the first among the manifest is because when God the Glorious and Exalted gazes upon Himself with His Knowledge [He] becomes three, called: Knowledge, Knower and Known; the Seer is called the Knower; the Seen is called the Known; Seeing is called Knowledge. The three are one and the same, but the names are different, for by virtue of Knowledge [28] the Knower and the Known acquire names and manifestation, the Lord becomes apparent to His servants, His servants too become apparent to their Lord; this is why Knowledge is said to be the First among the manifest. Since the Essence is ever contemplating Itself, Knower is seen, Knowledge is seen and the Known is seen. The Essence is without Attributes, that is the first. When It gazes upon Itself It sees Itself together with all Its Predispositions. For all the Three, the Seer is called Knower, the Seen is called Known, Seeing is called Knowledge.<sup>790</sup>

The explanation that Ḥamzah intends here is the reason for asserting that God's Knowledge is logically the first among His Attributes. This reason is based on the postulate that God in His Essence is ever contemplating Himself. As a

---

789. Doorenbos, p.130.

790. The *Italics* are mine to indicate the point in question.

logical result of this, His Knowledge becomes manifest to Himself and consequently also the Known becomes the content of His Knowledge. Logically, therefore, there ought first to be the Knower, then Knowledge, and then the Known (which is in fact so written in the manuscript) and not, as Doorenbos has it, Knowledge-Knower-Known. The reason why Knowledge is the first Attribute is not because the Lord becomes manifest to His servants vice-versa, which is what Doorenbos makes out, for the reason for that is precisely because of Knowledge. The reason why Knowledge is the first Attribute is because the Essence is ever contemplating Itself, which produces Knowledge. Furthermore, the word ketiga, meaning three, in the last sentence of Doorenbos' passage is erroneous and would even tend to give an impression that the Divine Being has metamorphosed into a Trinity. This word should in fact read ketika meaning 'instant'. The whole passage should read:

Adapun maka dikatakan 'Ilmu pertama nyata daripada segala nyata kerana tatakala Allāh Subḥānahu wa Ta'ālā menilik DiriNya dengan 'IlmuNya, maka jadi tiga, bergelarnya: 'Ālim, 'Ilmu, Ma'lūm. Yang Menilik bernama 'Ālim, Yang Ditilik bernama Ma'lūm, Tilik-Menilik bernama 'Ilmu. Ketiganya esa juga, namanya berlain-lain; tetapi kerana 'Ilmu juga [28] maka 'Ālim dan Ma'lūm beroleh nama dan beroleh kenyataan. Tuhan pun zāhirlah dengan hambaNya, hambaNya pun zāhirlah dengan Tuhannya. Sebab inilah maka dikatakan 'Ilmu pertama nyata daripada segala nyata kerana Dhāt Semata memandang DiriNya; 'Ālim pun kelihatan, 'Ilmu pun kelihatan, 'Ma'lūm pun kelihatan. Adapun

Dhāt Semata tiada dengan Sifāt; Itulah Yang Pertama hukumnya. Apabila Ia menilik DiriNya, dilihatNya DiriNya dengan segala Shu'unNya. Pada ketika itu, Yang Menilik bernama 'Ālim, Yang Ditilik bernama Ma'lūm, Tilik[-Menilik] bernama 'Ilmu.

The reason why Knowledge is said to be the first among the manifest is because when God the Glorious and Exalted gazes upon Himself with His Knowledge, He becomes three [Names]: Knower, Knowledge, Known. The Seer is called the Knower, the Seen is called the Known, Seeing is called Knowledge. All three are in fact one and the same, only its names are different, for it is by virtue of Knowledge that the Knower and the Known acquire names and manifestation. The Lord then becomes apparent to His servants and His servants then become apparent to their Lord.

Because of this<sup>791</sup> it is therefore said that Knowledge is the first among all that is manifest, for the Essence is ever contemplating Itself; Knower, Knowledge and Known are seen. The Essence is Absolute, without Attributes; That is the First. When It gazes upon Itself It sees Itself together with all Its Predispositions. At that 'instant', the Seer is called the Knower, the Seen is called the Known, Seeing is called Knowledge.

Since what is aimed at here is not a complete and detailed review or criticism of Doorenbos' work, the preceding exposition thus far will suffice to prove the validity of my judgement regarding the editor's knowledge and understanding of the Malay language. Notwithstanding this, there is yet one more important criticism that I have to make on

---

791. The word 'this' here refers not to the preceding sentence, but to the notion that "it is by virtue of Knowledge that the Knower and the Known acquire names and manifestation."

Doorenbos' edition, and this is with respect to his edition of the Zīnātu'l-Muwahhīdīn (Sharābu'l-'Āshiqīn).

It has been mentioned at the beginning of this introduction that there is another Malay version of the same work known as the Banten version (Cod. Or. 2016). This version belonged at one time to the Sultān Abū'l-Mahāsīn Zaynu'l-'Ābidīn of Banten (1690-1733),<sup>792</sup> and the copying of this text was completed in November 1704.<sup>793</sup> To the best of my knowledge, with the exception of the Aceh version in number 66 of Snouck Hurgronje's collections (Cod. Or. 7291 II),<sup>794</sup> no other Malay version of this work exists.

It seems to me strange that in selecting the text for his edition, Doorenbos did not choose the Banten text, preferring instead the Aceh text. No reason was given for this preference. I remark that it seems strange because the Aceh text, in comparison with the Banten text, is by far the inferior; and this for two very glaring characteristics. First, the Aceh text contains more corrupt words and, although the script is clear and legible enough, it is often beset with faulty diacritical signs, or the lack of these signs. Furthermore, the entire text is not vocalized. No doubt both diacritical and vowel signs may not necessarily

---

792. See 2016, p.8. Doorenbos also states this (p.3).

793. A.H. 1116 = November 1704.

794. I shall hereafter refer to this version as the Aceh text.



be a serious consideration. But I wish to point out that in this case it becomes important simply because Ḥamzah has specifically emphasized that this should be done by future scribes who wish to copy the book<sup>795</sup> - and this is an indication that the text has not respected Ḥamzah's consideration. Consequently - if one may speak on behalf of Ḥamzah - he himself would have regarded this text unfavourably. Second, and this is more serious - there are many lacunae in the Aceh text which can only be filled by the Banten text. In one case in particular there is a gap of two pages, or slightly more, in the Aceh text and this has to be filled by the Banten text! The Banten text is therefore far superior to the Aceh text. It has far less mistakes in the script, the diacritical signs are more correctly given and the whole text is vocalized. In this and in its contents the Banten text respects Ḥamzah's injunction. Since in presenting an edition of Ḥamzah's works one should represent him in his best texts, I therefore see no reason why Ḥamzah should be denied this right and be presented instead through a patched-up inferior text.

In this part of my work, I present an annotated, romanized Malay edition of three prose works by Ḥamzah which

---

795. See the last page of the Sharāb, and see further above, p. 342.

may well be his only prose works.<sup>796</sup> These are the Asrāru'l-'Ārifīn,<sup>797</sup> the Sharābu'l-'Āshiqīn<sup>798</sup> and the Muntahī.<sup>799</sup> As regards the Asrāru'l-'Ārifīn, the Aceh text, as far as I know, is the only one extant. The Banten text of the Sharābu'l-'Āshiqīn - with the exception of the Zīnātu'l-Muwahhidīn<sup>800</sup> - is also the only one of its kind in Malay. There is a fragment of the Muntahī in Malay contained in fourteen pages of manuscript<sup>801</sup> corresponding to eight pages of the complete version.<sup>802</sup> The text of the fragment is badly written and omits several quotations found in the complete version. Apart from this fragment, there are two Javanese translations of the Muntahī.<sup>803</sup> Of these two,

---

796. His verses mention titles of what appear to be other prose works written by him: the Miftāh al-Asrār (2016, p.28) and the Sayf al-Rijāl (2016, p.91); and some verses entitled the Rubā' al-Muḥaqqiqīn. However, these titles may well refer to works already identified, and the Rubā' al-Muḥaqqiqīn seems to me beyond doubt to refer to the verse form of the Fifteen Verses of the Asrār:

Asrāru'l-'Ārifīn pun perbuatnya

Rubā' al-Muḥaqqiqīn nama baytnya.

(2016, p.91; see also Asrār, pp.17-20). In any case, the prose works referred to in this note have so far not been found.

797. 7291 (1).

798. 2016.

799. 7291 (3).

800. 7291 (2).

801. Cod. Or. 1952 (pp.1-14).

802. Cf. 7291 (3), pp.110-118.

803. Cod. Or. 5716 (2), pp. 51-100; and Cod. Or. 7736 (1), pp.1-78. Hereafter cited as 5716 (2) and 7736 (1) respectively.

5716 (2) is the better text. Although the first fourteen pages of the text are marred by holes, the text is clear and, it would seem, faithfully duplicates the original Malay. With the exception of quotations from Arabic and Persian sources (not always rendered correctly), the text itself is not vocalized. 7736 (1)<sup>804</sup> contains more textual errors than 5716 (2). With the exception of twenty-three pages toward the end of the manuscript, the text is completely vocalized.<sup>805</sup>

In addition to the annotated romanized Malay edition of the three prose works of Ḥamzah described in the above paragraph, I also present an annotated English translation of the text of these three works. In attempting to give as faithful a translation as possible, I have translated the texts literally. The Muntahī, though the shortest of the three, is the least 'systematic', containing, as it were, the very essence of Ḥamzah's mystical teachings set down in concentrated form. It seems to me to be the most problematic of the three texts and a somewhat clarified explanation on two important points regarding the treatise will have to be set down here.

The first point is the problem of the title which lends itself to two possible translations depending upon the reading of the last vowel of the word mīm nūn tā' hā' yā';

---

804. Cf. 7736 (1), pp.1-78.

805. Ibid., pp.55-78.

i.e. should it read Muntahā or Muntahī? The former reading means the Uttermost End, referring to the Lote Tree in the highest Heaven which Muḥammad saw on his Night Journey (mi'rāj).<sup>806</sup> The Night Journey is of great significance in Ṣūfism as it was then that the Prophet had two visions of the Truth; one with the outward (ẓāhir) eye and one with the inward (bāṭin) eye. The vision of the Lote Tree marks the highest degree of gnosis (ma'rifah). In his commentary on the Chapter of the Star, the Shaykh Aḥmad al-'Alawī, a Ṣūfī of Morocco (d. 1934) says:

This vision [i.e. the vision of the Lote Tree] was with the eye of the senses, whereas the previous one<sup>807</sup> had been with the eye of the intelligence. Now the genitive after Lote Tree is possessive, and what is meant is the Lote Tree of Him at whom all things reach their end. Verily thy Lord is the Uttermost End.<sup>808</sup> The Lote Tree here signifieth the whole of manifestation which groweth out from its root in Him. Thus is it also named the Tree of the Universe.

This vision was more excellent than that which preceded it in virtue of its union of separate elements and its integration of widely scattered fragments. Thus He said: Even here is the Garden of Ultimate Refuge,<sup>809</sup> meaning that the Lote Tree marketh a finality of Gnosis, and that he who attaineth unto this point is enshrouded by the Lights of the Divine Presence - nay, the whole world is enshrouded, so that he seeth naught without seeing therein God. This is explained in the words When there enshrouded the

---

806. See Qur'ān 53: 13-18.

807. See ibid., 53:6-12.

808. Ibid., 53:42.

809. Ibid., 53:15.

Lote Tree That which enshroudeth,<sup>810</sup> that is, when it was enfolded and covered by the all-enshrouding Lights of the Divinity, so that the whole hierarchy of created beings disappeared, the majestic and the lowly, in the manifestation of the Lights of the Names and Qualities. God is the Light of the Heavens and the earth.<sup>811</sup> It was through the appearance of These, which is<sup>812</sup> referred to in the words at another revelation, that Muhammad attained unto more through the vision of the outward eye than through the vision of the Heart alone. His outward eye was at its vision one with his inward eye, and therefore did God praise him with the words,<sup>813</sup> His eye wavered not, nor did it transgress, that is, the outward eye wavered not from what the inward eye beheld, nor did it transgress by going beyond the bounds and turning its attention away from that wherein the Truth manifested Himself unto him, but it kept its gaze upon Him in each several thing ...

Now the Truth is not to be seen by any outward eyes whatsoever except there sight be inverted and have taken on the function of the inward eye, even as the sight of Muhammad's outward eye had been inverted and become one with his inward eye ... his other-worldly sight was united with his earthly sight so that with the former he beheld the Inward Aspect of the Truth in respect of His Name the Inwardly Hidden, and with the latter he beheld the Outward Aspect of the Truth in respect of His Name the Outwardly Manifest ...

The Heart's vision was hierarchically nearer to the Truth than was the vision of the outward eye, which could never have achieved the union of separate elements and the integration of widely scattered fragments if the universe had not been enshrouded by the all-enshrouding Lights of Unification which are lit from the tree of <sup>814</sup>Wheresoe'er ye turn there is the Face of God. Whoso attaineth unto This hath reached

---

810. Ibid., 53:16.

811. Ibid., 24:35.

812. Ibid., 53:13.

813. Ibid., 53:17.

814. Ibid., 2:115; see also 24:35; the 'tree' referred to here is the tree of God's Light that is neither of the East nor of the West (the tree of wheresoe'er ye turn) meaning the tree of Gnosis.

an End beyond which there is no passing, and Muḥammad's attainment thereunto is indicated in the words Verily he beheld, of all the Signs of his Lord, the Greatest.<sup>815</sup> We know from this last word that the Sign in question was not of the category of created beings nor yet of the Manifestations of the Names and Qualities, but it can have been no less than the direct vision of the Lights of the Holy Essence.<sup>816</sup>

These passages from the Shaykh Aḥmad al-'Alawi's commentary on the verses in the Chapter of the Star may well serve as an apt summary of Ḥamzah's Muntahī as that treatise deals precisely with an exposition on the nature of Gnosis. The word Muntahā is certainly very relevant to the subject of the treatise, yet I would not prefer it to the word Muntahī as befitting its title. Al-Muntahī means The Adept, and it appears to be a Persian form derived from the Arabic muntahā.<sup>817</sup> The word muntahī appears once in Ḥamzah's prose, and I read the final vowel with an ī as the word refers to a person: Adapun akan orang muntahī ... i.e. As to the adept ...<sup>818</sup> In one of his verses rhyming in the vowel ī, Ḥamzah refers once to his treatise entitled Muntahī,<sup>819</sup>

---

815. Ibid., 53:18.

816. Lubab al-'Ilm fī Sūrat Wa'l-Najm, pp.8-10. The English translation is by Martin Lings; see Lings, pp.173-175.

817. See Ḥujwiri's Kashfu'l-Mahjūb, translated by R.A. Nicholson, London, 1911, p.168. Hereafter cited as Kashfu'l-Mahjūb.

818. Asrār, p.73.

819. 2016, p.91:

Riwāyat ini daripada Shaykh al-Fanṣūrī  
Menunjuki kita sekalian muṭtadī  
Bukan baharu sekarang tegal kuchari  
Daripada Ṣayfu'l-Rijāl dan Muntahī.

and one of the Javanese translations gives the title with two dots below the final vowel indicating ī.<sup>820</sup> In spite of the fact that the text of Ḥamzah's prose and verses are not vocalized, the contents of the treatise in question and the evidence of what has been demonstrated above establish beyond doubt that the title should read Muntahī, although it must be emphasized that muntahī bears a close semantic relationship with muntahā and the Prophet's Night Journey. Indeed, the title muntahī is applied originally to the Prophet.<sup>821</sup>

The second point concerns a considerable gap occurring in the text of the Muntahī. Fortunately, this gap can be filled by one of the Javanese translations.<sup>822</sup> The Javanese text indicates that the gap covers the space of six pages<sup>823</sup> and reveals further that the missing part in the Malay text is not one of great importance that throws any new light or adds new information on the subject as already contained in the text. For this reason, it is sufficient merely to give here a gist of what is discussed in the gap. The discussion continues from the preceding pages of the text on an exposition of the esoteric meaning of the saying of the Prophet: "Whosoever knows his self

820. 5716 (2), p.100.

821. Cf. Kashfu'l-Mahjūb, pp.167-168.

822. 5716 (2).

823. Ibid., pp.79-84.

knows his Lord." There follows a quotation in Arabic verse from an unidentified source:

Wa tabdū bi na'ti'l-'izzī<sup>824</sup> fī kulli maẓharin  
Wa anta 'alā'l-taḥqīqi tilka'l-maẓāhiru  
Fa dhālika<sup>825</sup> 'an 'ayni'l-ghiyābi wa laysa bī<sup>826</sup>  
Hijābun wa ṭarfi<sup>827</sup> bi'l-jamāli musāfiru  
Wa law lā hijābu'l-kawni lam yaku<sup>828</sup> ẓāhiran  
Fa lasta bi sāqī'l-ḥubbi bal anta sākiru  
Wa 'anka ḥadīthu'l-ḥubbi yurwā ilā'l-warā  
Wa minka'l-tajallī mursulun mutawātiru.<sup>829</sup>

My literal rendering of this verse is:

By the attribute of Glory You appear in every<sup>830</sup>  
theatre of manifestation,  
And You are in truth these manifestations.<sup>831</sup>  
That is so because of the Eye of the Unseen,  
for I have no veil  
And my sight is to Beauty exposed.  
Were it not for the Veil of Existence You would  
not be Outwardly Manifest,  
You are indeed not the Cupbearer of the Wine of  
Love, but the Inebriate.  
It is concerning You that the Tale of Love is  
told to the world,  
And from You are transmitted revelations successive.

---

824. The text is obscure here. Dr. W. Arafat of the Department of the Middle East, School of Oriental and African Studies, London University, suggests the reading: Wa tabdū banātu'l-'izzī ... (see note, 830).

825. Text has: dhaka.

826. Text corrupt: nī.

827. Text has: ṭarfiyyun.

828. Text has: lam yakun, but in the jussive mood, the final radical is dropped.

829. 5716 (2), p.74.

830. Following Dr. Arafat's reading, this line would read:  
The Daughters of Glory appear in every theatre  
of manifestation.

831. i.e. That is so because it is the Eye of the Unseen that sees the truth.



The meaning intended is that the One Real Being not only appears in every theatre of manifestation but that He is also identical with the theatres in which He is manifested. The Ṣūfī knows that this is true because of direct experience (kashf) in that he has passed away and hence he is no longer obstructed by the veil of self so that he now sees with the Eye of the Unseen (i.e. God) - or rather it is the Unseen Who sees Himself through him.<sup>832</sup> Existence as such is as a mirror, possessing no real being in itself and hence a veil unto the Real, but it is nonetheless a mirror reflecting Real Being and making Him apparent - He is at once Love, Lover and Beloved<sup>833</sup> and hence all Converse of love points to Him. Up to this point, the Dīwān of Maghribī gives identical thought and meaning:

O Thou in whose life-giving Face all the Universe  
is manifest,  
And O Thou whose Countenance is apparent in the  
Mirror of the Universe!  
Since the Darling of Thy Beauty looked in the Mirror  
And saw the reflection of his face, he became wild  
and mad [with love],  
Every instant Thy Countenance displays the beauty of  
its features  
To its own eyes, in a hundred fair vestments.  
It looked forth from lovers' eyes  
So that it beheld Its beauty in the faces of Idols.  
Thy Face wrought a Mirror for Its self-display,  
And called that Mirror 'Adam and Eve'.

---

832. Cf. Insānu'l-Kāmil I, p.62. Asrār, p.68: Sharāb, p.10;  
Ra'aytu rabbī bi'ayni rabbī.

833. See the Lam'at I of 'Irāqī (Lama'āt, pp.327-330).  
The English translation is given by Browne, Literary history of Persia, III, pp.133-139.



state is further described in the Persian quotation from the author of the Sawānih,<sup>839</sup> Ahmad al-Ghazālī:

Shakhsi dīdam nashastah<sup>840</sup> bar khashk zamīn<sup>841</sup>  
Nah kufr nah islām u nah dunyā u nah dīn  
Nah haqq [nah] haqīqat nah tarīqat nah yaqīn  
An dar dū jihān kirā buwad hay āīn?<sup>842</sup>

I saw a man sitting on a barren floor [having]  
 Neither unbelief nor belief; neither world nor religion;  
 Neither Truth nor Reality; neither the Sufi path nor  
 certainty.

Who in the two worlds will have such a way of life?

By the two worlds is meant not only this world and the Hereafter, but also the mystical microcosm ('ālam ṣaḡhir) and macrocosm ('ālam kabīr). The faqīr is he who has passed away from the existence of the two worlds (kawnayn) that are veils concealing the Essence.<sup>843</sup> If the faqīr is still conscious of God as the Lord Who is worshipped, then his poverty is not complete as his consciousness betrays that the duality between slave and Lord is still maintained by him. For this reason, Bā Yazīd says:

839. A treatise on Love, the Lover, and the Beloved.

840. Text reads: nashashtah.

841. Text corrupt: zabayn.

842. 5716 (2), pp. 81-82.

843. Cf. Ibn al-'Arabi: "... were it not for the existence of the two worlds, the Essence would certainly be manifest." (Muntahī, p. 128); also Lama'at, Lam'at XX, p. 352: [al-faqīru] suwādu'l-wajhi fi'l-darayn - The faqīr is he whose face is blackened in both worlds. Also cited in Muntahī, p. 125.

Tawbatu'l-nāsi min dhunūbihim wa tawbatī  
min qawli lā ilāha illā'LLāh.<sup>844</sup>

Repentance of the people is from their sins; my  
 repentance is from saying 'There is no god but God'.

and Shiblī says:

Man 'arafa'LLāh mā qāla'LLāh wa man qāla  
'LLāh mā 'arāfa'LLāh.<sup>845</sup>

Whosoever knows God does not say Allāh;  
 whosoever says Allāh does not know God.

This can be compared with the following verses from Magh-  
 ribī's Dīwān where he says:

Cease, O my son, from denial and affirmation  
 Talk not of 'except' and 'no'!<sup>846</sup>  
 If they bid thee lay down thy life,  
 Go, lay down thy life, and talk not!  
 Until thou knowest who 'I' and 'We' <sup>are</sup>  
 Be silent! talk not of 'I' and 'We'!<sup>847</sup>

When one is still conscious of one's own existence, one can  
 never become a complete faqīr for "existence is a sin with  
 which no other sin can be compared."<sup>848</sup> After the quotations  
 from Bā Yazīd and Shiblī there follows Jāmī's rubā'ī:

Ānrā ki fanā' shewa u faqr āīn ast  
Nah kashf u yaqīn nah ma'rifat nah dīn ast

844. 5716 (2), p.82.

845. Loc.cit.

846. Denial (naḥī, i.e. lā: 'no') and affirmation (ithbāt,  
 i.e. illā: 'except'). Maghribī here refers to the first  
 part of the shahādat: Lā ilāha illā'LLāh: There is no  
 god except God.

847. Literary history of Persia, III, pp.342-343.

848. See Asrar, p.61; Muntahī, p.118; and above, pp. 86-89.

Raft ū zi miyān hamīn khudā mānd khudā  
Al-faqrū idhā tamma huwa'llāh īn ast.<sup>849</sup>

Whinfield's translation of this rubā'ī is:

When poor indeed and dead to self thou'lt need  
 No visions, knowledge, certitude, or creed;  
 When self has perished naught but God remains,  
 For "Perfect poverty is God indeed." <sup>850</sup>

The meaning intended in this rubā'ī, in the light of the foregoing exposition, is self-explanatory. The state of the faqīr who has achieved complete poverty is further vividly illustrated in the following analogy conveyed in 'Irāqī's verse in the Fourth Lam'at:

Zaharat shamsuhā<sup>851</sup> fa ghibtu fihā  
Fa idhā ashraqat fa dhāka shurūqī.<sup>852</sup>

Her sun appeared and I am lost in her;  
 When she rises, that is also my rising.

"That is also my rising" means my "going forth" (khurūjī)<sup>853</sup> from the shell of self to attain to higher Selfhood. For the Ṣūfī who travels along the path of poverty, he will ultimately

849. 5176 (2), p.83. The text is not free from errors. See Lawā'ih, p.13 of the Persian text.

850. Lawā'ih, p.10.

851. Text reads shamsun.

852. For ashraqat and shurūqī the text has ashrafat and shurūfī. The root sharāqa in this case is more appropriate in describing the rising of the sun, which is the metaphor used in the above verse. See 5176 (2), p.83.

853. Loc.cit. This word is written on the margin of the text explaining the intended meaning of the last word in the verse - (i.e. shurūqī).

discover that the final stage of his progress is obstructed by the veil of knowledge (both 'ilm and ma'rifah: gnosis). So, at that point, for him "knowledge is the greatest veil (Al-'ilmu hijābu'l-akbar).<sup>854</sup> He should strive on to achieve the state described earlier by Ahmad al-Ghazālī,<sup>855</sup> for the true faqīr is he to whom there is neither Lord nor slave (al-faqīru lā rabban lahu wa lā 'abdan lahu).<sup>856</sup> He is like a wave which when the breezes cease to blow subsides and is lost in the ocean. He is then said to "stand in no need of God" (al-faqīru lā yahtāju ilā'LLāh),<sup>857</sup> for he is God - or rather he has passed away and there is only God. In a narrative attributed to Abū Yazīd al-Bisṭāmī, whose name has been closely linked with this concept of fanā', the same spirit is conveyed:

Once He raised me up and stationed me before Him, and said to me, 'O Abū Yazīd, truly my creation desire to see thee.' I said, 'Adorn me in Thy Unity, and clothe me in Thy Selfhood, and raise me up to Thy Oneness, so that when Thy creation see me they will say, We have seen Thee: and Thou wilt be That, and I shall not be there at all.'<sup>858</sup>

---

854. Ibid., p.84. Cf. Ibnu'l-'Arabī: "Knowledge [i.e. gnosis: ma'rifah] is a veil between the Knower and the Known."

(Asrār, p.71). See also Muntahī, p.128.

855. See above, p. 373.

856. 5716 (2), p.84. Cf. Lama'āt, Lam'at XX, p.352; the sayings of 'Alī al-Jarīrī: "al-faqīru 'indī man lā qalba lahu wa lā rabba lahu," and Junayd: "al-faqīru lā yaftaqara ilā nafsīhi wa lā ilā rabbihi."

857. 5716 (2), p.84; Lama'āt, Lam'at XX, p.352.

858. Sarrāj, op.cit., p.382. The English translation is by Arberry in Ṣūfism, p.55.

Finally, the last quotation which ends the lacuna comes again from 'Irāqī's Lama'āt:

Raqqu'l-zujāju wa rāqati'l-khamru  
Fa tashābahā wa tashākala'l-amru  
Fa ka'annamā khamrun wa lā qadahū  
Wa ka'annamā qadahun wa lā khamru.<sup>859</sup>

The glass is fine and the wine is clear,  
 Their resemblance is indistinguishable;  
 As if it were wine without a cup,  
 And as if it were a cup without wine.

This same verse appears in Ghazālī's Mishkāṭ al-Anwār<sup>860</sup> and also, in a Persian version, in the first strophe in one of 'Irāqī's tarji'bands.<sup>861</sup> Shāh Ni'matu'llāh, in one of his verses in his Dīwān, conveys a similar spirit.<sup>862</sup> The meaning of the verse speaks for itself.

With this reproduction of the quotations missing in the original version of the Muntahī and my interpretation of the meanings they convey based upon the little that may be gleaned from the sketchy comments in the Javanese text, the Muntahī that I now present may be regarded as complete.

The system of transliteration of Arabic characters that I adopt throughout the edition and the work as a whole is as follows:

859. 5716 (2), pp.84-85; Lam'at V, p.335.

860. Edited by Abū'l-'Alā 'Afīfī, Arabic text (al-Maktabatu'l-'Arabiyyah), Cairo, 1964, p.57.

861. A kind of verse in which the same line recurs at stated intervals.

862. Cf. Literary history of Persia, III, p.472.

(a) Consonants:

ء	( <u>ḥamzah</u> )	'
ا	( <u>alif</u> )	a
ب	( <u>bā'</u> )	b
ت	( <u>tā'</u> )	t
ث	( <u>thā'</u> )	th
ج	( <u>jīm</u> )	j
ح	( <u>ḥā'</u> )	ḥ
خ	( <u>khā'</u> )	kh
د	( <u>dāl</u> )	d
ذ	( <u>dhāl</u> )	dh
ر	( <u>rā'</u> )	r
ز	( <u>zay</u> )	z
س	( <u>sīn</u> )	s
ش	( <u>shīn</u> )	sh
ص	( <u>ṣād</u> )	ṣ
ض	( <u>ḍād</u> )	ḍ
ط	( <u>ṭā'</u> )	ṭ
ظ	( <u>ẓā'</u> )	ẓ
ع	( <u>'ayn</u> )	'
غ	( <u>ghayn</u> )	gh
ف	( <u>fā'</u> )	f
ق	( <u>qāf</u> )	q
ك	( <u>kāf</u> )	k
ل	( <u>lām</u> )	l



م (mīm)	m
ن (nūn)	n
و (wāw)	w
ه (hā')	h
ي (yā')	y

(b) Long vowels:

أ or ا	=	ā
إ	=	ī
و	=	ū

(c) Short vowels:

ا	=	a
ي	=	i
و	=	u

(d) Diphthongs:

أ	=	ay
إ	=	iy
و	=	aw
و	=	uw

(e) Others:

أ	=	ah (as in <u>ma'rifah</u> ) and at (as in <u>ma'rifatu</u> )
ال	=	al-, or 'l-

Throughout this work the system of romanized Malay spelling is not the same as that still officially used by the Government and in Malay schools and textbooks in Malaya. I am following closely - though not exactly - the system adopted by the Kongres Bahasa dan Persuratan Melayu III (Singapore, 1956). In this system, the pepet sign (ˇ) and hyphens (except in cases of repetition of words usually denoting plurals and emphases) are dropped out, and the spelling is made phonetic. Thus, for example, sa-suatu is spelled sesuatu; di-peroleh-nya is spelled diperolehnya - and so on.

In both the romanized Malay edition and the English translation of the texts, numerals without brackets are my notes continued in the usual order from the preceding chapters; numerals in square brackets ([1]) indicate paging of the manuscripts; numerals in brackets on the left-hand margin of the text indicate numbering of texts and translation for the purpose of identification; a word or words in square brackets ([one]) denotes conjecture; a letter or letters in square brackets ([o]) indicates missing letters. The archaic forms of spelling of both Malay and Sanscrit words occurring in the texts are spelled as they appear in the texts. Hence, terbunyi (tersembunyi); menengar (mendengar); berajar (belajar); buddi (budi); shiksa (siksa), etc. Arabic words occurring in the Malay texts, and words of

Arabic origin which have become common Malay usage are spelled according to the Arabic form following the system of transliteration of Arabic characters here adopted. Thus words now regarded as part of common Malay usage such as kaum, maksud, alam, dunia, are romanized with the addition of diacritical signs to indicate their original Arabic derivation as qawm, maqṣūd, ʿālam, and dunyā.

## CHAPTER VII

ASRĀRU'L-'ĀRIFĪN

karangan

Ḥamzah Fanṣūrī

[Naskhah Leiden, no. 7291 (I)]

[16] Bismi' Llāhi'l-Rahmāni'l-Rahīm

Al-ḥamdu li'Llāhi'l-ladhī sharaha  
 ṣudūra'l-'ārifīn bi mafātihi wujūdihi<sup>863</sup>  
 wa zayyana qulūbahum<sup>864</sup> bi asrārihi<sup>865</sup>  
 [wa] nawwara arwāḥahum<sup>866</sup> bi ma'ārifi  
 shuhūdihi wa zahhara nufūṣahum bi  
 nūri 'ishqihi. Afḍalu'l-ṣalāt  
 wa akmalu'l-taḥiyat 'ala sayyidinā  
 Muḥammad ṣāhibi'l-ḥawdi'l-mawrūd  
 wa'l-maqāmi'l-muḥammadi'l-mahmūd  
 wa 'alā ālihi wa ṣābbihi ajma'in wa'l-  
 ḥamdu li'Llāhi rabbi'l-'ālamīn.

- (1) Ketahui, hai segala kamu anak Ādam yang islām, bahwa  
 Allāh Subhānahu wa Ta'ālā menjadikan kita; daripada tiada  
 bernama<sup>867</sup> diberiNya<sup>868</sup> nama, dan daripada tiada berupa

- 
863. The text has the Malay form of the word wujūd, i.e.:  
ujūd, spelled awjūd. This form of the word is frequently  
 found in the text.
864. The text is incorrect: qulūbuhum.
865. Text incorrect: asrārihim.
866. Text here garbled.
867. The text reads: ... daripada tiada (diadakannya, dan  
 daripada tiada) bernama ..., etc. The words I have put  
 in brackets are to my mind a later interpolation and  
 do not belong to Ḥamzah's text, since if read thus then  
 Ḥamzah's entire mystical system collapses, and they  
 contradict Ḥamzah's persistent idea that the world is  
 not created ex nihilo. See, for examples, pp.29-31;  
 34-38; and Sharab, pp.98-100. The reading of the text  
 as I have arranged above seems to me to be correct and  
 consistent with Ḥamzah's mystical system. Doorenbos  
 explains this apparent contradiction in Ḥamzah's system  
 by saying that the contradictory words are homilitic in

diberi berupa; lengkap dengan telinga,<sup>869</sup> dengan hati, dengan nyawa, dengan budi. Yogya kita chari Tuhan kita itu supaya kita kenal dengan ma'rifat kita, atau dengan khidmat kita kepada guru yang sempurna mengenal Dia, supaya jangan taqṣīr kita.

- (2) Adapun sementara belum bertemu dengan yang sempurna berma'rifat, pandang pada lima belas bayt. Adapun ini empat sechawang pada sebuah bayt. Jika tiada kamu faham pada bayt lima belas bayt ini, lihat pada sharahnya pulang,<sup>870</sup> kerana [pada] sharahnya itu perkataan ma'rifat Allāh [ada] dengan nyata dalamnya. Wa'LLāhu a'lam!

purpose (see Doorenbos, p.205). But I reject this explanation as the homilistic part of the treatise is actually the beginning written in Arabic. The homily is indeed generally written in the beginning in Arabic in all such treatises. In my opinion, the problematic words could only be explained away as a later interpolation by a copyist who thought it fit to insert the words to satisfy the 'Ulamā', not realizing, perhaps, that in doing so he rendered the entire system self-contradictory.

868. Text repetitive.

869. Text has ditelinga.

870. ... lihat pada sharahnya pulang ... i.e.: pulang pula pada sharahnya. Pulang: return, retrace, in this context it conveys the meaning: consult, look again. I think that the use of the word pulang in this sense is derived from the Arabic usage of the word raja'a, meaning to return. See, for example, the way in which this word is applied in the Qur'ān: Mā tarā fī khalqī'l-rahmāni min tafāwutin, fa'rji'i'l-baṣara hal tarā min fuṭūrin.

(67:3). See also Qur'ān 67:4 where the way in which raja'a is applied supports my opinion.

- (3) Shahdān.<sup>871</sup> Tiada berapa lagi kurangnya. Adapun jikalau bertemu dengan kurangnya, digenapi; jika bertemu dengan salahnya, diperbenari; jika bertemu dengan penggal pada bahasa atau pada hurufnya lebih - kurang, [17] diperbaiki - jangan di'aybkan - kerana manusia terbanyak lupa dan lalai,<sup>872</sup> seperti sabda Rasūlu'LLāh (ṣalla'LLāhu 'alayhi wa sallam!):

"Al-insānu murakkabun 'alā'l-nisyan."

ya'nī:

"Manusia itu terkendaraan atas lupa." kerana manusia itu penuh dengan 'aybnya. Melainkan Allāh Subhanahu wa Ta'ālā jua yang tiada ber'aybNya!

- (4) Bāb pada menyatakan ma'rifat Allāh Ta'āla serta ṢifātNya<sup>873</sup> dan Asmā'Nya.<sup>874</sup>

Aho segala kita yang menyembah 'kan Nama  
Yogya diketahui apa Yang Pertama  
Kerana Tuhan kita yang Sedia Lama  
Dengan ketujuh Ṣifat bersama-sama.<sup>875</sup>

871. The use of shahdān before beginning sentences is very common in classical Malay literature. It is most probably an abbreviation of shahida anna: he testifies that ... Cf. also Wilkinson, p.434.

872. Text has repetitive form: lalai-lalai.

873. Text is incorrect: ṣifatNya.

874. The text is repetitive.

875. Following this verse are two verses:

Kunjung-kunjung di bukit yang mahatinggi  
Kolam sebuah dibawahnya  
Wājib insān mengenal diri  
Ṣifat Allāh pada tubuhnya.

Nūrānī haqīqat khatam  
Supaya terang laut yang mahadalam  
Berhenti angin ombak pun padam  
Menjadi sultān kedua 'ālam.

These are wandering verses that have somehow found their way here. For my explanation of this, see my Introduction, p.348, and the notes 764-766. In the present edition I am excluding such wandering verses from the main body of the text.

[18] Tuhan kita [itu yang] Empunya<sup>876</sup> Dhāt  
 Awwalnya Hayy pertama bilang Sifat<sup>876</sup>  
 Keduanya 'Ilmu dan Rupa Ma'lumāt  
 Ketiga Murīd 'kan sekalian Irādat.

Keempat Qādir<sup>877</sup> dengan QuḍratNya tamām<sup>878</sup>  
 Kelimanya Sifat<sup>878</sup> bernama Kalām  
 Keenamnya Samī' dengan AdaNya dawām  
 Ketujuhnya Baṣīr akan ḥalāl dan ḥarām.

Ketujuhnya itu adanya qadīm  
 Akan i[s]ti'ādā ['ā]llamīn sempurna 'Alīm  
 Kerana Sifat<sup>879</sup> ini dengan Kamāl al-Ḥakīm  
 Bernama Bismi 'Llāhi 'l-Raḥmāni 'l-Raḥīm.<sup>880</sup>

'Ilmu ini Ḥaqīqat Muḥammad al-Nabī  
 Menurutkan Ma'lūm dengan lengkapnya qawī  
 Daripada Ḥaqīqatnya itu jāhil dan walī<sup>881</sup>  
 Beroleh i'tibārnya dengan sekalian peri.

Tuhan kita itu empunya Kamāl<sup>882</sup>  
 Didalam 'IlmuNya tiada panah<sup>882</sup> zawāl  
 Raḥmān dalamnya perhimpunan Jalāl  
 [19] Berserta dengan Raḥīm pada sekalian Jamāl.

Tuhan kita itu yang bernama 'Aliyy<sup>883</sup>  
 Dengan sekalian SifatNya<sup>883</sup> senantiasa bāqī  
 'Ala jamī'i 'l-'ālamīn AthārNya<sup>884</sup> jadi<sup>884</sup>  
 Daripada sittu jihāt - sebab inilah khālī.<sup>885</sup>

876. Text is corrupt: ṣifāt.

877. Text has: qādir - A Malay form of spelling; the yā' taking the function of the kasrah.

878. Text incorrect: ṣifāt.

879. Text incorrect: ṣifāt.

880. Here follow five lines in the text which have been crossed off by the scribe as mistakes.

881. Following peri are three words: ishārat dengan 'ibārat which are corrupt, as they are out of context in both, this verse and the one immediately following. Probably ishārat and 'ibārat are alternatives for i'tibār occurring in the last line of the verse.

882. I.e., Minangkabau form of the Malay word pernah.

883. Text: ṣifātNya.

884. Text incorrect: atharNya.

885. Text has: sebab inilah tiada khālī. Tiada is not meant. See the reading in the commentary on pp. 50-51 of the text.

Chahya ĀthārNya<sup>886</sup> tiadakan padam  
 Memberikan wujud pada sekalian 'ālam  
 Menjadikan<sup>887</sup> makhluk siang dan malam  
 Ilā [abadi]'l-ābād tiada'kan karam.

Tuhan kita itu seperti baḥr al-'amīq  
 Ombaknya penuh pada sekalian ṭarīq  
 Laut dan ombak keduanya rafīq  
 'Ākhir kedalamnya jua ombaknya gharīq.

Lautnya 'Ālim halunnya Ma'lūm  
 Keadaannya Qāsim ombaknya Maqsūm  
 Tūfānnya Ḥākim shu'unnya Maḥkūm  
 Pada sekalian 'ālamīn inilah rusūm.

Jikalau sini kamu<sup>888</sup> tahu akan wujud  
 Itulah tempat kamu shuhūd  
 Buangkan rupamu<sup>889</sup> daripada sekalian quyūd  
 Supaya dapat kedalam Diri qu'ūd.<sup>890</sup>

[Pada wujud Allāh]<sup>891</sup> itulah yogya kau qā'im  
 Buangkan rupa dan namamu dā'im  
 Nafikan rasamu daripada makhdūm dan khādīm  
 Supaya sampai kepada 'Amal yang Khātīm.

Jika engkau belum tetap seperti batu<sup>892</sup>  
 Hukum dua [lagi] khādīm dan ratu<sup>893</sup>  
 Setelah lupa engkau daripada emas dan batu<sup>894</sup>  
 Mangkannya dapat menjadi satu. [20]

886. Text incorrect: atharNya.

887. Text has: Bernama, but Menjadikan is correct. See the reading in the commentary on p. 51 of the text.

888. Text has: kamunya. Cf. commentary on p. 60 of the text.

889. Text has: rupanya. Rupamu is the correct reading. See the commentary on p. 62 of the text.

890. The text reads: kedalamnya bersujūd. I am following the reading in the commentary on p. 63, which is the correct one, as the commentary begins with an explanation of the meaning of the word qu'ūd, and not sujūd.

891. See the commentary on p. 65 of the text.

892. Text is corrupt: nyatanya. See the commentary on p. 68 of the text.

893. Khādīm dan ratu: text is corrupt; it has adm dan art. I agree with Professor van Ronkel's rendering to khādīm dan ratu as being in conformity with the meaning intended. See Doorenbos, pp. 123, note 5, and 155, note 2.

894. Text has batu, but see the commentary on p. 70 of the text.



Jika<sup>895</sup> belum fanā' daripada ribu dan ratus  
 Tiada'kan dapat adamu kau hapus  
 Nafikan rasamu itu daripada kasar dan halus  
 Supaya dapat barang katamu harus.

Hamzah Fansūrī sungguh pun da'if  
 Haqīqatnya hampir pada Dhāt al-Sharīf  
 Sungguh pun habab<sup>896</sup> rupanya kathīf  
 Wāsilnya dā'im dengan baḥr al-laṭīf.<sup>897</sup>

Inilah Bayt Lima Belas. Dengarkan pula pada 'ibārat sharah  
 pulang.<sup>898</sup>

(5) Aho segala kita [yang] menyembah ['kan] Nama  
Yogya [diketahui apa Yang Pertama] ...

Ya'nī Nama Allāh Subḥānahu wa Ta'ālā, kerana pada hukum  
 shari'at barangsiapa menguchap lā ilāha illā 'llāh Muḥammadun

895. Text has jika preceded by ya'nī.

896. Text has the plural form of habbah: habbāt, meaning  
 beads, granules, pustules, e.g. trivialities. Habab  
 means blister; in the text: bubble.

897. This is the last of the 15 verses. But there follow in  
 the text 3 more wandering verses:

Hamzah Fansūrī orang 'uryānī (text corrupt: for  
 'uryānī it has yang ghana or ghani)  
 Seperti Ismā'il jadi qurbānī (text corrupt: khurban)  
 Bukannya 'Ajāmī (text: 'Ajīmī) lagi 'Arabī  
 Senantiasa fanā' (text: fahnā: Achehnese form)  
 dengan Yang Bāqī

Hamzah miskin, tiadakan kaya  
 Dimana'kan sampai kepada Tuhan yang Qahhār  
 (text has Qahar)  
 Seperti Muḥammad épada Tuhan yang aḥrt) Sayyidu'l-  
 (text has Qahar) Anbiyā'  
 Sampai kepada Jalīl al-Akbar.

Hamzah Fansūrī terlalu karam  
 Didalam laut yang mahadalam  
 Berhenti angin ombak pun padam  
 Menjadi Sulṭān (text corrupt: shlaṭān) daripada  
 kedua 'ālam.

898. See note 670. See my Introduction, pp. 348ff. and notes 764  
 -766.

Rasūlu'LLāh dengan lidahnya islām hukumnya. Pada hatinya? -  
wa'LLāhu a'lam! Seperti sabda Nabī (ṣalla'LLāhu 'alayhi  
wa sallam!):

"Man qāla lā ilāha illā'LLāh dakhala'l-jannah."

ya'nī:

"Barangsiapa mengucap lā ilāha illā'LLāh  
 masuk shurga (terlalu mudah)" [21]

Dan lagi sabda Rasūlu'LLāh (ṣalla'l-Lāhu 'alayhi wa sallam!):

"Man qāla lā ilāha illā'LLāh khāliṣan mukhlīṣan  
dakhala'l-jannah."

ya'nī:

"Barangsiapa mengucap lā ilāha illā'LLāh dengan  
 suchi hatinya masuk shurga."

Bahwasanya kerana nama dan [yang] empunya [nama] esa, apabila  
 nama disebut [maka] serasa [yang] menyebut [dengan yang]  
 empunya nama. Adapun kepada haqīqat, yogya diketahui [yang]  
 Empunya Nama maka<sup>899</sup> sempurna islām[mu]. Seperti orang  
 kebenua China dan menengar nama raja China juga,<sup>900</sup> [sungguh  
 pun] tiada berlihatan<sup>901</sup> dengan raja China; maka sempurna  
 [ia] ke benua China dan raja China pun dilihatnya, nama raja  
 China pun didengarnya; keduanya diperolehnya. Sebab itu  
 kepada haqīqat yogya diketahui dan dikenal[i] NamaNya yang

---

899. Maka here conveys the meaning agar, supaya: in order  
that, so that.

900. Juga here conveys the meaning pun: also, just (as).

901. Text has berlihatnya.

dinamai Allāh, kerana<sup>902</sup> firmān Allāh Ta'ālā:

Man kāna fī hādhihi a'mā fahuwa fī 'l-'āakhirati  
a'mā wa<sup>903</sup> adallu sabīlan.<sup>904</sup>

ya'nī:

Barangsiapa tiada mengenal Allāh disini  
 di'āakhirat pun tiada dikenal [dan lebih jauh ia  
 dari jalan yangbenar].

Kerana ini maka kata Ahlu'l-Sulūk akan orang [yang] tiada  
 mengetahui Allāh tetapi menyebut Nama Allāh dengan ikhlās  
 hatinya, [ia itu] islām hukumnya. Ittifāq 'Ulamā' dan Ahlu'l-  
 Sulūk: [akan] orang [yang] mengetahui Allāh khāṣṣ hukumnya;  
 akan orang [yang] mengenal Allāh khāṣṣ al-khāṣṣ hukumnya,  
 kerana orang [yang] mengenal Allāh 'alā daripada [orang  
 yang] mengetahui Allāh. Seperti sabda Rasūlu'Llāh  
 (ṣalla'Llāhu 'alayhi wa sallam!):

"Wa' bud rabbaka ka'annaka tarāhu ..."

ya'nī:

"Sembah Tuhanmu seperti kau lihat Ia ...  
 ('ibārat ini kepada orang [yang] mengenal  
 Allāh dapat [22] dikata).

... Fa'in lam takun tarāhu fa'innahu yarāka."

ya'nī:

... Jika tiada engkau melihat Dia, bahwa  
 Ia melihat dikau."

---

902. Text has kerananya. to convey the meaning oleh kerana.

903. Text is incorrect: aw.

904. Qur'an, 17:72.

('ibārat ini kepada orang [yang] mengetahui Allāh dapat dikata).

Lagi firmān Allāh Ta'ālā:

Wa' bud rabbaka hattā ya'tiyaka'l-yaqīn.<sup>905</sup>

ya'nī:

Sembah Tuhanmu hingga memberi dikau nyata (ya'nī nyata: tiada shakk dalamnya).

Inilah ma'nā' ... menyembah Nama'.

(6) Fa'lam<sup>906</sup> - Yogya diketahui apa Yang Pertama.

Ya'nī tatakala bumi dan langit belum ada, 'Arsh dan Kursī belum ada, shurga dan neraka belum ada - semesta sekalian ['ālam] pun belum ada, apa jua yang pertama? Ya'nī Yang Pertama Dhāt Semata, SendiriNya, tiada dengan Şifāt, dan tiada dengan Asmā'Nya - itulah Yang Pertama. Adapun Nama Dhāt itu Huwa. Ma'nā Huwa itu ismu<sup>907</sup> ishāratin kepada Dhāt tiada dengan Şifāt. Adapun Nama Allāh rendahnya sepangkat daripada Nama Huwa. Tetapi [Nama Allāh itu] perhimpunan segala Nama. Seperti seorang Muḥammad namanya; jika ia ber'ilmu, 'ālim<sup>908</sup> namanya; jika ia pandai, utus<sup>909</sup> namanya;

905. Qur'ān, 15:99.

906. Fa'lam: Beginning a paragraph, meaning: Know (that by) ... followed by the explanation ... (we mean) ... etc.

907. Text: ismu.

908. Text incorrect: 'alim.

909. Doorenbos, perhaps on the authority of Wilkinson, reads utas - a spelling found in dictionaries. I think utas is not the correct spelling. In Ḥamzah's verses this word has appeared in ones rhyming in US. The correct spelling should therefore be utus and not utas (see, e.g. 2016, p.89 - the verse is quoted on p.41, above). See also T. Iskandar's article: Utus atau Utas? in Sari Bahasa, Majallah Bulanan Dewan Bahasa, jilid IX, bilangan 2, pp.77-78, Kuala Lumpur, February, 1965, which supports my reading.

jika ia tahu menyurat, kātib namanya; jika ia beniaga, shaudagar namanya. Sekalian nama dibawah nama ini dibawah nama Muhammad juga, kerana ia perhimpunan sekalian [nama itu]. Akan Nama Allāh Subḥānahu wa Ta'ālā pun demikian lagi; olehNya<sup>910</sup> menjadikan makhlūq, Khāliq NamaNya; olehNya memberi rizqi akan hamba Nya Rāziq NamaNya; olehNya membarikkan<sup>911</sup> 'ālam, Sāni' NamaNya; olehNya menjadikan dengan hikmatNya, Hakīm NamaNya. Sekalian Nama ini dibawah Nama Allah juga, kerana Nama Allāh [23] perhimpunan sekalian Nama. Tetapi Huwa tertinggi daripada Nama Allāh sepangkatnya. Adapun Dhāt tinggi pula daripada Nama Huwa itu. Barangsiapa tahu akan ma'nānya ini, tahu [ia] akan Yang Pertama itu.

(7) Fa'lam - Kerana Tuhan kita yang Sedia Lama.

Ya'nī Qadīm Sedia, tiada dapat di bicharakan sekian lamanya. Ya'nī Qadīm tiada dengan qadīmnya, Awwal tiada dengan awwalnya, Sedia Ada; tiada lulus bichara kepada QadīmNya itu melainkan [bichara] Ahlu'l-Kashf jua. Adapun kata Ahlu'l-Kashf QadīmNya itu mithal [suatu] buah [yang] buntar; tiada berhujung dan tiada berpuhun, tiada permulaan dan tiada berkesudahan, dan tiada tengah<sup>912</sup> dan tiada tepinya, dan tiada hadapan dan tiada belakangnya, tiada kiri<sup>913</sup> dan

---

910. OlehNya conveys the meaning: oleh kerana Ia, oleh sebab Ia.

911. Original Arabic: bari'.

912. Text: ditengah.

913. Text: dikiri.

tiada kanan, tiada atas<sup>914</sup> dan tiada bawahnya.<sup>915</sup> Inilah ma'nā Qadīm Sedia. Jika ditamthilkan [seperti] dā'irah pun dapat, kerana dā'irah tiada berawwal [dan] tiada berakhīr: jika awwal, dikatakan akhir pun dapat; jika akhir, dikatakan awwal pun dapat.<sup>916</sup> Yogya diketahui Qadīm Allāh Subḥānahu wa Ta'ālā dengan sempurna kenal. Inilah ma'nā Qadīm Sedia Lama. Betapa<sup>917</sup> dapat bertemu dengan ma'rifat Allāh Ta'ālā jika<sup>918</sup> tiada tahu akan QadīmNya Sedia?

(8) Fa'lam - Dengan ketujuh Ṣifāt bersama-sama.

Ya'nī tiada bercherai dengan ketujuh ṢifātNya, sungguh [pun] dikata Dhāt Allāh yang Pertama. Tetapi 'ibārat mushkil; ya'nī [24] jadi Ia bercherai dengan ketujuh ṢifātNya - nāqis hukumnya. Adapun kepada 'Ulamā' shari'at, Ṣifāt Allāh 'ayn Dhāt Allāh pun tiada, ghayr Dhāt pun tiada. Adapun pada kata Ahlu'l-Sulūk, Ṣifāt 'ayn Dhāt. Mithal seorang orang kerana 'ilmunya maka bernama 'ālim; kerana qudratnya maka bernama qādir; kerana irādatnya maka bernama murīd, kerana katanya maka bernama mutakallim;<sup>919</sup> kerana penengarnya maka

914. Text: keatas.

915. Text: dibawah.

916. In the text, the scribe has crossed off the words beginning with: ... jika awwal, dikatakan akhir pun dapat ... etc. due to a mistake, but he corrects them as it appears above.

917. Text has: Maka, but the meaning intended is better conveyed by Betapa, i.e. rhetorical 'how?'.  
 918. Text has: maka, but what is intended is the meaning conveyed by jika, i.e. if.

919. Text has incorrect form: kalām. Mutakallim is the active participle of the noun kalām.

bernama samī'; kerana penglihatnya maka bernama baṣīr. Adapun 'ibāratnya juga lain daripada Dhāt Aṣlī.<sup>920</sup> Nama Ṣifāt yang tujuh itu suatu Ḥayāt,<sup>921</sup> kedua 'Ilm, ketiga Irādat,<sup>922</sup> keempat Qudrat,<sup>923</sup> kelima Kalām,<sup>924</sup> keenam Sam',<sup>925</sup> ketujuh Baṣar.<sup>926</sup> Dhāt dengan ketujuh Ṣifāt ini tiada bercherai. Adapun Ṣifāt yang lain banyak lagi tiada terhisābkan. Sekalian [Ṣifāt yang lain itu] dibawah Ṣifāt [yang tujuh] ini jua, kerana yang tujuh Ṣifāt ini tinggi daripada sekalian Ṣifāt itu. Seperti Nama Allāh perhimpunan segala<sup>927</sup> Nama, Ṣifāt yang tujuh itu jua perhimpunan segala Ṣifāt. Apabila tahu akan ma'nā tujuh Ṣifāt itu, maka dapat mengenal dengan sempurna kenal jua.

(9) Fa'lam - Tuhan kita yang Empunya Dhāt.

Ya'ni Semata, tiada dengan Ṣifāt. Pada suatu 'ibārat Wājibu'l-Wujūd dinamai 'Ulamā', kerana Ia qā'im dengan SendiriNya, tiada dengan [lain]. Sebab ini maka dinamai 'Ulamā' Wājibu'l-Wujūd. Maka kata Ahlu'l-Sulūk [25] sungguh pun Ia qā'im SendiriNya, tetapi Ia memberi wujud akan

920. Text incorrect: aṣlī.

921. Text: Ḥayy.

922. Text: Murīd.

923. Text: Qādir.

924. Text: Mutakallim.

925. Text: Samī'.

926. Text: Baṣīr. Word following baṣīr in the text: a-namanya, is corrupt.

927. Text ambiguous: segala or sekalian. But I prefer segala as it is an unqualified judgment. In fact segala is used in this context before. See above, p.22.

sekalian 'ālam. Maka dinamai Wājibu'l-Wujūd kerana Wujūd dengan Dhāt esa hukumnya. Adapun kepada 'Ulamā' shari'at Dhāt Allāh dengan Wujūd Allāh dua hukumnya; wujūd 'Ilmu<sup>928</sup> dengan 'Ālim dua hukumnya; wujūd 'ālam dengan 'ālam dua hukumnya; wujūd 'ālam lain, Wujūd Allāh lain. Adapun Wujūd Allāh dengan Dhāt Allāh mithal matahari dengan cahayanya; sungguh pun esa pada penglihat mata dan penglihat hati, [pada haqīqatnya] dua hukumnya: matahari lain, cahayanya lain. Adapun 'ālam, maka dikatakan wujūdnya lain kerana 'ālam seperti bulan beroleh cahaya daripada matahari. Sebab inilah maka dikatakan 'Ulamā wujūd 'ālam lain daripada Wujūd Allāh, Wujūd Allāh dengan Dhāt Allāh lain. Maka kata Ahlu'l-Sulūk jika demikian Allāh Ta'ālā diluar 'ālam atau dalam 'ālam dapat dikata; atau hampir kepada 'ālam atau jauh daripada 'ālam dapat dikata. Pada kami Dhāt Allāh dengan Wujūd Allāh esa hukumnya; Wujūd Allāh dengan wujūd 'ālam esa; wujūd 'ālam dengan 'ālam esa hukumnya. Seperti cahayanya,<sup>929</sup> namanya jua lain, pada haqīqatnya tiada lain. Pada penglihat mata esa, pada penglihat hati pun esa. Wujūd 'ālam pun demikian lagi dengan Wujūd Allāh - esa; kerana 'ālam tiada berwujud sendirinya. Sungguh pun pada zāhirnya ada ia berwujud, tetapi wahmī juga, bukan wujud haqīqī; seperti bayang-bayang dalam chermin, [26] rupanya ada haqīqatnya tiada.

---

928. Text has: 'ilmū', which is incorrect.

929. The nya refers to matahari.



Adapun ittifāq 'Ulamā' dengan Ahlu'l-Sulūk pada Dhāt: Semata. Sungguh pun Dhāt dapat di'ibāratkan, tetapi tiada lulus pada 'ibārat kerana [tiada] diatas akan Dia, tiada dibawah akan Dia, tiada dahulu akan Dia, tiada kemudian akan Dia, tiada kanan akan Dia, tiada kiri akan Dia, tiada jauh akan Dia, tiada hampir akan Dia, tiada diluar akan Dia, tiada didalam akan Dia, tiada bercherai akan Dia, tiada bertemu akan Dia - tiada dengan betapanya;<sup>930</sup> dan tiada [di]mana dan tiada kemana, dan tiada sekarang dan tiada sekejap mata, dan tiada ketika dan tiada masa; tiada Ia jadi dan tiada [Ia] menjadi, tiada Ia tempat dan tiada Ia bertempat. Seperti sabda Rasūlu'llāh (ṣalla'llāhu 'alayhi wa sallam!):

"Kana'llāhu wa lā shay'a<sup>931</sup> ma'ahu."

ya'nī:

"Dahulu Allāh, [dan] tiada suatu sertaNya pun."

Kata Shaykh Junayd Baghdādī<sup>932</sup> (rahmatu'llāhi ['alayhi]!):

"[Huwa]'l-'āna kamā kāna."

930. Tiada dengan betapanya is a literal translation of the Arabic bilā kayfa, a theological term meaning: without 'how?'. This term came into prominence due to its use by Ibn Ḥanbal, the founder of the Ḥanbalī school (madhhab), and al-Ash'arī, the theologian. See, for example, Wensinck, A.J., The Muslim creed, Cambridge, University Press, 1932, pp.86, 116, 190 note 2, 207, 238. Hereafter cited as Wensinck; and al-Ash'ari, pp.24, 237. See also below, p. 535, note 1502

931. Text incorrect: shay'in.

932. Text incorrect: Baghdād.

ya'nī:

"[Ia] sekarang pun seperti dahulu juga."  
 933 Firmān Allāh Subḥānahu wa Ta'ālā:

Subḥāna'LLāhi 'ammā yasifūn. 934

ya'nī:

Mahasuchi Allāh tiada dapat diperikan.  
 Lagi firmān 935 Allāh Ta'ālā:

Laysa kamithlihi shay'un. 936

ya'nī:

Tiada suatu pun (barang yang kita bicharakan  
 dengan hati kita, atau dengan ma'rifat  
 kita) sudah-sudah [i.e. sama-sama].

Ma'rifat itu bukan [ma'rifat] Dhāt, [tetapi] keadaan Dhāt  
 dengan periNya juga. Sebab inilah maka kata Ahlu'l-Sulūk  
 Dhāt dengan keadaanNya esa. Tetapi yang kunhīNya, Dhāt itu  
 tiada siapa datang kesana [27]. Jangankan 'awāmm, 937 walī  
 dan nabī dan malā'ikatu'l-muqarrabīn pun tiada datang kesana.

(10) Fa'lam - Awwalnya Ḥayy pertama bilang Ṣifāt.

Ya'nī Ḥayy [itu iaitu] Hidup. Maka Ḥayy pertama  
 dikatakan kerana jika tiada Ḥayy sekalian Ṣifāt ini tiada  
 berkawn. Laginya 938 firmān Allāh Ta'ālā:

933. Text has: Sabda.

934. Qur'ān, 23:92.

935. Text has: sabda.

936. Qur'ān, 42:11.

937. Text incorrect: 'awam.

938. Laginya conveys the meaning: lagi pula.

Allāhu lā ilāha illā huwa'l-ḥayyu'l-qayyūm.<sup>939</sup>

ya'nī:

Bahwa Allāh Ta'ālā esa, tiada Tuhan lain melainkan Ia, Hidup, memegangkan sekalian.

Lagi firmān [Allāh] Ta'āla:

Huwa'l-ḥayyu lā ilāha illā huwa.<sup>940</sup>

ya'nī:

Ia itu Hidup, tiada Tuhan lain melainkan Ia jua.

Adapun maka Ḥayy didahulukan daripada sekalian Ṣifāt ya'nī<sup>941</sup> - seperti seorang orang - jika tiada ḥayy, mati hukumnya. Apabila mati hukumnya 'alīm<sup>942</sup> pun tiada akan dia, murīd pun tiada akan dia, qādir<sup>943</sup> pun tiada akan dia, mutakallim<sup>944</sup> pun tiada akan dia, samī' pun tiada akan dia, baṣīr pun tiada akan dia. Sebab inilah maka Ḥayy didahulu[kan] daripada sekalian Ṣifāt bersama-sama. Inilah ma'nā 'Ḥayy pertama bilang Ṣifāt.<sup>945</sup>

(11) Fa'lam - Keduanya 'Ilmu dan Rupa Ma'lūmāt.

Ya'nī Tahu, kerana 'Ilmu itu pertama nyata daripada sekalian nyata. Adapun maka dikatakan 'Ilmu pertama

939. Qur'ān, 2:255.

940. Qur'ān, 40:65.

941. Ya'nī here means oleh sebab.

942. Text incorrect: 'alīm.

943. Text has: qudrat, but qādir is consistent with the form here used.

944. Text has: kalām, but mutakallim is consistent with the form here used.

945. Text has: ṢifātNya.

nyata daripada segala nyata kerana tatakala Allāh Subḥānahu wa Ta'ālā menilik DiriNya dengan 'IlmuNya, maka jadi tiga, bergelarnya: 'Ālim, 'Ilmu, Ma'lūm. Yang Menilik bernama 'Ālim, Yang Ditilik bernama Ma'lūm, Tilik-Menilik bernama 'Ilmu.<sup>946</sup> Ketiganya esa juga, namanya berlain-lain; tetapi kerana 'Ilmu juga [28] 'Ālim dan Ma'lūm beroleh nama dan beroleh kenyataan. Tuhan pun ḡāhirlah dengan hambaNya, hambaNya pun ḡāhirlah dengan Tuhannya. Sebab inilah maka dikatakan 'Ilmu pertama nyata daripada segala nyata, kerana Dhāt Semata memandang DiriNya; 'Ālim pun kelihatan, 'Ilmu pun kelihatan, Ma'lūm pun kelihatan. Adapun Dhāt Semata tiada dengan Ṣifāt; Itulah Yang Pertama hukumnya. Apabila Ia menilik DiriNya, dilihatNyalah DiriNya dengan sekalian Shu'ūn-Nya.<sup>947</sup> Pada ketika itu Yang Menilik bernama 'Ālim, Yang Ditilik bernama Ma'lūm, Tilik[-Menilik] bernama 'Ilmu. Dhāt terbuni didalam 'Ālim dan Ma'lūm dan 'Ilmu. Maka bergelar Awwal dan Ākhir, ḡāhir dan Bāṭin; yang menilik bernama Awwal, yang ditilik bernama Ākhir, yang ditilik<sup>948</sup> bernama ḡāhir, yang menilik<sup>949</sup> bernama Bāṭin. Kerana inilah<sup>950</sup> maka firmān Allāh Ta'ālā:

---

946. The text is repetitive here.

947. Text incorrect: su'ūnNya.

948. Text: tilik.

949. Text has: ditilikNya, but surely this is incorrect, for it is the Seer (Yang Menilik) who is Hidden (Bāṭin) and the Seen (Yang Ditilik) Manifest (ḡāhir).

950. Text: sabda.

Huwa'l-awwalu wa'l-'ākhiru wa'l-zāhiru  
wa'l-bāṭinu wa huwa bikulli shay'in 'alīm.<sup>951</sup>

Ya'nī:

Ia jua Yang Dahulu, Ia jua Yang Kemudian,  
 Ia Yang Nyata, Ia Terbunyi; Ia tahu  
 pada segala suatu.

Lagi kata Lam'at:<sup>952</sup>

Ma'shūq [u] 'ishq [u] 'āshiq<sup>953</sup> har[sih]<sup>954</sup>  
yakyast injā<sup>955</sup>  
Chūn waṣl dar na-gunjad hijrān chi kār dārad?<sup>956</sup>

ya'nī:

"Yang Diberahikan dan Berahi dan Yang  
 Berahi ketiganya esa juga;  
 Sini apabila bertemu tiada lulus bercherai  
 dan dimanakan ada?"

Lagi kata Shaykh Muḥammad Maghribī (rahmatu'Llahi 'alayhi!):

"Chūn 'azm tamāshā-i-jihān kad zi khalwat  
[29] Āmad betamāshā-i-jihān 'ayn jihān shud ..."

ya'ni:

"Tatakala berbichara hendak melihat 'ālam daripada  
 rumah yang sunyi  
 Datang melihat rupa 'alam, menjadi semata 'ālam..."

951. Qur'ān, 57:3.

952. This is the singular form of Lama'āt, referring to 'Irāqī's famous poem. See Literary history of Persia, III, pp.124-139. Also see below, p. 549.

953. Text incorrect: 'ashq.

954. Text corrupt: r-lā.

955. Text incorrect: injū.

956. The Malay text is corrupt. See 'Irāqī's Lama'āt, Lam'at III, p.331.

"Har naqsh ki ū khwast badān naqsh barāmad  
Pūshid hamān naqsh bad[ān] naqsh 'iyān shud."

"Barang-barang tulis yang dikehendaknya dengan  
 Tertutup dengan tulis itu juga nyata [ke]lihatan."

Kerana ini maka kata 'Alī (radiya'LLāhu ['anhu!]) berkata:

"Lā a'budu rabban lam arahu."

ya'nī:

"Tiada kusembah Tuhan jika tiada kulihat."

Lagi kata 'Alī (radiya'LLāhu 'anhu!):

"Mā ra'aytu shay'an ilā wa ra'aytu'LLāh fīhi."

ya'nī:

"Tiada kulihat suatu melainkan Allāh dalamnya."

Inilah ma'nā 'Ilmu pertama nyata daripada segala nyata.

(12) Fa'lam - Ketiganya Murīd akan sekalian Irādat.

Ya'nī Murīd [itu iaitu] Berkehendak kepada isti'dād  
 yang dalam 'IlmuNya kepada<sup>957</sup> 'ālam ini. Seperti kata  
 Ḥadīth Qudsī:

"Kuntu kanzan makhfiyyan fa aḥbabbtu an u'rafa."

ya'nī:

"Aku perbendaharaan yang terbunyi,  
 maka kukasih bahwa aku dikenal."<sup>958</sup>

Ya'nī 'ālam dengan isti'dādnya sekalian yang didalam 'IlmuNya

957. Berkehendak kepada isti'dād ... kepada 'ālam - the latter kepada conveys the meaning: supaya menjadi.

958. Text has: dikenalnya.

itulah maka<sup>959</sup> dinisbatkan dalamnya kepada perbendaharaan yang terbunyi hendak mengeluarkan ma'lūmāt dari dalam 'IlmuNya. Maka bersabda: "Kuntu kanzan makhfiyyan [fa aḥbabtulan u'rafa." Adapun tamthīl<sup>960</sup> perbendaharaan itu seperti pohon kayu; sipohon dalam bijinya. Biji itu perbendaharaan. [30] Pohon kayu yang dalamnya itu isi perbendaharaan, terbunyi dengan lengkapnya: akarnya, dengan batangnya, dengan chabangnya, dengan dahannya, dengan rantingnya, dengan daunnya, dengan bunganya, dengan buahnya - sekalian lengkap didalam biji sebiji itu. Maka biji itu hendak mengeluarkan tumbuh pohon kayu itu daripada dirinya ditengah padang yang mahaluas. Maka biji itu berkata: "Kuntu kanzan makhfiyyan fa aḥbibtu an u'rafa" - ya'nī sekalian kata ini ishārat kepada Berkehendak juga. Dan lagi firmān<sup>961</sup> Allāh Ta'ālā:

Innamā amruhu idhā arāda shay'an an yaqūla lāhu kun fa yakūn.<sup>962</sup>

ya'nī:

Bahwasanya barang titahNya, tatakala berkehendak kepada [se]suatu, <sup>963</sup> bahwakan berkata baginya: "Jadi kau!" menjadi.

959. Maka here conveys the meaning: yang di.

960. Text incorrect: thamthil.

961. Text has: sabda.

962. Qur'ān 36:82.

963. Text has: lu, and Doorenbos renders this command "Jadi lu!" But the word lu is highly unlikely. My opinion is that the text is corrupt and the word should read kau.

Ini pun ishārat kepada Berkehendak juga. Adapun kata Ahlu'l-Sulūk ma'nā "l[ah]u" [itu iaitu] mawjūd hendak[nya], dan ḥāḍir hendak[nya]. Maka harus dikatakan<sup>964</sup> "l[ah]u" kerana "l[ah]u" itu ishārat<sup>965</sup> kepada suatu yang mawjūd. Jika tiada mawjūd tiada akan disebut Allāh Subḥānahu wa Ta'ālā "l[ah]u". Kerana itu maka kata Ahlu'l-Sulūk ma'nā kun ("l[ah]u") [itu] kata [kepada] ma'lūmāt didalam 'Ilmu Allāh [yang] sedia mawjūd. Tetapi kepada 'Ulamā' [ma'lūmāt itu] tiada mawjūd, [ia] ḥādith - baharu datang tatakala Ia pandang-memandang DiriNya. Adapun kata Ahlu'l-Sulūk, sungguh pun tiada [ia] mawjūd pada ḡāhirnya, [tetapi] pada bāṭinnya [ia] mawjūd: ada, seperti pohon kayu itu juga; [31] sungguh pun belum keluar dari dalam biji itu, ḥukumnya adalah dalam biji itu - tiada shakk lagi. Jika tiada demikian, nāqis ḥukumnya.

(13) Fa'lam - Keempat Qādir<sup>966</sup> dengan QudratNya tamām.

Ya'nī Kuasa; jika tiada kuasa lemah ḥukumnya. Akan Allāh Subḥānahu wa Ta'ālā tiada lemah. [Ia] kuasa menjadikan dan meminasakan dan menghidupkan dan mematikan; pada mencher-  
aikan dan [mem]pertemukan, pada mengambil dan memberi - banyak lagi mithalnya yang tiada tersebut. Jikalau tiada<sup>967</sup>

---

964. The text has been crossed out and corrected by the scribe.

965. Text: ishārat.

966. Text corrupt: qādīran.

967. Text repetitive: tiada-tiada.



[Ia] kuasa, manakan dapat [Ia] memandang DiriNya pandang<sup>968</sup> ma'lūmāt yang dalam 'IlmuNya? Inilah yang berqudrat, yang sedia sertaNya itu. Adapun 'ālam, sungguh pun mawjūd, bayang-bayang ma'lūmāt juga. Apa yang dalam ma'lūmāt itu<sup>969</sup> sini kelihatan kerana ma'lūmāt itu terhukum oleh<sup>970</sup> Qudrat yang sedia, tiada dapat ditukariNya lagi. Apabila bertukar, nāqis hukumnya Qudrat yang sedia itu; ya'nī belum sempurna maka hendak diperbaikiNya sekali lagi. Jikalau sudah dari sana permai, tidak harus [diperbaikiNya sekali lagi].

(14) ... dan suara kita.<sup>971</sup> Sebab inilah maka pada hukum sharī'at Kalām [Allāh] tiada makhlūq. Adapun [kepada] madhhab Mu'tazilah dan Rāfiqī dan Zindīq,<sup>972</sup> Kalām Allāh [itu] makhlūq. Pada hukum sharī'atnya, barangsiapa mengata [kan] Kalām Allāh makhlūq, [ia itu] kāfir - na'ūdhu bi'LLāhi minhu! Kalām Allāh peri Dhāt; Qadīm sama-sama dengan sekalian yang sedia ketujuh itu. Adapun kalām Allāh yang dibawa Jibrā'īl kepada Nabī Muḥammad Rasūlu'LLāh (ṣalla'LLāhu [32] 'alaihi wa sallam!), yang tersurat pada maṣḥaf, [itu] dapat

---

968. Meaning: ... memandang DiriNya serta ma'lūmāt yang dalam 'IlmuNya. i.e.: memandang DiriNya dengan pandangan kepada ma'lūmāt ...

969. Text has: ma'lūmāt ini.

970. Text has: terhukumnya - nya here conveys the meaning: oleh.

971. This is the last part of a sentence belonging to the commentary on the Kalāmu'LLāh. See my Introduction, p.350 note 770.

972. Text incorrect: Zindiq.

dikatakan makhlūq kerana hukumnya sudah bercherai dengan Dhāt pada 'ibārat. Adapun kepada haqīqīnya, wa'LLāhu a'lam bi'l-ṣawāb!

Qāla'LLāhu Ta'āla:

Innama qawlunā li shay'in idhā aradnā  
an naqula lahu kun fa yakūn. <sup>973</sup>

ya'nī:

Bahwa sesungguhnya barang janji Kami akan suatu, tatakala kehendak Kami akan dia, bahwakan berkata baginya: "Jadi kau!" - menjadi.

Ini pun Kata Qadīm dengan kata ishārat juga, bukan dengan lidah dengan suara. Jikalau dengan lidah dan suara, dapat dikatakan makhlūq. Kerana Allāh Subḥānahu wa Ta'ālā mahasuchi, KalāmNya pun mahasuchi daripada lidah dan suara! <sup>974</sup>

(15) Fa'lam - Keenamnya Samī' dengan AdaNya dawām.

Ya'nī <sup>975</sup> Menengar. Jika tiada berpenegar tuli hukumnya. Tetapi menengar dengan telinga [itu hanya] 'ibārat, kerana Allāh Subḥānahu wa Ta'ālā tiada bertelinga seperti telinga makhlūq. Adapun yang didengarNya sana "suara" isti'dād <sup>976</sup> ma'lūmāt yang didalam 'IlmuNya senantiasa adanya. Inilah maka bernama wa huwa'l-samī'u'l-'alīm, <sup>977</sup> kerana

973. Qur'ān, 16:40.

974. Text follows with the word: suchi.

975. Text: Ya'nīnya.

976. Repetition of last part of isti'dād in text.

977. Text incorrect: wahuwa'l-samī'u'l-'alīm. Qur'ān, 2:137; 5:76; 6:13, 116; 8:61; 10:65; 12:34; 21:4; 26:220; 29:5, 60; 41:36; 44:6.

Samī' [dan] 'Alīm sedia qadīm sama-sama dengan Dhāt. Sungguh pun ishārat pada sami'a'LLāh li man ḥamidah, [itu hanya] 'ibarat juga, tiada<sup>978</sup> dengan telinga seperti telinga makhlukāt. Qāla'LLāhu Ta'ālā:

Wa ātākum min kulli mā sa'altumūhu.<sup>979</sup>

ya'nī:

Kuberi akan kamu daripada sekalian yang kamu pinta.

Kata Ahlu'l-Sulūk pinta ini pinta isti'dād aṣlī, bukan pinta sekarang. Maka DengarNya Allāh Subḥānahu wa Ta'ālā dengan telinga [33] 'ibarat daripada<sup>980</sup> ma'lūmāt yang sedia sertaNya. Pinta ma'lūmāt pun dengan ishārat, memberi ma'lūmāt pun dengan 'ibarat. Jika tiada demikian, tiada penengar qadīm. Apabila tiada penengar qadīm, nāqis hukumnya.

(16) Fa'lam - Ketujuh Baṣīr akan ḥalāl dan ḥarām.

Ya'ni Melihat. Jika tiada berpenglihat buta hukumnya. Adapun Allāh Subḥānahu wa Ta'ālā dā'im melihat DiriNya dan rupa sekalian ma'lūmāt. Ḥalāl dan ḥarām didalam ma'lūmāt itu mawjūd. Tetapi [Ia] melihat tiada dengan mata seperti mata pada makhlukāt; dengan mata ishārat juga dan dengan 'ibarat juga. Barangsiapa i'tiqādnya Allāh Subḥānahu wa Ta'ālā [itu] melihat dengan mata seperti mata makhlukāt, [ia itu] kāfir - na'ūdhu bi'-LLāhi minhā! Kerana Allāh

978. Text repetitive.

979. Qur'ān, 14:34.

980. Daripada refers to DengarNya.

Subḥānahu wa Ta'ālā suchi daripada sekalian makhlūqāt,  
 PenglihatNya pun mahasuchi. Asal perkataan 'IlmuNya pun qadīm,  
 ma'lūmātNya tiada bercherai dengan 'IlmuNya. Apabila  
 ma'lūmātNya tiada bercherai dengan 'IlmuNya nischaya [Ia]  
 senantiasa melihat [dia] dengan Penglihat yang qadīm. Jikalau  
 ma'lūmāt yang didalam 'IlmuNya tiada mawjūd, tiada 'Ālim  
 NamaNya; BaṣirNya pun lenyap. Adapun [apabila] Allāh  
 Subḥānahu wa Ta'ālā Qadīm dengan ketujuh ṢifātNya, tiadakan  
 lenyap BasirNya, kerana NamaNya wa huwa'l-samī'u'l-baṣīr.<sup>981</sup>  
 Lagi firmān<sup>982</sup> Allāh Subḥānahu wa Ta'ālā:

Wa'llāhu bi mā ta'malūna baṣīr.<sup>983</sup>

ya'nī:

Barang [sesuatu yang] diperbuat mereka itu  
 Allāh Ta'ālā melihat -

kerana Ṣifāt ketujuhnyanya ini [34] qadīm; bukan Ḥayāt ada 'Ilmu  
 tiada; atau 'Ilmu ada Irādat tiada; atau Irādat ada Qudrat  
 tiada; atau Qudrat ada Kalām tiada; atau Kalām ada Sami'  
 tiada; atau Sami' ada Baṣar tiada; atau suatu dahulu atau  
 suatu kemudian; atau suatu lama atau suatu baharu - tiada  
 demikian adanya. Barangsiapa i'tiqādnya demikian, ḡalālat<sup>984</sup>  
 hukumnya.

(17) Fa'lam - Ketujuhnyanya inilah adanya qadīm.

Ya'nī dengan ketujuh Ṣifāt yang sudah dikatakan

981. Qur'ān, 42:11.

982. Text: sabda.

983. Qur'ān, 2:265; 3:152; 8:72; 57:4; 60:3; 64:2.

984. Text incorrect: ṣalālat.

pada awwal al-kitāb ini, inilah qadīm. Adapun Ṣifāt yang lain, tatakala qawl "kun!" (fa yakūn), maka nyata kelihatan; mithal Khāliq<sup>985</sup> dan Rāziq<sup>986</sup> Yuḥyī dan Yumīt.<sup>987</sup> Seperti Ṣifāt ini banyak lagi yang tiada terperi dan tiada tersebut. Adapun 'ibārat qawl "kun!" (fayakūn) [itu ialah] pertama Allāh Subḥānahu wa Ta'āla berfirmān<sup>988</sup> pada isti'dād ma'lūmāt: "Jadi kau!" (menjadi). Semesta sekalian dengan sekali "Jadi kau!", menjadi, sempurna lengkap. Jikalau dikurangiNya, atau ditambahNya, nāqis hukumnya, [ya'nī] tiada sempurna tahu akan HikmatNya; kerana Allāh Subḥānahu wa Ta'ālā tiada seperti manusia; [iaitu] sudah [selesai] perbuatannya, jika belum permai baginya, sekali lagi [diperbuatnya]. Akan Allāh Subḥānahu wa Ta'ālā tiada demikian hukumnya; dengan sekali ["Jadi] kau!"<sup>989</sup> Ia berbuat permai, tiada dapat di'ay[b]kan lagi. Adapun barang yang jadi dibawah qawl "kun!" (fayakūn) [itu] makhluq pada 'ibārat, dan barang [yang] jadi diatas [qawl "kun!"] (fayakūn) Shu'ūn Dhāt dinamai[i]nya Ahlu'-Sulūk. Seperti nyawa; Khāliq [35] pun ia tiada, makhluq pun ia tiada, sungguh pun Ḥadīth Nabī (ṣallī 'alāhi wa sallam!):

---

985. Text incorrect: Khaliq.

986. Text incorrect: Raziq.

987. Text redundant: dan wa Yumitu.

988. Text: bersabda.

989. Text awkward: dengan sekalia Ia berbuat ["Jadi]kau!", permai ...

"Khuliqa'l-rūhu qabla'l-jasadi bi alfayn."

ya'nī:

"Ẓāhir nyawa dahulu daripada tubuh dua  
ribu tahun."

Kata Ahlu'l-Sulūk nyawa amr Allāh itu belum datang kebawah  
qawl "kun!" (fa yakūn). Seperti firmān Allāh Ta'ālā:

Innamā amruhu idhā arāda shay'an an  
yaqūla lahu kun fayakūn.<sup>990</sup>

ya'nī:

Bahwa sanya barang titahNya, tatakala  
berkehendak akan suatu, bahwakan  
berkata baginya: "Jadi kau!" - menjadi.

Kata Ahlu'l-Sulūk titah diatas "Jadi kau!" (menjadi), apabila  
diatas "Jadi kau!" (menjadi) Khāliq<sup>991</sup> pun ia tiada, makhluk  
pun ia tiada. Seperti firmān<sup>992</sup> Allāh Subhānahu wa Ta'ālā:

Wa yas'alūnaka 'ani'l-rūhi quli'l-rūhi  
min amri rabbī wa mā ūtītum mina'l-'ilmi  
illā qalīlan.<sup>993</sup>

ya'nī:

Bertanya orang kepada[mu] (Muhammad)  
daripada asal nyawa. Katakan (yā  
Muhammad): yang nyawa daripada titah  
Tuhanku. Bermula; tiada diberi akan kamu  
'ilmu melainkan sedikit ( - mana kamu[a]kan  
tahu kepada nyawa?).

---

990. Qur'ān, 36:82.

991. Text incorrect: Khaliq.

992. Text: sabda.

993. Qur'ān, 17:85.

Kerana ini maka kata Ahlu'l-Sulūk Khāliq<sup>994</sup> pun ia tiada makhlūq pun ia tiada - kerana [ia] titah Allāh Subḥānahu wa Ta'ālā. Adapun ittifāq 'Ulamā' dan Ahlu'l-Sulūk: 'ālam sekalian makhlūq; hukumnya ḥādith, kerana ia muḥāhir dibawah qawl "kun!" (fa yakūn) - jangan dikatakan qadīm.

(18) Fa'lam - Akan isti'dād 'ālamīn sempurna 'Alīm.

Ya'nī isti'dād [itu iaitu] kelengkapanNya yang sedia didalam 'IlmuNya [yang] terlalu tahu.<sup>995</sup> Isti'dād itulah kelengkapan [36] yang sedia didalam 'Ilmu Allāh Ta'ālā. Kata Ahlu'l-Sulūk isti'dād tiada berpindah dan tiada dipindahkan Allāh Subḥānahu wa Ta'ālā. Yang sedia [itu] Shu'ūn Dhāt Subḥānahu wa Ta'ālā - sedia terhantar didalam 'IlmuNya - kerana, kata Ahlu'l-Sulūk, [pada] suatu 'ibārat 'Ilmu menurutkan Ma'lūm. Seperti laut terhantar; ombak juga yang pergi-datang, timbul-karam. Tetapi, pada suatu 'ibārat, jika tiada laut tiada ombak timbul. Pada 'ibārat ini ombak menurutkan laut; ya'nī Ma'lūm menurutkan 'Ilmu.<sup>996</sup> Adapun kepada 'Ulamā' Ma'lūm juga menurutkan 'Ilmu, kerana pada 'Ulamā' isti'dād aṣlī tiada masuk bilang. Apa kehendak 'Alīm timbul seperti rupa kehendakNya itu. Adapun kata Ahlu'l-Sulūk isti'dād aṣlī [itu] ada dalam 'IlmuNya, seperti firmān<sup>997</sup> Allāh Ta'ālā:

---

994. Text incorrect: Khaliq.

995. Yang terlalu tahu is the rendering of 'Alīm: Omniscient.

996. Text incorrect: 'alim.

997. Text: sabda.

Wa mā minnā illā lahu maqāmūn ma'lūm.<sup>998</sup>

ya'nī:

[Tiada suatu pun] barang daripada Kami  
melainkan [ada] baginya tempat [yang di] ketahui.

Lagi kata Ahlu'l-Sulūk isti'dād itu Shu'ūn Dhāt juga, belum bercherai dengan Dhāt, sedia sentosha dalam Dhāt pada 'ibārat ini. Adapun pada ḥaqīqat[nya] semata dengan Dhāt juga, seperti kata Shaykh Muḥyī'l-Dīn ibnu'l-'Arabī (raḍiyā'LLāhu 'anhu!):

"Kunnā hurūfan 'āliyātan lam nu[n]qal  
Muta'alliqātin bi'l-dāri<sup>999</sup> 'alā'l-qulal ...

Ya'nī:

"Dahulu ada kami ḥurūf yang mahatinggi  
tiada dipindahkan, Tergantung dengan  
istananya diatas puchak gunung ...

... Kuntu anā [anta] fīhi wa nahnu  
anta wa anta huwa ...

ya'nī:

... Aku engkau dalamnya (ya'nī dalam  
pu[n]chak gunung [37] itu), dan kami  
sekalian engkau, dan engkau Ia ...

... Fa'l-kullu fī huwa huwa fa's'al 'an  
man waṣal."

... Bermula: Sekalian dalam Ia, Ia-  
maka bertanya[lah] engkau kepada  
barangsiapa yang waṣal."

Adapun kata Shaykh Muḥyī'l-Dīn [ibnu]'l-'Arabī ishārat kepada

---

998. Text incorrect: illā laha maqāmi ma'lūmi. Qur'ān 37:164.

999. Text incorrect: bidari.



isti'dād aṣlī itu juga. Seperti sepuhun kayu dalam bijinya sedia ada serta dengan biji itu, belum berpindah dan tiada dipindahkan, kerana belum bercherai dengan biji itu. Apabila bergerak daripada tempatnya hendak keluar, maka berpindah namanya dan dipindahkan daripada tempatnya. Dan [demikian lagi dengan isti'dād aṣlī, apabila bergerak dipindahkan daripada tempatnya, dan] 'IlmuNya dan IrādatNya dengan KalāmNya dengan Sami'Nya dengan BaṣarNya - sekalian bergerak sama-sama, ilā abadi'l-ābād.<sup>1000</sup> Kepada 'Ulamā' ma'lūmāt dengan isti'dādnya itu ḥādith dan berpindah dan dijadikan seperti tukang atau utus hendak berbuat rumah. Bicharanya itu dengan isti'dād ma'lūmātnya. Maka diperbuat sebuah rumah. Rumah itu makhlūq, rupa rumah yang dalam bicharanya itu pun makhlūq; ḥādith keduanya. Kata Ahlu'l-Sulūk apabila demikian pada Qadīm Allāh Subḥānahu wa Ta'ālā tiada dengan 'IlmuNya lagi - lagi baharu berbichara hendak menjadikan islām dan kāfir<sup>1001</sup> ṣāliḥ dan fāsiq. Apabila demikian, sungguh pun Qadīm, tiada dengan IlmuNya, bebal hukumnya; sungguh pun Raja, tiada dengan tenteranya, lemah hukumnya; sungguh pun Berpengetahuan, tiada berkelengkapan, segan<sup>1002</sup> hukumnya; sungguh pun 'Ādil, ḡālim hukumnya. [38] Apabila [baharu saja] hendak berbichara, bebal hukumnya; apabila tiada kekayaan

---

1000. Text incorrect: illā bada illā bādinya.

1001. Text has: kāfir dan islām; I have reversed the order for the sake of consistency.

1002. Segan: To be hesitant - a sluggard. Segan is a defective attribute and can therefore never be applied to God.

[dan] baharu [saja] hendak mengadakan, faqīr hukumnya; apabila berpengetahuan [tetapi] tiada berbuat, segan hukumnya; apabila munāfiq dan kāfir tiada padanya, maka dijadikanNya kāfir [dan] sudah dijadikanNya kāfir maka dimasukkanNya kedalam neraka, ḡālim hukumnya. Akan Allāh Subḥānahu wa Ta'ālā tiada demikian. Jikalau ada ṣifāt demikian padanya, nāqiṣ hukumnya. Barangsiapa i'tiqādnya demikian ḡalālat hukumnya. Adapun kata Ahlu'l-Sulūk, pada suatu 'ibārat ma'lūmat Allāh qadīm kerana isti'dād aṣlī itu kelakuan DhātNya juga, dan sekalian periNya juga. Adapun Jamāl kelakuan yang baik, Jalāl kelakuan sekalian yang jahat. Tetapi pada ḥaqīqatnya sekalian baik kerana sekalian itu periNya dan kelakuanNya juga. Mithal suatu anak panah, jika tiada betul tiada berguna pada yang empunya;<sup>1003</sup> mata kawe,<sup>1004</sup> jika tiada bengkok tiada beroleh ikan; jarum, jika tiada betul tiada dapat menjahit. Menjadi jahat [atau baik] masing-masing pada gunanya, kerana keduanya daripada Jalāl dan Jamāl juga. Inilah ma'nā isti'dād yang sedia.

(19) Fa'lam - Kerana Sifāt ini dengan Kamāl<sup>1005</sup> al-Ḥakīm.

Ya'nī sempurna mengadakan [dengan] Ḥikmat. Maka dikatakan sempurna mengadakan [dengan] Ḥikmat kerana utus mengenakan semesta sekalian pada tempatnya; ya'nī menge-

---

1003. Text repetitive.

1004. I.e.: Achehnese form for mata kail.

1005. Text: kamal.

luarkan ma'lūmāt daripada 'IlmuNya [dengan] tiada [39] bertukar. Asal langit dijadikanNya langit; asal bumi dijadikanNya [bumi]; asal 'arsh dijadikanNya 'arsh; asalnya kursī dijadikanNya kursī; asal laut dijadikanNya laut; asal darat dijadikanNya darat - ya'nī menjadikan semesta sekalian ini dengan HikmatNya dan dengan Hukum<sup>1006</sup> Isti'dād yang sedia itu juga. Maka sempurna [Ia] bernama wa huwa'l-'azīzu'l-hakīm.<sup>1007</sup> Jika ditukariNya perbuatanNya yang sedia ada itu tiada Hakīm hukumnya memangsakan perbuatan yang sedia itu, kerana perbuatan yang sedia itu sudah [dari asalnya]<sup>1008</sup> permai. Jika belum sudah atau belum permai, maka harus diperbaikinya; "Jadi kau" [yang] dikatakan selamanya ini belum permai sekarang hendak [pula] mengubah yang sedia. Itu tiada sempurna Hakīm hukumnya. Olehnya itu maka yang baik dihantar kepada baik, yang jahat dihantar kepada jahat. Jikalau sekalian 'ālam dijadikanNya islām, dan kāfir tiada dijadikanNya, nāqis hukumnya; jikalau sekalian dijadikanNya kāfir, islām tiada dijadikanNya, nāqis hukumnya; jikalau shurga dijadikanNya, neraka tiada dijadikanNya, nāqis hukumnya; jikalau neraka dijadikanNya, shurga tiada dijadikanNya, [nāqis hukumnya]. Kerana ini semesta sekalian dikeluarkanNya daripada isti'dād ma'lūmātNya kepada 'ālam

---

1006. Text: hukumnya.

1007. Qur'an, 14:4.

1008. Text: sudah lagi. Lagi here conveys the meaning: dari asalnya.

dengan sempurnanya, tiada bertukar, kerana NamaNya wa huwa'l-'azīzu'l-ḥakīm.<sup>1009</sup>

(20) Fa'lam - Bernama Bismi'LLāhi'l-Raḥmāni'l-Raḥīm.

Ya'nī kerana Ṣifāt yang termazkūr<sup>1010</sup> [40] ini maka [Ia] bernama Bismi'LLāhi'l-Raḥmāni'l-Raḥīm. Adapun suatu ma'nā, kepada Sharī'at, Bismi'LLāh ya'nī: Dengan Nama Allāh: adapun al-Raḥmān ya'nī: Yang Mahamurah (dalam dunyā); adapun al-Raḥīm [ya'nī: Yang] Mengasihani (dalam ākhirat). Adapun suatu ma'nā, kepada Ḥaqīqat, Bismi'LLāh [itu] Nama Dhāt, perhimpunan segala Nama seperti sudah termaz kūr; adapun al-Raḥmān [itu] pertama memberi Raḥmat bagi semesta sekalian 'ālam - ya'nī menjadikan semesta sekalian, seperti firmān<sup>1011</sup> Allāh Ta'ālā:

Wasi'ta kulla shay'in raḥmatan wa 'ilman.<sup>1012</sup>

ya'nī:

[Wahai Tuhanku,] Kauluaskan [pada] semesta sekalian Raḥmat dan pengetahuan.

Itulah Raḥmān empunya Raḥmat memberikan wujud pada semesta sekalian 'ālam. Olehnya memberikan wujud akan semesta sekalian 'ālam maka bernama Raḥmān. Islām dan kāfir,<sup>1013</sup> shurga dan neraka, ḥalāl dan ḥarām, baik dan jahat daripada

---

1009. Qur'ān, 14:4.

1010. Text incorrect: termazkūr.

1011. Text: sabda.

1012. Qur'ān, 40:7.

1013. Text: kāfir dan islām. I have reversed the order for the sake of consistency.

rahmat Raḥman beroleh wujud. Itulah maka bernama Raḥmān. Adapun Raḥīm itu ditakhṣīṣkan semesta sekalian yang baik, dan ditakhṣīṣkan Anbiyā' dan Awliya' dan Ṣāliḥīn dan segala islām - tiada berchampur [takhṣīṣnya]. Adapun Raḥmān berchampur [takhṣīṣnya]. Kerana ini maka bernama Bismi' Llāhi' l-Raḥmān' l-Raḥīm.

(21) Fa'lam - 'Ilmu itu Haqīqat Muḥammad al-Nabī.

Tatakala diḡahir[kan] ketengah padang  
Nyatalah 'ishq yang dalam kandang  
Disanalah hukum pandang-memandang  
Berahi dan dendam tiada bersedang.

Dua qaws suatu kandang  
Barzakh diantaranya pula [41] terbentang  
Harus rā'ikan<sup>1014</sup> ini orang<sup>1015</sup>  
Upama tamthīl besi dan pedang.

Ya'nī 'Ilmu yang melihat ma'lūmāt itu Haqīqat Muḥammad (ṣalla' Llāhu 'alayhi wa sallam!). Antara<sup>1016</sup> 'Alim dan Ma'lūm itulah asal Chahaya Muḥammad (ṣalla' Llāhu 'alayhi wa sallam!) pertama bercherai daripada Dhāt. Adapun pada satu 'ibārat itulah bernama Rūḥ Idāfī; ya'nī Nyawa Berchampur; dan pada suatu 'ibārat 'Aql al-Kullī namanya, [ya'nī] Perhimpunan segala Buddi; dan pada suatu 'ibārat Nūr namanya, ya'nī Chahaya; [dan] pada suatu 'ibārat Qalam al-A'lā

---

1014. Text has: rā'īkah.

1015. I suspect ~~that~~ these two quatrains are also wandering quatrains - inserted here mainly as an embellishment to the commentary. But see below, p. 606 for a fuller explanation.

1016. Text repetitive.

namanya, ya'nī Qalam yang Mahatinggi; dan pada suatu 'ibārat Lawḥ namanya, ya'nī Papan tempat Menyurat. Kerana itulah maka sabda Rasūlu'Llāh (ṣalla'Llāhu 'alayhi wa sallam!):

"Awwal mā khalaqa'Llāhu Ta'ālā'l-rūḥ<sup>1017</sup>  
awwal mā khalaqa'Llāhu Ta'ālā'l-nūr<sup>1018</sup>  
awwal mā khalaqa'Llāhu Ta'ālā'l-'aql<sup>1019</sup>  
awwal mā khalaqa'Llāhu Ta'ālā'l-qalam."<sup>1020</sup>

ya'nī maka sebab Nabī (ṣalla'Llāhu 'alayhi wa sallam!) mengatakan sekalian awwal [itu ialah] kerana 'Ilmu hidup dinamai Rūḥ; kerana 'Ilmu itu ma'lūmāt kelihatan dinamai Nūr; kerana 'Ilmu itu mencharakan segala ma'lūmāt dinamainya 'Aql; kerana 'Ilmu itu tasurat rupa ma'lūmāt dinamai Lawḥ; kerana 'Ilmu itu menjadi ḥurūf sekalian ma'lūmāt dinamai Qalam - kerana itulah maka sabda Rasūlu'Llāh (ṣalla'Llāhu 'alayhi wa sallam!):

"Awwal mā khalaqa'l-Lāhu Ta'ālā'l-rūḥ  
 dan awwal mā khalaqa'l-Lāhu Ta'ālā'l-nūr -  
 kerana Rūḥ dan Nūr [42] itulah maka ma'lūmāt jadi. Seperti firmān Allāh Ta'ālā [didalam Ḥadīth Qudsī]:  
Law lāka lamā khalaqtu'l-aflāk.<sup>1021</sup>

1017. Text: ... Ta'ālā rūḥ.

1018. Text: ... Ta'ālā nūrī.

1019. Text: ... Ta'ālā'aql.

1020. Text: ... Ta'ālā qalam.

1021. Text corrupt: ... khalaqtu alā aflāk.

ya'nī:

Jikalau tiada engkau tiadakan Kujadikan  
ketujuh langit dan ketujuh bumi (dan  
semesta sekalian Kujadikan daripada  
Chahaya Muhammad jua).

Jika tiada Chahaya Muhammad itu tiada akan jadi semesta  
sekalian. Dan lagi firmān Allāh Ta'ālā [didalam Ḥadīth  
Qudsī]:

Khalaqtu'l-[kulla] li ajlika wa khalaqtuka  
li ajlī.

ya'nī:

Kujadikan semesta sekalian keranamu;  
engkau [Ku]jadi[kan] keranaKu (ya'nī  
semesta sekalian jadi daripada Chahaya  
Muhammad; yang Chahaya itu jadi daripada  
Dhāt Allāh).

Jika tiada dengan 'Ilmu itu, Allāh Subḥānahu wa Ta'ālā  
tiadakan ḡāhir; [dan] tiada 'Ālim, [Chahaya] Muhammad tiada  
akan ḡāhir. Seperti sabda Rasūlu'LLāh (ṣalla'LLāhu 'alayhi  
wa sallam!):

"Kuntu nabiyyan wa Ādama bayna'l-mā'i  
wa'l-tīn."

ya'nī:

"Ada aku terlebih dahulu sebagai Nabī  
tatakala Ādam masih lagi diantara  
air dan tanah."<sup>1022</sup>

---

1022. Text is rather awkward:

"Ādaku dahulu, dahulu Nabī tatakala itu  
Adam lagi antara air dan tanah."

Ḥadīth ini ishārat kepada air jua,<sup>1023</sup> kerana Ādam dan semesta sekalian jadi daripada Chahaya itu jua. Chahaya 'Ilmu itu<sup>1024</sup> Ma'lūm. Lagi sabda Rasūl'LLāh (ṣalla'LLāhu 'alayhi wa sallam!):

"Ādamu abū'l-bashari wa anā  
abū'l-arwāḥ."

ya'nī:

"Ādam bapa segala tubuh [dan] aku<sup>1025</sup>  
bapa segala nyawa."  
(ya'nī yang dikatakan Nabī (ṣalla'LLāhu  
'alayhi wa sallam!): "Awwal mā khalaqa'L-  
lāhu Ta'ālā'l-rūḥ ... pada hukumnya<sup>1026</sup> nyawa  
itulah Muḥammad (ṣalla'LLāhu 'alayhi wa  
sallam!). [Lagi sabda Nabī (ṣalla'LLāhu 'alayhi  
sallam!):] "Anā mina'LLāhi wa'l-mu'minūna minnī" -  
ya'nī: "Aku daripada Allāh dan segala  
Mu'min [43] daripadaku.")

Lagi sabda Nabī (ṣalla'LLāhu 'alayhi wa sallam!):

"Anā mina'LLāhi wa'l-'ālamu minnī."

ya'nī:

"Aku daripada Allāh dan sekalian 'ālam  
daripadaku."

Lagi sabda Nabī (ṣalla'LLāhu 'alayhi wa sallam!):

"Anā min nūri'LLāhi wa'l-mu'minūna<sup>1027</sup>  
min nūrī."

---

1023. See text, pp.57-58.

1024. Text: itu 'ilmu.

1025. Text has: Muḥammad.

1026. Text is garbled: ... pada hukumnya pada hukum nyawa ...  
etc.

1027. Text has 'ālamu, but this is inconsistent with the  
Malay translations.



ya'nī:

"Aku daripada Chahaya Allāh. Bermula:  
segala mu'min daripada chahayaku.

Kerana sekalian kata ini maka dikatakan 'Ilmu Ḥaqīqat  
Muḥammad [al-Nabī].

(22) Fa'lam - Menurutkan Ma'lūm dengan lengkap[nya] qawī.

Ya'nī memberi Chahaya akan Ma'lūm. Jika tiada 'Ilmu,  
Ma'lūm tiada dapat keluar daripada isti'dād aṣlī. Kerana  
itu maka dikatakan menurutkan Ma'lūm. Mithal laut; jika  
tiada laut ombak pun tiada akan timbul; demikian lagi rupa  
ma'lūmāt timbul daripada 'Ilmu. Kerana ini maka pada hukum  
sharī'at Ma'lūm menurutkan 'Ilmu, kerana jika tiada 'Ilmu  
tiada kelihatan ma'lūmāt. Dan pada suatu 'ibārat mereka itu  
sekalian daripada Chahaya Esa itu juga, seperti kata Lam'at:

"Al-'aynu wāḥidatun<sup>1028</sup> wa'l-ḥukmu mukhtalifun  
wa dhāka sirran<sup>1029</sup> li ahli'l-'ilmi<sup>1030</sup> yankashifun."<sup>1031</sup>

ya'nī:

"Yang semata itu esa juga. Bermula: jalannya  
berlain-lain. Bermula: acharanya bertukar-tukar,  
Dan yang demikian rahasia bagi yang  
mengetahui dan berpengetahuan juga dapat  
me[m]bu[k]a[k]an dia."

Ya'nī seperti tanah; dijadikannya berbagai-bagai akan dia;  
adakan buyung, adakan periuk - asalnya tanah sebangsa

1028. Text incorrect: wāḥidun.

1029. Text incorrect: last radical should be written with  
an alif in the accusative case.

1030. Text incorrect: 'ilmu.

1031. Text incorrect: munkasifun. See Lam'at XI, Lama'āt,  
p.341.

hukumnya. Berbagai-bagai segala bejana<sup>1032</sup> itu beroleh [rechana]- dan peri daripada tanah juga. Akan 'ālam pun demikian [44] lagi; sungguh pun berbagai-bagai asalnya daripada Chahaya itu juga.

(23) Fa'lam - Tuhan kita itu yang empunya Kamāl.

Ya'ni sempurna dengan semesta sekalian peri. Jikalau suatu kurang daripadanya, tiada sempurna Kamāl NamaNya. Jikalau islām dijadikanNya, kāfir tiada dijasikan-Nya; atau ṣāliḥ dijadikanNya, fāsiq tiada dijasikan[Nya]; shurga dijadikanNya, neraka tiada dijadikanNya; atau baik dijadikanNya, jahat tiada dijadikanNya - tiada [Ia] Kamāl hukumnya. Kerana ini maka pada hukum sharī'at -

'Khayrihi wa sharrihi mina'LLāhi Ta'ālā.'

ya'nī:

'Baik dan jahat daripada Allāh Ta'ālā.'

Barangsiapa tiada membawa īmān demikian [ia itu] kāfir -  
na'ūdhu bi'LLāhi minhā! Firmān Allāh Ta'ālā:

Qul kullun min 'indi'LLāh.<sup>1033</sup>

ya'nī:

Katakan olehmu (yā Muhammad), semesta  
sekalian daripada Allāh Ta'ālā.  
Seperti firman Allāh Ta'ālā:

---

1032. Text has: bajan, but this refers to a particular type of pan, i.e. frying pan. I prefer bejana as this refers to any vessel, which is consistent with the description given in the preceding sentence.

1033. Qur'an, 4:77.

Wa'LLāhu khalaqakum wa mā ta'malūn.<sup>1034</sup>

[ya'nī]:

Bermula: Allāh menjadikan kamu dan segala perbuatan kamu.

Lagi firmān Allāh Ta'ālā:

Wa lā ḥawla wa lā quwwata illā bi'LLāhi'l-  
'aliyyai'l-'azīm.<sup>1035</sup>

[ya'nī:]

Bermula: Tiada mengeliling<sup>1036</sup> dan tiada kuasa melainkan dengan Allāh yang Mahatinggi dan Mahabesar juga.

Seperti sabda Nabī ( ṣalla'LLāhu 'alayhi wa sallam! ):

"Lā tatharraka dharratun illā bi idhni'LLāh."

ya'nī:

"Tiada bergerak suatu dharrat jua pun melainkan dengan firmān Allāh - kehendak Allāh."

Dalam hukum shari'at, sungguh pun daripada Allāh baik dan jahat, tetapi Allāh Ta'ālā raḍī kepada yang baik, tiada raḍī [45] kepada [yang] jahat. Adapun pada kata ini terlalu mushkil, tiada terbichara oleh<sup>1037</sup> Ahlu'l-Sulūk kerana Jalāl pun SifatNya, Jamāl pun SifatNya, betapa maka tiada rāḍi kepada SifatNya? Dan adapun jika dibawa kepada isti'dād aṣlī dapat, kerana keduanya ḥāḍir<sup>1038</sup> disana. Sungguh pun Ia

1034. Qur'ān, 37:96.

1035. Qur'ān, 18:40.

1036. An example of an extremely literal translation from the Arabic: ḥawl.

1037. Text: olehnya.

1038. Text corrupt: ḥāṣir.

mengeluarkan keduanya disana, tetapi pada yang baik raḍī, kepada [yang] jahat tiada raḍī.<sup>1039</sup> Tetapi su'āl [ini su'āl] bāqī!

(24) Fa'lam - Didalam 'IlmuNya itu tiada panah zawāl.<sup>1040</sup>

Ya'nī 'IlmuNya tiada panah bercherai dengan Ma'lūmNya. Jika bercherai dengan Ma'lūmNya, tiada hukumnya Kamāl, kerana ma'lūmat kebesaran 'Ālim. Jikalau 'Ālim tiada berma'lūm, binasa kebesaran 'Ālim dan kerajaan 'Ālim, kerana ma'lūmāt itu kebesaran 'Ālim dan kekayaan<sup>1041</sup> 'Ālim. Adapun pada suatu 'ibārat ma'lūmāt ḥādith<sup>1042</sup> kerana ia daripada 'Ilmu, 'Ilmu daripada Ḥayāt, Ḥayāt daripada Dhāt, [Dhāt] dahulu daripada sekalian. Pada hukumnya ma'lūmāt ḥādith. Adapun ikhtilāf pada ikhtiyār, yang pada hukum sharī'at ikhtiyār akan makhlūq, [iaitu menurut hukum sharī'at] ada diberi Allāh ikhtiyār akan dia. Jikalau ia berbuat baik, shurga diperolehnya; jikalau [ia] berbuat jahat neraka diperolehnya - dengan ikhtiyārnya. Kata Ahlu'l-Sulūk, jikalau demikian khayrihi wa sharrihi mina'LLāhi Ta'ālā binasa. Adapun [pada] kami makhlūq tiada berikhtiyār. Apabila tiada [ia] berwujūd tiada[lah ia] berikhtiyār. Seperti firmān Allāh:

---

1039. Text: raḍīnya.

1040. Text incorrect: zawal.

1041. The text is corrupt.

1042. The text is corrupt.

Wa law shā'a'LLāhu laja'alukum ummatan  
[46] wāhidatan wa lākin yuḍillu man yashā'u  
wa yahdi man yashā'.<sup>1043</sup>

ya'nī:

Jika hendak menjadikan kamu umat<sup>1044</sup>  
 suatu dapat, tetapi menyesatkan<sup>1044</sup>  
 dengan kehendakNya, menunjukkan jalan  
 yang betul dengan kehendakNya.

Daripada<sup>1045</sup> makhlūq tiada berwujud, manakan beroleh ia itu  
 ikhtiyār? Dengarkan [pula] oleh kamu tamthīl kami. Seperti  
 seorang pandai besi; ada sebuah besi padanya, pusaka daripada  
 nini moyangnya. Isti'dād besi itu layak akan keris. Maka  
 dipandangnya dengan 'ilmunya besi itu layak akan keris. Maka  
 ditempanya keris. Setelah sudah ditempanya maka dipakai[nya].  
 [Be]berapa lamanya maka [ia] menikam orang dengan keris itu.  
 [Perbuatan ini] dengan ikhtiyār<sup>1046</sup> tuan keris,<sup>1047</sup> tiada  
 dengan [ikhtiyār] keris. Daripada awal datang kepada akhir  
 ikhtiyār empunya keris jua, tiada<sup>1048</sup> ikhtiyār keris. Yang  
 empunya keris pun [berbuat perbuatan yang] muwāfaqat dengan  
 isti'dād keris (seperti seorang<sup>1049</sup> dikāfirkanNya dengan  
 isti'dād qadīmnya; ikhtiyār Allāh Subḥānahu wa Ta'ālā  
 muwāfaqat dengan isti'dād itu jua). Seqadar itu dapat  
 dikatakan ikhtiyār akan makhlūq, kerana isti'dād makhlūqāt

---

1043. Qur'ān, 16:93.

1044. The text is corrupt.

1045. Daripada here conveys the meaning: Oleh kerana.

1046. Text: ikhtiyārnya.

1047. Text garbled: tuan dengan keris.

1048. Text repetitive: tiada tiada.

1049. Text: seorang-orang.

didalam 'IlmuNya - ya'nī didalam 'Ilmu Allāh - tiada panah  
zawāl.<sup>1050</sup>

(25) Fa'lam - Raḥmān dalamnya perhimpunan Jalāl.

Ya'nī Raḥmān, empunya Raḥmat yang dahulu [telah  
dinyatakan],<sup>1051</sup> tatakala memberi wujud<sup>1052</sup> akan semesta  
sekalian 'ālam dengan Kamāl tiada bercherai. Seperti firmān  
Allāh Ta'ālā:

Al-Raḥmān

'Allama'l-Qur'ān

Khalāqa'l-insān

'Allamahu'l-bayān.<sup>1053</sup>

ya'nī:

Raḥman itu / Yang mengajar [47] Qur'ān,  
(kalām Allāh yang qadīm, dengan ishārat). /  
Khalāqa'l-insān - ya'nī Menjadikan  
insān (dengan Raḥmat yang qadīm) /  
Maka diajarinya semesta sekalian yang  
kelihatan.

Adapun suatu Ḥadīth lagi sabda Nabī (ṣalla'llāhu 'alayhi  
wa sallam!):

"Lā tasubbū'l-riyāḥa<sup>1054</sup> innahā min nafasi<sup>1055</sup>  
'l-Raḥmān."<sup>1056</sup>

1050. Text incorrect: zawal.

1051. See above, p. 40 of the text.

1052. Text has Malay form: ujūd.

1053. Qur'ān, 55:1-4.

1054. Text incorrect: riyāḥi.

1055. Text incorrect: nafsi.

1056. Cf. Lama'āt, p. 334.

ya'nī:

"Jangan kamu menyumpah angin; bahwa-sanya ia daripada nafas Raḥmān."

Ishārat disini sedikit [tetapi] ma'nānya banyak. Suatu ma'nānya: ia banyak fā'idahnya.<sup>1057</sup> Lagi sabda Nabī (ṣalla'llāhu 'alāhi wa sallama!):

"Inna'llāha khalāqa Ādama 'alā ṣurati'l-Raḥmān."

ya'nī:

"Bahwasanya Allāh Ta'ālā menjadikan Adam atas rupa Raḥmān."

Maka ditakhṣīṣkan<sup>1058</sup> Allāh Subḥānahu wa Ta'ālā atas Rupa Raḥmān itu [iaitu] tiada bercherai dengan Nama Allāh Ta'ālā (ya'nī Raḥmān itulah wujud<sup>1059</sup> semesta sekalian 'ālam). Adapun suatu 'ibārat, Ādam pun suatu 'ālam lagi; pada Sharī'at 'ālam ṣaghīr, pada Haqīqat 'ālam kabīr. Seperti firmān [Allāh] Ta'ālā:

Al-Raḥmānu 'alā'l-'arshi' stawā.<sup>1060</sup>

ya'nī:

Raḥmān diatas 'arsh sama.

Barangsiapa<sup>1061</sup> tiada fikir akan āyat ini [ ia itu] kufr, kerana disini banyak dalīl mutashābihāt.<sup>1062</sup> Kata Ahlu'l-

1057. Text incorrect: fa'idāh.

1058. Text incorrect: ditakhṣīṣ akan.

1059. Text in the Malay form: ujūd.

1060. Qur'an, 20:5.

1061. Barangsiapa in text preceded by ya'nī.

1062. Text incorrect: mutashābihāt.

Sulūk, [āyat itu] pada ḥaqīqat semesta sekalian makhḷūqāt -  
 ya'nī [ḥaqīqat semesta sekalian makhḷūqāt itu] pada 'arsh  
 ḥukumnya, [sungguh pun] tiada demikian takhṣīṣ<sup>1063</sup> tempat  
 akan Allāh Ta'ālā, jika demikian takhṣīṣ tempat adapun.<sup>1064</sup>  
 Maka dikatakan Jalāl sebab perhimpunan segala wujūd daripada  
 RaḥmatNya qadīm. [48]

(26) Fa'lam - Berserta dengan Raḥīm pada sekalian jamāl.

Ya'nī Raḥīm [itu iaitu] raḥmat takhaṣṣuṣ pada  
 sekalian Jamāl, kerana Jamāl Ṣifat segala perbuatan yang  
 baik, khuṣūṣan akan Anbiyā dan Awliyā dan Ṣāliḥin dan  
 'Āshiqīn dan 'Ārifīn - banyak lagi mithalnya tiada tersebut.  
 Sekalian ini daripada Jamāl ḥukumnya. Adapun firmān Allāh  
 Ta'ālā:

Fa subḥāna'l-ladhī biyadihi malakūtu  
kulli shay'in wa ilayhi turja'un.<sup>1065</sup>

ya'nī:

Maka mahasuchi Tuhan Ia itu dengan  
 tangan[Nya] [memegang] ḥaqīqat sekalian!  
 Bermula: kepadaNya jua [kamu akan  
 di] pulang[kan].

Lagi firmān Allāh Ta'ālā:

Khalaqtu bi yadayya.<sup>1066</sup>

ya'nī:

Kujadikan [dengan] kedua tanganKu.

1063. Text incorrect: takhṣīṣ.

1064. ... jika demikian takhṣīṣ tempat adapun, i.e. sekalipun  
ada ditakhṣīṣkan tempat seperti demikian.

1065. Qur'ān 23:89.

1066. Qur'ān 38:75.



[Kedua tangan itu] ya'nī Qudrat dan Irādat juga, tiada seperti tangan makhlūq. Pada suatu 'ibārat, kedua tangan itu ya'nī Jamāl dan Jalāl; Jamāl mithal [tangan] kanan, Jalāl mithal [tangan] kiri. Sekalian yang baik menjadi dari[pada yang] kanan, [sekalian] yang jahat menjadi daripada [yang] kiri. Adapun jangan dii'tiqādkan Allāh Ta'ālā bertangan,<sup>1067</sup> atau berkiri-kanan, kerana Ia mahasuchi daripada bertangan dan suchi daripada kiri [dan] kanan. Adapun Jamāl hukumnya daripada Şifat<sup>1068</sup> Raḥīm,<sup>1069</sup> tetapi tiada bercherai dengan Raḥmān yang qadīm.

(27) Fa'lam - Tuhan kita itu bernama 'Aliyy.<sup>1070</sup>

Ya'nī Mahatinggi, tiada terḥisābkan dan tiada ter'ibāratkan sekian<sup>1071</sup> lamanya, sebab kesudahan NamaNya [itu] Huwa. Adapun Huwa itulah maka dikatakan 'Aliyy sebab [Ia] ismu ishāratin kepada Dhāt. Adapun Dhāt itu, sungguh pun [49] dibawa<sup>1072</sup> kepada 'ibārat, kepada kunhiNya tiada siapa tahu akan [Dia], kerana Ia tiada dapat di'ibāratkan. Sungguh pun Esa, tiada dengan esanya; sungguh pun Tunggal, tiada dengan tunggalnya. Barang Şifāt, Dhāt, Asmā', kita nisbatkan kepadaNya 'ibārat juga.

1067. Text corrupt: berbangan.

1068. Text incorrect: şifāt.

1069. Text incorrect: Raḥīm.

1070. See Qur'ān, Surah 87.

1071. Text: sekalian, but sekian appropriate.

1072. Text corrupt: dibawah.

(28) Fa'lam - Dengan sekalian Şifāt[Nya] nantiasa bāqī.

Ya'nī nantiasa kekal dengan segala periNya ilā abadi'l-ābād - tiada bercherai dengan Şifāt[Nya]. Seperti dahulu tiada panah bercherai dengan ŞifātNya, kemudian pun demikian jua tiada akan bercherai dengan ŞifātNya. Dahulu atau kemudian, atau suatu ada suatu tiada kepadaNya, atau Şifat dahulu ada kemudian lenyap, atau dahulu tiada kemudian datang kepadaNya - [semua ini] nāqış hukumnya. Inilah ma'nā [dengan sekalian ŞifātNya] nantiasa bāqī.

(29) Fa'lam - 'Ala jamī'i'l-'ālamīn ĀthārNya<sup>1073</sup> jadi.

Ya'nī diatas segala 'ālam BekasNya lalu; seperti air sungai lalu tiada berkeputusan [dan] tiada berkesudahan. Seperti firmān Allāh Ta'ālā:

Kulla yawmin huwa fī shā'n.<sup>1074</sup>

ya'nī:

Pada segala hari Ia itu dalam kelakuanNya. Kata Ahlu'l-Sulūk ma'nā 'hari' [itu] 'sekejap mata, 'kerana pada Allāh hari tiada. Lagi firmān Allāh Ta'ālā:

Allāhu nūru'l-samāwāti wa'l-arḍi  
mathalu nurihi ...<sup>1075</sup>

ya'nī:

Allāh jua yang menerang ChahayaNya  
ketujuh langit dan ketujuh bumi  
Seperti ChahayaNya ...

---

1073. Text incorrect: atharNya.

1074. Qur'ān, 55:29.

1075. Qur'ān, 24:35. Cp. Lama'at, p.338.

Kata Ahlu'l-Sulūk 'alam ini kenyataanNya jua, kerana [Allāh] Subḥānahu wa Ta'ālā dengan DhātNya, dengan ṢifātNya, dengan Af'alNya,<sup>1076</sup> dengan ĀthārNya<sup>1077</sup> nantiasa nyata [50]. Sebab ini maka kata Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddīq<sup>1078</sup> (raḍiya'Llāhu 'anhu!):

"Mā ra'aytu shay'an illā wa ra'aytu'Llāha qablahu."

ya'nī:

"Tiada kulihat suatu melainkan kulihat Allāh dahulunya."

Kata 'Umar (raḍiya'Llāhu 'anhu!):

"Ma ra'aytu shay'an illā wa ra'aytu'Llāha ba'dahu."

[ya'nī:]

"Tiada kulihat suatu melainkan kulihat Allāh kemudian[nya]."

Kata 'Uthmān (raḍiya'Llāhu 'anhu!):

"Mā ra'aytu shay'an illā wa ra'aytu'Llāha ma'ahu."

ya'nī:

"Tiada kulihat suatu melainkan kulihat Allāh sertanya."

Kata 'Alī (raḍiya'Llāhu 'anhu!):

"Mā ra'aytu shay'an illā wa ra'aytu'Llāha fīhi."

ya'nī:

"Tiada kulihat suatu melainkan kulihat Allāh dalamnya."

1076. Text incorrect: af'alNya.

1077. Text incorrect: āthārNya.

1078. Abū Bakrini'l-Ṣiddīq is written in the text vocalized with a nun in Bakrini.

Keempatnya 'ulyā ma'rifat mereka itu, kerana firmān Allāh Ta'ālā:

Fa aynamā tuwallū fa thamma<sup>1079</sup> wajhu'LLāh.<sup>1080</sup>

ya'nī:

Barang kemana kamu hadapkan muka  
kamu disana [wajhu'LLāh] (ertinya DhātNya) -

[bukan dimaqsūdkan] muka [seperti muka makhluk]; ya'nī Dhāt Allāh Ta'āla tiada bermuka, DhātNya jua yang lengkap kepada semesta sekalian. Seperti firmān Allāh Ta'ālā dalam Zabūr:

Anā'l-mawjūd<sup>1081</sup> fa'tlubnī tajidnī  
fa'in taṭluba<sup>1082</sup> siwā'ī lam tajidnī.

ya'nī:

Aku mawjūd, yang kamu tuntutan kamu peroleh,  
jikalau kamu tuntutan lain daripadaKu tiada  
Aku engkau peroleh.

Inilah ĀthārNya<sup>1083</sup> pada sekalian 'ālam.

(30) Fa'lam - Daripada sittu jihāt, sebab inilah, khālī.

Ya'nī [daripada] enam hadapan khālī. Maka dikatakan khālī [kerana] jikalau dikatakan diatas, dibawah Ia; jikalau dikatakan dibawah, diatas Ia; jikalau dikatakan dikiri, dikanan Ia; jikalau dikatakan dikanan, dikiri Ia; jikalau [51] dikatakan dari hadapan, dari belakang Ia; jikalau

1079. Text incorrect: fa samma.

1080. Qur'ān, 2:115.

1081. Text incorrect: mawjūdi.

1082. Text incorrect: taṭlub.

1083. Text incorrect; in the singular form: atharNya, should be in the plural.

dikatakan dari belakang, dari hadapan Ia, kerana bahwa sanya firmān Allāh Ta'ālā:

Qul huwa' Llāhu aḥad  
Allāhu'l-ṣamad  
Lam yahid wa lam yūlad  
wa lam yakun lahu kufu'an aḥad.<sup>1084</sup>

ya'nī:

Katakan olehmu (yā Muhammad)  
 bahwasanya Allāh Ta'ālā Esa;  
 Lagi Tuhan yang penuh (pada suatu  
 ma'nā: pejal; suatu ma'nā: lengkap).  
 Tiada beranak dan tiada diperanakkan,  
 Dan tiada bagiNya sama suatu pun.

Apabila ṢifātNya demikian, nischaya tiada jihāt akan Dia.

Dan lagi seperti firmān Allāh Ta'ālā:

... Thalāthatin illā huwa rābi'uhum<sup>1085</sup>wa lā  
kamsatin illā huwa sādisuhum  
wa lā adnā min dhālika wa la akthara  
illā huwa ma'ahum.<sup>1086</sup>

ya'nī:

Jikalau orang tiga orang, melainkan Ia  
 jua yang keempatnya dengan mereka itu,  
 bermula: jikalau orang lima orang, melainkan  
 Ia jua yang keenamnya dengan merekaitu;  
 tiada kurang, tiada lebih, melainkan Ia  
 jua serta mereka itu sekalian.

---

1084. Qur'ān, surah 112.

1085. Text incorrect: rabi'uhum.

1086. Qur'ān, 58:7.

Kata itupun ishārat kepada Allāh Subḥānahu wa Ta'ālā tiada berjihāt dan tiada bertempat. 'Ibārat ini sungguh pun sedikit, ma'nānya banyak. Wa'LLāhu a'lam!

(31) Fa'lam - Chahaya ĀthārNya<sup>1087</sup> tiada akan padam.

Ya'nī chahaya BekasNya tiada akan padam. Kerana Allāh Subḥānahu wa Ta'ālā bernama [ẓāhir], ẓāhirNya itu dimanakan padam, kerana Ia nantiasa tiada bercherai dengan ṢifātNya? Adapun pada Hari Qiyāmah, sungguh pun padam, tetapi hukumnya [ẓāhirNya itu] berbunyi<sup>1088</sup> jua didalam bāṭinNya, [dan] bāṭinNya[pun] berbunyi didalam, ẓāhirNya, kerana yang dinamai [52] Awwal pun Ia, yang dinamai Akhir pun Ia, yang dinamai Ẓāhir pun Ia, yang dinamai Bāṭin pun Ia - kerana āthār<sup>1089</sup> ẓāhirNya didalam bāṭinNya tiada padam; āthār bāṭinNya didalam ẓāhirNya tiada padam; [āthār awwalNya didalam ākhirNya tiada padam]; āthār ākhirNya didalam awwalNya tiada padam.

(32) Fa'lam - Memberikan wujud pada sekalian 'ālam.

Ya'nī ĀthārNya<sup>1090</sup> itu pada sekalian 'ālam terlalu nyata, tiada terbunyi, kerana ia wujud daripada Raḥmat Raḥmān, lagi memberikan wujud akan sekalian 'ālam. [Jika] tiada wujud itu, dimana akan beroleh āthār?<sup>1091</sup> Kerana āthār

---

1087. Text incorrect: atharNya.

1088. I.e., terbunyi.

1089. Text incorrect: athar.

1090. Text incorrect: atharNya.

1091. Text incorrect: athar.

sekalian 'ālam daripada āthārNya<sup>1092</sup> jua, maka [ia] beroleh wujud. Seperti tanah; diperbuat kendi, atau periuk, atau buyung, atau tempat. Tanah itulah asal wujud sekalian bejana<sup>1093</sup> itu. Jika tiada tanah itu, dimana kendi dan periuk akan beroleh wujud? Kepada Sharī'at wujud kendi lain, wujud tanah lain. Adapun kepada Ḥaqīqat wujud itulah [tanah]; sekalian bejana tiada wujud, tanah jua [wujud]. Rupa sekalian wahmī jua, tiada ḥaqīqī. Inilah ma'nā memberikan wujud [pada] sekalian 'ālam.

(33) Fa'lam - Menjadikan makhluk siang dan malam.

Ya'nī ĀthārNya<sup>1094</sup> itu yang dinamai wujud kerana menjadi wujud makhlukāt. Seperti bumi; jika tiada hujan dimanakan tumbuh kayu-kayuan? Adapun bumi ditanthīlkan 'Ilmu Allāh; hujan seperti wujud; kayu-kayuan seperti makhluk. Adapun bumi tanah sendirinya, hujan pun air jua sendirinya. [53] Setelah berchampur maka ada kayu-kayuan tumbuh. Adapun kayu-kayuan yang tumbuh daripada bumi dan air<sup>1095</sup> itu [tumbuh] dengan hukum isti'dād jua. Setengah tumbuh menjadi pahit, setengah tumbuh menjadi manis, setengah tumbuh menjadi kelat, setengah tumbuh menjadi hijau, setengah [tumbuh] menjadi merah, setengah tumbuh menjadi putih,

---

1092. Text incorrect: atharNya.

1093. Text: bajan.

1094. Text incorrect: atharNya.

1095. Text repetitive: air-air.

setengah tumbuh menjadi hitam. Warna dengan sekalian rasa [menjadi] dengan [hukum] isti'dād aṣlī juga. Adapun air, serupa air sematanya, tanah pun serupa sematanya tanah. Kayu-kayuan itu tumbuh daripada air dan tanah juga, tetapi rupanya dan warnanya menurut isti'dādnya juga. Seperti firmān Allāh Ta'ālā:

Yusqā<sup>1096</sup> bi mā'in wāḥidin wa nufaḍḍilu  
ba'ḍaha 'ala ba'ḍin fi'l-ukul.<sup>1097</sup>

ya'nī:

Kami beri air daripada suatu air.  
Bermula: kami lebihkan setengahnya  
atas setengahnya dalam rasa segala  
makanan.

Tamthīl ini ditamthīlkan kepada 'ālam: asalnyā daripada wujūd maka menjadi siang dan malam, langit dan bumi; 'arsh dan kursī, shurga dan neraka, islām dan kāfir,<sup>1098</sup> baik dan jahat - [semua ini] dengan hukum isti'dād dirinya jua. Adapun Dhāt Allāh amat suchi. Farq makhluqāt berbagai-bagai kerana ṢifātNya<sup>1099</sup> banyak, Af'ālNya<sup>1100</sup> banyak, AthārNya<sup>1101</sup> banyak, kerana isti'dād sekalian makhluqāt didalam ṢifātNya jua. Perbuatan yang baik daripada Ṣifat<sup>1102</sup> Jamāl, perbuatan

1096. Text incorrect: nusqā.

1097. Qur'an, 13:4.

1098. Text has: kāfir dan islām. I have reversed the order for consistency.

1099. Text incorrect: ṣifatNya.

1100. Text incorrect: af'ālNya.

1101. Text incorrect: atharNya.

1102. Text incorrect: ṣifāt.



yang jahat daripada [Ṣifat] Jalāl. Adapun asal Jalāl<sup>1103</sup>  
 dan Jamāl daripada Wujūd; asal Wujūd [54] daripada Dhāt. Pada  
 ḥaqīqat[nya] sekalian keranaNya juga, lain daripadaNya tiada  
 lulus pada 'ālam ini kerana Ia waḥdahu lā sharīka lahu.<sup>1104</sup>  
 Inilah ma'nā [menjadikan] makhluq siang dan malam.

(34) Fa'lam<sup>1105</sup> - Ilā abadi'l-ābād tiadakan karam.<sup>1106</sup>

Ya'nī kekayaan Allāh nantiasa tiada akan lenyap  
 daripada ma'lūmat datang kedunyā, dari dunyā datang  
 keākhirat, daripada ākhirat datang kepada tiada berkesudahan.  
 Yang isi shurga pun tiada akan lenyap tiada berkesudahan,  
 yang isi neraka pun [tiada akan lenyap] tiada berkesudahan.  
 Seperti firmān Allāh Ta'ālā:

Jaza'uhum 'inda rabbihim jannātu<sup>1107</sup>  
'adnin tajrī min tahtihā'l-anhāru  
khālidīna fihā abadan.<sup>1108</sup>

ya'nī:

Dibalaskan merekaitu (yang islām)  
 daripada Tuhan mereka itu: tempatnya  
 shurga, lalu dibawahnya sungai,  
 masuk mereka itu [ke]dalamnya kekal.

---

1103. Text corrupt: ḥalāl.

1104. Qur'ān, 6:163.

1105. Text corrupt: 'ālam.

1106. Text has: padam.

1107. Text incorrect: jannātin.

1108. Text incorrect: abad - the final alif missing.  
 Qur'ān, 20:76, 98:8.

Lagi firmān Allāh Ta'ālā:

Inna'l-ladhīna kafarū wa ḡalamū  
lam yakuni'llāhu liyaghfira lahum  
wa lā liyahdiyahum ṭarīqan illā ṭarīqa  
jahannama khālidiḡna fiḡā abadan.<sup>1109</sup>

ya'nī:

Bahwasanya mereka itu yang kāfir dan ḡālim tiada diampuni Allāh Ta'ālā akan mereka itu, [dan tiada dipimpin akan mereka itu pada suatu jalan]. Melainkan [jalan] keneraka, masuk [ke]dalamnya kekal.

Inilah ma'nā ilā abadi'l-ābād tiadakan karam.

(35) Fa'lam - Tuhan kita itu seperti Baḡr al-'Amīq.

Ya'nī Dhāt Allāh ditamthīlkan seperti Laut yang Dalam, kerana kunhi Dhāt<sup>1110</sup> itu tiada masuk kepada bichara. KeadaanNya jua [yang] ditamthīlkan seperti Laut yang Amat Dalam itu. Makasabda Nabī (ṡalla'llāhu 'alayhi wa sallam!):

"Subḡānaka mā 'arafnāka ḡaḡqa  
ma'rifatika.

ya'nī:

"Mahasuchi [55] Engkau! - tiada kukenal Engkau dengan sempurna kenal (ya'n ī kunhi Dhāt itu tiada dapat dikenal)."

Kerananya<sup>1111</sup> jua di'ibāratkan seperti laut yang tiada berhingga dan tiada berkesudahan. Jika ada akan Dia hingga

1109. Same as in note 1108 above. Qur'ān 4:168.

1110. Text incorrect: Dhāt.

1111. Meaning: Oleh kerana itu.

dan kesudahan, atau awwal dan ākhir, akan makhlūq jua - akan Allāh Subḥānahu wa Ta'ālā tiada ṢifātNya demikian.

(36) Fa'lam - Ombaknya penuh pada sekalian ṭarīq.

Ya'nī pada sekalian jalan, dan dimithalkan ombak - ombaknya penuh [pada] sekalian jalan. Barang kita lihat, ḡāhir atau bāṭin, sekaliannya lenyap - ombak juga. Ya'nī laut tiada bercherai dengan ombaknya, ombak [pun] tiada bercherai dengan laut. Demikian lagi Allāh Subḥānahu wa Ta'ālā tiada bercherai dengan 'ālam; tetapi tiada [Ia] [di] dalam 'ālam dan tiada [Ia] diluar 'ālam; dan tiada [Ia] diatas 'ālam dan tiada<sup>1112</sup> [Ia] dibawah 'ālam, dan tiada [Ia] [di]kanan 'ālam dan tiada [Ia] dikiri 'ālam, dan tiada [Ia] dihadapan 'ālam dan tiada [Ia] dibelakang 'ālam, dan tiada [Ia] bercherai dengan 'ālam dan tiada [Ia] bertemu dengan 'ālam, dan tiada [Ia] hampir<sup>1113</sup> kepada 'ālam [dan tiada Ia jauh daripada 'ālam. Seperti kata Lam'at:

"Daryā kuhan chū bar zand mawjī nū  
Mawjīsh khwānand<sup>1114</sup> [u] dar ḡaḡīqat daryāst."<sup>1115</sup>

ya'nī:

"Laut sedia; apabila berpalu menjadi ombak baharu.  
Dikata orang "ombak", tetapi pada ḡaḡīqat laut jua -

kerana laut dengan ombak tiadanya bercherai. Dan lagi kata sha'ir Lam'at:

1112. Text repetitive: dan tiada.

1113. Text: dihampir.

1114. Text corrupt: hwanad.

1115. Lam'at, Lam'at, III, p.332.

"Khalawtu<sup>1116</sup> bi man ahwā<sup>1117</sup> fa lam yaku<sup>1118</sup>  
ghayrunā  
Wa law kāna ghayrī lam yaṣiḥḥ wujūduhā."<sup>1119</sup>

ya'nī:

"Khalwatlah aku dengan [56] kekasihku  
 maka tiada kulihat lain daripada aku.  
 [Jika kulihat lain daripadaku, wujudnya tiada  
 ṣaḥḥ ....]"

Kata Lam'at:

"Raqqu'l-zujāju wa r[ā]qati'l-khamru  
Fa tashābahā fa tashākala<sup>1120</sup> 'l-amru  
Fa ka'annanā khamr[un] wa lā qadahū  
Wa ka'annanā qadah[un] wa lā khamru."<sup>1121</sup>

ya'nī:

"Naqsh<sup>1122</sup> kacha dan hening minuman  
 Maka sebagai keduanya dan serupa hukumnya  
 Maka seperti minuman [bukan piālā,  
 Dan seperti piālā bukan minuman.]"

Inilah ma'nā ombak-ombaknya penuh pada sekalian ṭarīq.

(37) Fa'lam - Laut dan ombak keduanya rafīq.

Ya'nī laut dan ombak keduanya bertaulan; mithal  
 hamba dengan Tuhan, 'āshiq dan ma'shūq. Seperti firmān Allāh  
 Ta'ālā:

1116. Text corrupt: khalawat.

1117. Text incorrect: ahwayā.

1118. Text corrupt: yakul.

1119. Text incorrect: wujūdanā. Lama'āt, Lam'at, XII, p.342.

1120. Text corrupt: fa ta'kul.

1121. Lama'āt, Lam'at, V, p.335.

1122. Text has: naqs. But this is meaningless. Obviously  
naqsh: form.

Inna'l-ladhīna yubāyi'ūnaka innamā  
yubāy'ūna'Llāh ...<sup>1123</sup>

ya'nī:

Bahwasanya merekaitu yang berjabat tangan dengan dikau, tiada mereka itu [berjabat tangan] melainkan Allāh Ta'ālā jua yang menjabat tangan [mereka] itu ...

Yadu'Llāhi fawqa aydīhim.<sup>1124</sup>

ya'nī:

Tangan Allāh diatas tangan mereka itu.

Lagi firmān Allāh Ta'ālā:

Fa lam taqtulūhum wa lā kinna'Llāh  
qatalahum wa mā ramayta idh ramayta  
wa lā kinna'Llāha ramā.<sup>1125</sup>

ya'nī:

Tiada [kamu] memunuh mereka itu. Bermula: tetapi Allāh Ta'ālā jua memunuh mereka itu. Bermula: tiada engkau memuang (panah yā Muhammad), [apabila kau memuang] tetapi Allāh Ta'ālā jua memuang.

Lagi firmān Allāh Ta'ālā:

Wa huwa ma'akum aynamā kuntum.<sup>1126</sup>

ya'nī:

Ia itu serta kamu barang dimana ada kamu.

1123. Qur'ān, 48:10.

1124. Qur'ān, 48:10.

1125. Qur'ān, 8:17.

1126. Qur'ān, 57:4.

Lagi firmān Allāh Ta'ālā:

Wa nahnu aqrabu ilayhi min ḥabli'l-warīd.<sup>1127</sup>

ya'nī:

Kami<sup>1128</sup> [terlebih] hampir kepadanya  
daripada urat leher yang keduanya.

Lagi firmān Allāh Ta'ālā [didalam Ḥadīth Qudsī]:

Al-insānu sirrī wa anā sirruhu.

ya'nī:

Yang [57] manusia itu rahasia Aku  
dan Aku pun rahasianya.

Kerana [ini maka] sabda Nabī (ṣalla'llāhu 'alayhi wa sallam!):

"Man 'arafa nafsahu faqad 'arafa rabbahu".

ya'nī:

"Barangsiapa mengenal dirinya  
bahwasanya mengenal Tuhannya" -

kerana Tuhannya dengan dia tiada bercherai. Seperti laut  
dengan ombak itu tiada bercherai, demikian lagi [Tuhan dengan  
hambanya tiada bercherai]. Inilah ma'nā laut dan ombak  
keduanya rafīq.

(38) Fa'lam - Ākhir kedalamnya jua ombaknya gharīq.

Ya'nī ombak kedalam laut jua teng[ge]lam. Datangnya  
ombak pun daripada laut, pulangnyapun kepada laut jua.

Inilah ma'nā irji'ī ilā aṣliḥ - seperti firmān Allāh Ta'ālā:

1127. Qur'ān, 50:16.

1128. Text has: Aku, but the honourific Kami is correct,  
being the translation for nahnu.

Irji'ī ilā rabbiki rāḍiyatan<sup>1129</sup> marḍiyyah.<sup>1130</sup>

ya'nī:

Pulang [kamu] kepada Tuhanmu, rāḍi kau akan dikau.

Adapun Ahlu'l-'Ushshāq mengerti "pulang"<sup>1131</sup> ya'nī apabila [si] 'āshiq tiada melihat dirinya lagi, pulanglah [ia] kedalam laut - [maka] lautlah hukumnya. Jika lagi ia melihat dirinya, lagi belum pulang dan belum karam hukumnya. Kepada madhhab 'Ushshāq [melihat dirinya itu] "mushrik" dikata. Inilah ma'nā ākhir kedalamnya jua ombaknya gharīq.

(39) Fa'lam - Lautnya 'Ālim halunnya Ma'lūm.

Ya'nī laut yang sudah dikatakan diatas itulah maka dinisbatkan kepada 'Ālim, supaya dapat tamthīl 'Ālim dan Ma'lūm oleh ṭālib. Kerana yang dinamai laut itu air, apabila laut itu timbul bernama<sup>1132</sup> halun; apabila naik berhimpun diudara bernama awan; apabila [jatuh ber] titik dari udara bernama hujan; apabila hilir dibumi [58] bernama sungai; apabila pulang kelaut laut hukumnya. Adapun halun, maka ditamthīlkan Ma'lūm kerana halun daripada laut - tetapi tiada lain daripada laut. Demikian lagi 'Ālim tiada bercherai dengan Ma'lūm, Ma'lūm tiada bercherai dengan 'Ālim. Jikalau 'Ālim tiada berma'lūm, tiada 'Ālim; hukumnya tiada

---

1129. Text incorrect: raḍiyatan.

1130. Qur'ān, 89:28.

1131. Text corrupt: pula.

1132. Text: bernamanya.

[Ia] menjadikan. Rupa dan warna daripada tiada berupa dan tiada berwarna.<sup>1133</sup> Adapun yang tiada berupa dan tiada berwarna itulah wujud segala rupa dan segala warna. Yang tiada berupa dan tiada berwarna itu bāṭin; yang berupa dan berwarna itu ḡāhir. Inilah ma'nā lautnya<sup>1134</sup> 'Ālim halunnya Ma'lūm.

(40) Fa'lam - Keadaannya Qāsim ombaknya Maqsūm.

Ya'nī [erti] Qāsim [itu iaitu] membagi, Maqsūm [itu iaitu] yang dibagikan. Kerana Allāh Ta'ālā memberikan wujud akan semesta sekalian 'ālam, maka [Ia] dinamai Qāsim. Adapun 'ālam sekalian, seperti ombak, namanya Maqsūm kerana ombak [timbul] daripada keadaan<sup>1135</sup> laut. Ya'nī keadaan Allāh Subḡānahu wa Ta'ālā bernama Qāsim, keadaan sekalian 'ālam [bernama] Maqsūm. Laut di'ibāratkan seperti Dhāt; keadaan laut seperti keadaan Dhāt; halun seperti keadaan 'ālam; ombak seperti rupa 'ālam. Pada 'ibārat ini laut, dengan air, dengan ombak, dengan rupa ombak, dengan warna ombak, dengan nama ombak-sekalian [ini] suatu juga. Inilah ma'nā [keadaanya] Qāsim ombaknya Maqsūm.

(41) Fa'lam - Ṭūfānya Ḥākim, shu'ūnya<sup>1136</sup> Maḡkūm.

Ya'nī [59] ṭūfānya tamthīl daripada [titah] "Kun!" (fa yakūn) kepada ḡuhūrNya dengan ṢifātNya dan AsmāNya;

1133. Repetition of the phrase in the text.

1134. Text has: laut itu, but to be consistent with the line of the quatrain interpreted, this should read lautnya.

1135. Text: keadaannya.

1136. Text corrupt: shī'unnya.



dengan Af'ālNya,<sup>1137</sup> dengan ĀthārNya,<sup>1138</sup> dengan 'IlmuNya, dengan Ma'lūmNya, dengan Samī'Nya, dengan BaṣīrNya, dengan IrādatNya, dengan QuḍratNya, dengan KalāmNya, dengan QahhārNya, dengan JabbārNya, dengan Mu'izzNya, dengan MudhīlNya,<sup>1139</sup> dengan RaḥmānNya, dengan RaḥīmNya, dengan KarīmNya. Seorang diislāmkanNya, seorang dikāfirkanNya, seorang dikayakan[Nya], seorang dimiskinkanNya, seorang nantiāsa diberiNya dur[ha]ka, seorang diberiNya [senantiāsa] berbuat baik, seorang diberiNya nantiāsa berbuat jahat, seorang dimasukkanNya kedalam shurga, seorang dimasukkanNya kedalam neraka, seorang diberiNya berbuat 'ibādat banyak [lalu] dimasukkanNya kedalam shurga, [seorang diberiNya<sup>1140</sup> berbuat ma'siyat banyak lalu dimasukkanNya kedalam neraka], seorang daripada islām dikāfirkanNya, seorang daripada kāfir diislāmkanNya. Inilah ma'nā [ṭūfānnya Ḥākīm] shu'ūnnya<sup>1141</sup> Maḥkūm.

(42) Fa'lam - Pada sekalian 'ālamīn inilah rusūm.

Ya'nī pada sekalian 'ālamīn ini ugahari. Daripada awalNya datang kepada ākhirNya, daripada bāṭinNya datang kepada ṣāḥirNya, [sekalian ini] senantiāsa shu'ūnNya.<sup>1142</sup>

---

1137. Text: incorrect: af'ālNya.

1138. Text has: athar-ātharNya.

1139. Text incorrect: mudīlNya.

1140. This is the logical sequence following the part of the sentence preceding it.

1141. Text corrupt: shī'unnya.

1142. Text corrupt: shī'unNya.

Ya'nī kelakuanNya terhukum oleh tūfānNya, [iaitu titahNya,] kerana 'ālam sekalian shu'ūnNya jua. Erti shu'ūnNya [iaitu] kelakuanNya. Sekalian senantiasanya shu'ūnNya, berkisar-kisar [dan] bergerak - seperti firmān Allāh Ta'ālā:

Kulla yawmin huwa fī shā'n.<sup>1143</sup>

ya'nī:

Pada segala hari Ia itu dalam kelakuanNya.

Segala rupa, rupaNya; segala warna, warnaNya; segala bunyi, bunyiNya, kerana Ia waḥdahu lā sharīka lahu.<sup>1144</sup> Jikalau [60]<sup>1145</sup> [dikatakan] ada [yang] lain daripadaNya, shirk dengan zulm hukumnya. Kerana ini<sup>1146</sup> maka segala 'Ushshāq yang berma'rifat sempurna berkata:

"Kulihat Tuhanku dengan mata Tuhanku."<sup>1147</sup>

Kata Shaykh Mas'ūd (rahmatu'Llāhi 'alayhi!):

"Akulah kāfir yang sedia!"

Kata Sayyid Nasīmī:<sup>1148</sup>

"Innī anā'Llāh"

ya'nī:

"Bahwasanya aku Tuhan!"

Kata Shaykh Junayd Baghdādī<sup>1149</sup> (rahmatu'Llāhi 'alayhi!):

1143. Qur'ān, 55:29.

1144. Qur'ān, 6:163.

1145. Text: zulm itu.

1146. Text: Kerana ia.

1147. Text: kepala. Ref. Ra'aytu rabbī bi 'ayni rabbī.

1148. Text incorrect. This refers to Nasimi, the Turkish Hurūfī poet. See Muntahī, p.115.

1149. Text incorrect: Baghdādī.

"Laysa fī jubbati siwā' Llāh"

ya'nī:

"Tiada didalam jubbahku ini lain  
daripada Allāh!"

Kata Sulṭānu'l-'Arifīn Bā Yaz[īd] Bisṭāmī (rahmatu' Llāhi  
'alayhi!):

"Subḥānī mā a'zama shā'nī."

ya'nī:

"Mahasuchi aku! (dan) mahabesar  
kelakuanku!"

Banyak lagi Mashā'ikh yang berkata [demikian] tiada tersebut. Adapun mereka itu sekalian berkata demikian kerana ma'rifat mereka itu sempurna. Jangan kita yang tiada berma'rifat berkata demikian - jangan kita turut-turutan, maka<sup>1150</sup> dikufurkan pendita, [yang menghukumkan demikian] supaya jangan segala yang jāhil yang tiada berma'rifat mengatakan demikian, kerana ma'rifat itu terlalu mushkil. Barangsiapa belum sempurna berma'rifat dan berahi seperti mereka itu, jika ia berkata seperti mereka itu, kāfir hukumnya. Inilah ma'nā pada sekalian 'ālamīn inilah rusūm.<sup>1151</sup>

(43) Fa'lam - Jikalau sini kamu tahu akan wujud.

Ya'nī wujud yang dikata[kan] pada awwalnya kitāb ini datang<sup>1152</sup> kepada āakhirnya. Wujud itu yogya diketahui

---

1150. Maka here conveys the meaning: sehingga.

1151. Text corrupt: rāsūm.

1152. Datang here, as frequently elsewhere, conveys the meaning: sampai.

dengan ma'rifat, kerana wujud itu bukan wujud kita.

Daripada bebal kita jua kita sangka [wujud itu] wujud kita.

Sebab ini [61] maka kata Ahlu'l-Sulūk:

'Wujūduka dhanbun<sup>1153</sup> lā yuqāsu bihi  
dhanbun<sup>1154</sup> [ākharu.]'<sup>1155</sup>

ya'nī:

'Adamu nin<sup>1156</sup> dosa;  
tiada dosa [yang lain] sebagainya' -

kerana kepada Ahlu'l-Sulūk wujud wahmīnya itu shirk al-khafī; apabila ia mengatakan "wujuduka" [seolah-olah] qā'im sendirinya, [inilah] shirk al-khafī hukumnya: [ya'nī] jikalau ia [mengatakan seolah-olah sebenarnya ia] berwujud, [maka] ia berwujud[lah] hukumnya. Inilah ma'nā jikalau sini kamu tahu akan wujud.

(44) Fa'lam - Itulah tempat kamu shuhūd.

Ya'nī shuhūd [itu iaitu] pandang. Wujud 'ālam [i]ni wahmī jua; jangan kamu pandang wujud [yang] wahm. Wujud yang sedia juga kamu pandang, kerana wujud al-makhlūqāt daripada wujudNya. Apabila wujud al-makhlūqāt daripada wujudNya, wujud kita pun wujudNya. Seperti sabda Nabī (ṣalla'llāhu 'alayhi wa sallam!):

1153. Text incorrect: danbun.

1154. Text incorrect: danbun.

1155. See Kashf al-Mahjūb, p.297.

1156. Nin, i.e. ini.

"Allāhumma arinī<sup>1157</sup>, l-ashyā'a kamā hiya."

ya'nī:

"Ya Tuhanku, perlihatkan padaku  
sekalian seperti adanya."

Adapun Rasūlu'LLāh (ṣalla'LLāhu 'alayhi wa sallam!) tahu akan [keadaan] segala ashyā', tetapi [ia] hendak tahu akan ḥaqīqatnya pula. Kerana [keadaan] ashyā' dengan [keadaan] diri sama jua, apabila [dapat] mengenal [keadaan] diri, [maka dapat mengenal ḥaqīqat diri]. Seperti firmān Allāh Ta'ālā:

Wa idhā sa'alaka 'ibādī<sup>1158</sup> 'annī fa'innī  
qarīb.<sup>1159</sup>

ya'nī:

Apabila bertanya hambaku kepadaKu,<sup>1160</sup>  
bahwa Aku [sesungguhnya] hampir.

Tetapi akan hampirNya itu yogya diketahui. Lagi firmān Allāh Ta'ālā:

Wa'LLāhu bi kulli shay'in muḥīṭ.<sup>1161</sup>

ya'nī:

Allāh Ta'ālā dengan semesta sekalian lengkap.

Lagi kata Shaykh Junayd (rahmatu'LLāhi 'alayhi!):

"Lawnu'l-mā'i lawnu<sup>1162</sup> [62] inā'ihī."

1157. Text has: arinā.

1158. Text incorrect: 'ibādī.

1159. Qur'ān, 2:186.

1160. KepadaKu translates 'annī, hence it means 'concerning Me.'

1161. Qur'ān, 41:54.

1162. Text: wa lawnu.

ya'nī:

"Warna air warna bejananya jua."

Sekalian 'ibārat ini dan ishārat ini yogya diketahui supaya [ber]ḥāsil ma'rifat Allāh Ta'ālā. Apabila ḥāsil ma'rifat Allāh Ta'ālā, maka dapat memandang pada aṣal wujūd, [ya'nī pada wujūd] yang sedia, bukan pada wujūd<sup>1163</sup> [yang] wahm. Inilah ma'nā itulah tempat kamu shuhūd.

(45) Fa'lam - Buangkan rupamu daripada sekalian quyūd.

Ya'nī erti quyūd [itu iaitu] sangkutan. Segala rupa yang dapat dilihat dan dapat dibicharakan oleh 'aql dan ma'rifat [itu] sekalian[nya] quyūd. Dari kerana Dhāt Allāh muṭlaq, tiada [Ia] pada rupa kita, dan rupa semesta sekalian "ālam, ḡāhir dan bāṭin, lain daripada Dhāt semata. Itu muṭlaq hukumnya. Apabila kita buangkan sekalian quyūd dengan penglihat kita dan didalam bichara kita, maka dapat bertemu dengan Muṭlaq, ertinya: Ada yang mahasuchi daripada rupa. Adapun pada suatu ma'nā, ma'nā quyūd [itu iaitu] arta dan kebesaran dan anak-isteri. Ya'ni jikalau [kamu] bearta, jangan lekat hatimu<sup>1164</sup> pada arta dan anak isteri, seperti firmān Allāh Ta'ālā:

...Likay lā ta'saw 'alā mā fātakum  
wa la tafrahū bi mā atākum.<sup>1165</sup>

---

1163. Text: ujūd.

1164. Text: hatinya.

1165. Qur'an, 57:23.

ya'nī:

... [Supaya] jangan kamu berchinta akan barang yang luput daripada kamu, dan jangan sukachita kamu kepada<sup>1166</sup> barang yang datang kepada kamu.

Apabila merugi, jangan didukakan [dan] apabila berlaba, jangan kamu sukakan; jikalau besar pun jangan disukakan; jikalau kecil pun jangan [63] didukakan; jikalau 'āfiyat diberi Allāh jangan disukakan; jikalau sakit diberi Allāh jangan didukakan - sekalian itu quyūd jua. Apabila jauh daripada quyūd maka dapat bertemu dengan Muṭlaq. Inilah ma'nā [buangkan rupamu daripada sekalian] quyūd.

(46) Fa'lam - Supaya dapat kedalam Diri qu'ūd.

Ya'nī qu'ūd [itu iaitu] duduk (kedalam Diri). Ya'nī jangan jauh menchari daripada Diri, kerana firmān Allāh Ta'ālā:

Wa fī anfusikum afalā tubṣirūn.<sup>1167</sup>

ya'nī:

Bermula: didalam Diri kamu - tiadakah kamu lihat?

Dan lagi sabda Nabī (ṣalla'Ellāhu 'alayhi wa sallam!):

"Man 'arafa nafsahu fa qad 'arafa rabbahu."

ya'nī:

Barangsiapa mengenal Dirinya maka sanya mengenal Tuhannya."

1166. Text has: yogya. But here kepada is appropriate as a translation of the Arabic bi.

1167. Qur'ān, 51:21.

Apabila Tuhannya dikenal, dapat sekalian sama padanya; memakai sama padanya, [menyimping sama padanya,] kaya sama padanya dan miskin sama padanya; besar dan kecil sama padanya; puji dan chela sama padanya; tiada [ia] berahi akan shurga dan tiada [ia] takut akan neraka. Adapun faqīr yang mintak makan, kepada sharī'at ḥalāl [hukumnya] sequadarkan memberi quwwat sehari itu jua. Jikalau dipintaknya akan esoknya atau akan lusanya, ḥarām<sup>1168</sup> hukumnya. Adapun kepada Ahlu'l-Sulūk, apabila ia [pergi memintak makan] "shirk" hukumnya, kerana ia hendak memeliharaakan dirinya jua. Jikalau demikian [lakunya] belum ia fanā,<sup>1169</sup> daripada dirinya. Sekalian kerjanya itu quyūd. Seperti firmān Allāh Ta'ālā:

Fa tawakkalū in kuntum mu'minīn.<sup>1170</sup>

ya'nī:

Maka serahkan diri kamu kepada Allah,  
jikalau ada kamu orang [64] [yang] perchaya.

Adapun jikalau razqi datang sendirinya; itu [yang] dianugerahkan Allāh Ta'ālā [dan] harus dimakan. Jikalau tiada datang jangan dicharinya dan jangan dipinta kepada makhluk. Adapun kepada [Ahlu'l-] 'Ushshāq,<sup>1171</sup> kepada Allāh [pun] jangan memintak, maka dapat keluar daripada quyūd. Seperti kata Lam'at:

"Al-faqīru lā yahtāju ilā' Llāh."<sup>1172</sup>

---

1168. Text incorrect: ḥaram.

1169. Text has the Achchneṣe form: pahnā.

1170. Qur'ān, 5:23.

1171. Text incorrect: 'Ussāq.

1172. Lam'at, Lam'at, XX, p.352.



ya'nī:

"Faqīr itu tiada muḥtāj<sup>1173</sup> [kepada Allāh]."

[Jika ia muḥtāj] ḥukum[nya] dua lagi; apabila tiada [ia] muḥtāj<sup>1174</sup> maka dapat menjadi esa. Adapun [perkara] menyimping, ittifāq 'Ulamā dan Ahlu'l-Sulūk [mengatakan ḥukumnya] ḥarām<sup>1175</sup> kerana terbuka 'awratnya. Adapun berbaju ḥayā<sup>1176</sup> dan berkelubung dan berseluar dan bekeskul dan berkaput dan bertanam-tanaman, kepada sharī'at harus; kepada Ahlu'llāh dan Ahlu'l-Sulūk pun harus, tiada quyūd. Adapun kepada [Ahlu'l-] 'Ushshāq sekalian ḥijāb dan quyūd Diri akannya. Perbuatan itu bukan ia meniyyatkan sekehendak Allāh kerana kehendaknya itu sekalian ḥijāb dan quyūd.<sup>1177</sup> Adapun sembahyang farḍu, dan puasa farḍu, dan memakan [yang] ḥalāl, dan meninggalkan [yang] ḥarām<sup>1178</sup> - sekalian itu bukan quyūd, kerana [itu dengan] kehendak Allāh, bukan dengan kehendak kita; [ya'nī] kerana [itu] amr Allāh. [Akan tetapi] kepada barangsiapa [yang] ingat akan dingin dan hangat dan kenyang dan lapar dan telanjang dan berkain - jika ia<sup>1179</sup> meninggalkan sembahyang farḍu dan puasa farḍu, dan jika sediakala ia memakan [yang] ḥarām,<sup>1180</sup> 'āṣī hukumnya.<sup>1181</sup> Orang [65] itu

---

1173. Text incorrect: mukhtāj.

1174. Text incorrect: mukhtāj.

1175. Text incorrect: ḥaram.

1176. Text: ḥayāt.

1177. Text corrupt: quyūm.

1178. Text incorrect: ḥaram.

1179. Text repetitive: ia ia.

1180. Text incorrect: ḥaram.

1181. Repetition of the phrase in the text: sediakala ia memakan [yang] ḥaram, 'āṣī hukumnya.

tiada dapat menjadi walī. Adapun jikalau ia berahi dan mabok dan maḥw - tiada ia tahu akan dirinya - [dan] sembahyang [farḍu] dan puasa farḍu ditinggalkannya, tiada mengapa akan dia, kerana pada hukum[nya] ia dalam sembahyang yang dā'im.<sup>1182</sup> Jika belum ia mabok dan maḥw - [masih] lagi ingat akan dirinya - dan sembahyang dan puasa ditinggalkannya, ḥijāb dan quyūd dan 'aṣī hukumnya. Tiada dapat kedalam Diri qu'ūd!

(47) Fa'lam - Pada wujud Allāh itulah yogya kau qā'im.

Ya'nī pada wujud<sup>1183</sup> Allāh itulah yogya kau pandang dengan ma'rifat yang sempurna. Jangan lupa pada sembahyang dan puasa dan berjalan dan berdiri dan duduk dan berbaring, kerana firmān Allāh Ta'ālā ini:

Wa'dhkur rabbaka fī nafsika taḍarru'an  
wakhīfatan<sup>1184</sup> wa dūna'l-jahri mina'l-  
qawli bi'l-ghuduwwi wa'l-āsāli wa lā  
takun mina'l-ghāfilīn.<sup>1185</sup>

ya'nī:

Sebut Tuhanmu didalam dirimu, melemahkan diri dan dalam hati takut, dan lain daripada nyaring<sup>1186</sup> [suara], dan kata dengan pagi dan petang, dan jangan kau jadi<sup>1187</sup> daripada orang yang lupa (ya'nī jangan kamu lupa pada segala kelakuan kamu, seperti firmān<sup>1188</sup> Allāh Ta'ālā: wa huwa ma'akum aynama kuntum.

1182. Text has: kerana pada hukum ia dalam sembahyang dan diam. But this is senseless in the above context. Dan diam at the end of the sentence should read: yang dā'im.

1183. Text corrupt: quyūd.

1184. Text incorrect: khafītan.

1185. Qur'ān, 7:205.

1186. Text corrupt: baringnya.

1187. Text: jadikan.

1188. Qur'ān, 57:4.

- ya'nī: Ia itu serta kamu barang dimana ada kamu.).

Adapun akan orang [yang] belum kāmīl dan belum beroleh ma'rifat yang sempurna, yogya dikurangkan makan dan minum dan tidur, dan [di]kurangkan berkata-kata, dan [di]kurangkan [66] duduk dengan orang banyak sementara<sup>1189</sup> belum kāmīl dan belum beroleh ma'rifat yang sempurna. Adapun akan makan sama, tiada makan sama; duduk [dengan orang] sama, [tiada duduk] dengan orang sama; berkata-[kata] sama, diam sama; dalam hutan sama, dalam negeri<sup>1190</sup> [sama;] - semesta sekalian [ini] tiada hijāb padanya, maka dapat tidur, dan dapat duduk dengan orang, dan dapat berkata-kata dengan orang, dan dapat beranak dan beristeri;<sup>1191</sup> jangan lebih [dan] jangan kurang daripada perbuatan Nabī Muḥammad Rasūlu'LLāh (ṣalla'LLāhu 'alayhi wa sallam!). Inilah yang afdal.

(48) Fa'lam - Buangkan namamu dan rupamu dā'im.

Ya'nī buangkan namamu dan rupamu, kerana engkau tiada bernama dan tiada berupa.<sup>1192</sup> Adapun rupamu itu rupa bayang - bayang jua, [dan] namamu itu gelar-gelaran jua. Daripada ghaflatmu kau sangka engkau bernama dan berupa. Kata Ahlu'l-Sulūk yang bernama itu bukan namamu, [dan] yang berupa bukan rupamu. Seyogya dipandang Yang Empunya Rupa dan

---

1189. Text: semetaran, or sementaranya.

1190. Text: nenggeri or nangroë: Acehnese form.

1191. Text: beristeri dapat.

1192. Text: berupanya.

Yang Empunya Nama supaya terbang namamu dan rupamu. Apabila terbang namamu dan rupamu, maka dapat bertemu dengan Yang Empunya Nama dan Empunya Rupa. Apabila bertemu dengan [Yang] Empunya Nama dan Empunya Rupa, maka dapat bertemu dengan Wujūd. Apabila bertemu dengan Wujūd, maka dapat bertemu dengan Dhāt. Apabila bertemu dengan Dhāt, nama pun terbang, rupa [pun] terbang.

- (49) Fa'lam - Nafikan rasamu daripada makhdūm dan [67] khādim.

Ya'ni fanākan dirimu daripada yang menyembah dan yang disembah. Apabila ada lagi [yang] menyembah dan yang disembah [maka masih] menjadi dua, belum menjadi esa hukumnya.<sup>1193</sup> Seperti kata Ahlu'l-Sulūk:

'Man 'abada'l-isma dūna'l-ma'nā  
faqad kafara ...'

ya'nī:

'Barangsiapa menyembah nama tiada dengan ertinya, maka bahwa sanya [telah] kāfir[lah ia] ...'

'Wa man 'abada'l-ma'nā dūna'l-isma  
fahuwa mushrik ...'

ya'nī:

'Barangsiapa menyembah erti tiada dengan nama, maka ia itu menduakan ...'

---

1193. The text is garbled: Apabila ada lagi menyembah menjadi duanya yang disembah, belum menjadi esa hukumnya.

'Wa man 'abada'l-isma wa'l-ma'nā  
fahuwa munāfiq ...'

ya'nī:

'Barangsiapa menyembah nama dan erti  
(nama), maka ia itu munāfiq ...'

'Wa man taraka'l-isma wa'l-ma'nā fahuwa  
mu'minun ḥaqqan.'

ya'nī:

'Barangsiapa meninggal[kan] nama dan  
erti (nama), maka ia mu'min yang  
sebenar-benarnya.'

Adapun fanā' [itu], pada 'ibarat, [ialah] melenyapkan segala ghayr Allāh. Jika orang fanā' lagi tahu akan fanānya, belum ia fanā,<sup>1194</sup> kerana fanā' itu, pada 'ibarat, [hapus daripada] ghayr Allāh. Apabila belum hapus daripada ghayr Allāh, belum fanā' hukumnya; apabila hapus daripada ghayr Allāh, nischaya [yang] menyembah pun lenyap, yang disembah pun lenyap daripada rasanya - ya'nī menjadi esa, [iaitu] tiada; lenyap sekali-kali. Adapun kepada suatu 'ibarat, fanā' [itu] 'shirk' kepada Allāh Ta'ālā, kerana [si] 'āshiq tiada berwujūd. Apabila tiada berwujūd fanā' hukumnya, kerana kepada ḥaqīqat Ia Sendirinya, tiada lain. Seperti sabda Nabī (ṣalla'LLāhu 'alayhi wa sallam!):

"'Araftu rabbī bi rabbī."

ya'nī:

"Kukenal Tuhanku dengan [68] Tuhanku."

---

1194. Text: fanānya.

Lagi kata Lam'at:

"Lā yarā'l-Lāha ghayra'LLāh."<sup>1195</sup>

ya'nī:

"Tiada [melihat] Allāh melainkan Allāh."

Kata Lam'at:

"Mā 'arafa'l-Lāha ghayra'LLāhi."<sup>1196</sup>

ya'nī:

"Tiada mengenal Allāh lain daripada Allāh."

Kata Lam'at:

"Ra'aytu rabbī bi 'ayni rabbī."<sup>1197</sup>

ya'nī:

"Kulihat Tuhanku dengan mata Tuhanku."

Apabila lain daripada Allāh tiada<sup>1198</sup> dilihatnya, [maka] fanā hukumnya pada 'ibārat ini. [Perkataan ini] terlalu mushkil. Hendaklah diketahui.

(50) Fa'lam - Supaya sampai kepada 'Amal yang Khātim.

Ya'nī apabila fanā' maka beroleh perbuatan yang sedia. Seperti kata Uways al-Qaranī<sup>1199</sup> dalam bahasa Farsī:

"Anrā ki fanā' shewa u faqr [ā in] ast ..."<sup>1200</sup>

1195. Lama'āt, Lam'at, IV, p.333.

1196. Ibid., Lam'at, p. 333.

1197. Ibid., Lam'at, VI, p.335.

1198. Text: tiadanya.

1199. Text has: Darwis al-Zu'l-Qarnayn. This is corrupt.

The reading should be Uways al-Qaranī. The last line of the quotation supports this. See above, note 172.

1200. Text: in aytu.

ya'nī:

"Mereka yang lenyap daripada permainan  
faqir ...

Nah<sup>1201</sup> kashf [neh] yaqīn<sup>1202</sup> nah  
ma'rifat nah dīn ast ...

ya'nī:

tiada kashf dan tiada<sup>1203</sup> yaqīn dan tiada  
ma'rifat dan tiada ugama akan dia.

raft ū zi miyān<sup>1204</sup> hamīn<sup>1205</sup> khudā  
mānd khudā<sup>1206</sup>

ya'nī:

lenyap ia ditengah-tengah - hanya  
Allāh jua tinggal ...

al-faqrū idhā tamma<sup>1207</sup>  
huwa'LLāhu [īn ast].<sup>1208</sup>

ya'nī:

apabila sempurna faqir .. sudahlah  
ma'rifatnya - [maka] ia itu Allāh."

Inilah lagi sabda Nabī (ṣalla'LLāhu 'alayhi wa sallam!):

"Al-faqrū fakhrī wa bihi iftakharī."<sup>1209</sup>

1201. Text: word before nah is corrupt.

1202. Text has 'ayn instead of qāf: ya'īn - corrupt.

1203. Text: tiadanya.

1204. Text: ḥayā.

1205. Text: hamnī.

1206. Text: mānad khalā.

1207. Text corrupt: maka faqīr.

1208. Lawā'ih, p.13 of the Persian text. See above, pp.374-375.

1209. Text: aftakhiri.

ya'nī:

"Faqir itu [kemuliaanku dan dengannya]  
kumuliakan."

Adapun kepada shari'at yang faqīr<sup>1210</sup> itu tiada mālik dinamai. Adapun kepada Ahlu'l-Sulūk yang dinamai faqīr [itu] Ahlu'l-Ma'rifah. Apabila sempurna ma'rifatnya - tiada melihat dirinya lagi - faqīrlah hukumnya. Inilah ma'nā [supaya sampai kepada] 'Amal yang Khātīm.

(51) Fa'lam - Jika [engkau] belum tetap seperti batu.

[69] Ya'nī jangan bergerak; ḡāhirnya pun jangan bergerak, bāṭinnya [pun] jangan bergerak. Apabila seperti batu maka wāṣillah<sup>1211</sup> hukumnya pada 'ibārat, tetapi kepada ḥaqīqat sedia wāṣil. Jika ia tiada memuji Allāh pada ḡāhirnya, pada bāṭinnya [ia] memuji Allāh, kerana pada Ahlu'l-Sulūk segala ashyā' bernyawa dan berbudi dan berma'rifat.<sup>1212</sup> Jikalau ashyā' tiada berma'rifat dimana ia akan memuji Allāh? - kerana firmān Allāh dalam Qur'ān demikian bunyinya:

Tusabbihu lahu'l-samāwātu['l-sab'u]  
wa'l-arḍu wa man fīhinna ...<sup>1213</sup>

ya'nī:

Memuji Allāh bagiNya isi langit ketujuh[nya]  
dan bumi (ketujuh[nya]) dan barang  
yang dalamnya ...

---

1210. Yang faqīr: the word yang translates the Arabic article al-.

1211. Text: wāṣilnya.

1212. Text: berma'rifatnya.

1213. Qur'ān, 17:44.



Wa 'in min shay'in illā yusabbihu bihamdihi  
wa lākin lā tafqahūna<sup>1214</sup> tasbīḥahum.<sup>1215</sup>

ya'nī:

Bahwa daripada segala sesuatu  
 melainkan menguchap ta[s]bīḥ memuji  
 Dia, tetapi tiada kamu paham pada  
 tasbīḥ mereka itu

Lagi firmān Allāh Ta'ālā:

'Alam tara anna'llāha yasjudu lahu  
man<sup>1216</sup> fī'l-samāwāti wa [man fī]'l-ardī  
wa'l-shamsu<sup>1217</sup> wa'l-qamaru wa'l-nujūmu  
wa'l-jibālu wa'l-shajaru wa'd-dawābbu  
wa kathīrun mina'l-nās.<sup>1218</sup>

ya'nī:

Tiadakah kamu lihat bahwa Allāh Ta'ālā  
 [itu] bagiNya jua disembah barang  
 didalam ketujuh langit dan ketujuh  
 bumi dan matahari dan bulan dan  
 segala bintang, dan segala bukit dan  
 segala pohon kayu-kayuan dan segala  
 binatang dan kebanyakan daripada  
 manusia?

Semesta sekalian ashyā,<sup>1219</sup> menguchap tasbīḥ dan memuji dan  
 menyembah<sup>1220</sup> [akan Allāh]. Apabila kita tetap seperti batu,  
 sekalian anggauta kita menyembah Allāh seperti hukum [70]  
 dalīl Qur'ān ini.

1214. Text incorrect: yafqahū.

1215. Qur'ān, 17:44.

1216. Text incorrect: mā.

1217. Text corrupt: wa'l-samāwātu.

1218. Qur'ān, 22:18.

1219. Text incorrect: ashya.

1220. After this word text has: sekalian - corrupt.

(52) Fa'lam - Hukum dua lagi : khādim dan ratu.<sup>1221</sup>

Ya'nī jangan menyembah cahaya seperti embun dan matahari dan bulan dan bintang, dan seperti rupa budak; dan jangan bermaqām diubun-ubun, atau diantara<sup>1222</sup> kening, atau dipuchak hidung, atau didalam jantung. Sekalian [ini] hijāb kepada DhātNya. Adapun akan orang Ahlu'l-Sulūk, dā'im [ia] menyerahkan diri[nya] kepada Tuhannya. Barang kehendak Tuhannya ia rāḍi; jika sakit, atau miskin, atau lain mithālnya itu - sekalian ia rāḍi. Adapun kepada ḥaqīqat, jika lagi 'āshiq, ma[']shūq hendak[nya]; jika lagi ṭālib, maṭlub hendak[nya]; jika lagi menyembah, yang<sup>1223</sup> disembah hendak[nya]; jika lagi menyita, yang dichita hendak[nya]; jika lagi memandang, yang dipandang hendak[nya]. Sekalian itu, dengan wujudnya, dua lagi hukumnya, belum menjadi esa. Apabila fanā' seperti batu, maka esa hukumnya - [iaitu] satu - seperti tatakala dalam kuntu kanzan, atau seperti buih didalam air belum menjadi buih. Pada 'ibārat ini wāṣil [hukumnya]. Adapun [ke]pada ḥaqīqat, buih air dengan air tiada dua.

(53) Fa'lam - Setelah lupa engkau daripada emas dan matu.

Ya'nī tamthil emas [itu iaitu] Tuhan, dan matu [itu iaitu] hamba. Kerana pada penglihat emas lain, matu lain,

1221. See note 893.

1222. Text repetitive.

1223. Text: dan yang.

namanya pun lain. Tetapi emas tiada bercherai dengan batu, [dan batu] tiada bercherai dengan emas. Apabila batu tiada melihat dirinya lagi, nischaya [e]mas semata lagi<sup>1224</sup> tinggal. Apabila emas [ʔl] kelihatan, batu lenyap daripada penglihat mata.<sup>1225</sup> Apabila batu lenyap, tiada khabar akan dirinya, dan tiada ia khabar akan emas. Dan orang lenyap itu pun [demikian] - tiadalah diketahuinya<sup>1226</sup> lagi. Adapun 'ibārat ini mushkil; berperlahan-lahan memicharakan dia, jangan lekas-lekas. Seperti kata Shaykh Muḥyī'l-Dīn ibnu'l-'Arabī (raḍiya'llāhu 'anhu!):

"Al-ma'rifatu ḥijābun bayna'l-['ārifi wa'l-]ma'rūf."

Ertinya ya'nī:

"Mengenal dinding antara [yang mengenal dan] yang dikenal."

Lagi kata Shaykh Muḥyī'l-Dīn:

"Law lā'l-maḥabbatu la'stamarra'l-wiṣāl."

ya'nī:

"Jika tiada mengasih, nischaya senantiasa wāṣil" (kerana mengasih dinding antara yang dikasih).

Kata ini ishārat kepada fanā' daripada emas dan batu juga. Apabila fanā' daripada emas dan batu, maka dapat menjadi satu - ya'nī esa.

1224. Lagi here means masih.

1225. Repetition of the last sentence and the one preceding follows here in the text.

1226. I.e. diketahui olehnya.

(54) Fa'lam - Mangkanya dapat menjadi satu.

Ya'nī apabila matu fanā' daripada emas dan matu, maka matu dan emas menjadi satu. Jika lagi matu tahu akan dirinya: "bahwa aku tahu," belum dapat bersuatu. Seperti kaluh-kaluh<sup>1227</sup> terjun kedalam api; jika ia lagi tahu akan dirinya: "bahwa aku sudah menjadi api," belum bertemu dengan api. Apabila bertemu dengan api, menjadi api. Apabila menjadi api, lupalah akan api dan lupa<sup>1228</sup> akan dirinya. Seperti kata Shaykh Sa'dī (rahmatu'Llāhi 'alayhi!):

"Ay murgh sahar 'ishq zi parwānah [72] beyāmūz...

1229

ya'nī:

"Hai burung dinihari! berahi pada waktu sahar kepada kaluh-kaluh pergi berajar ...

Kān sūkhtrā jān shud wa āwāz neyāmad ...

1230

ya'nī:

Yang sudah tertunu<sup>1231</sup> itu menjadi nyawa tiada bunyinya datang ...

In mudda'iyyān dar ṭalabsh bekhavar ānand ...

1232

ya'nī:

Segala yang mengaku dalam menuntut dia, tiada mereka itu khabar akan dia ...

Kānrā ki<sup>1233</sup> khabar shud khabarshbān<sup>1234</sup> zi neyāmad.

1235

1227. I.e. keruh-keruh.

1228. Text lupanya, should read: lupa ia.

1229. I have checked Hamzah's quotation with the original. Hamzah's text has: beyāmad.

1230. Hamzah's text is corrupt.

1231. Text has: terbuni, but this is corrupt as tertunu translates sūkh.

1232. Hamzah's text is not clear.

1233. Hamzah's text has: lih.

1234. Hamzah's text has: bāz.

1235. See below, p. 667.

ya'nī:

Bahwa ia itu yang beroleh berita, beritanya tiada lagi datang."

Akan matu pun demikian; apabila ia fanā' didalam emas, akan emas tiada ia tahu, akan matu pun demikina, tiada ia tahu. Inilah ma'nā 'mangkanya dapat menjadi satu.'

(55) Fa'lam - Jika belum fanā' daripada ribu dan ratus.

Ya'nī rupa makhlūqāt semesta sekalian [itulah] ribu dan ratus. [Jika] belum [fanā' daripada ribu dan ratus, belum] dapat bertemu dengan Dia - [ya'nī] hapus. Sungguh pun semesta sekalian shu'ūnNya juga, tetapi jika belum fanā' s[h]u'ūnNya daripada penglihat, belum dapat bertemu dengan Dhāt. Apabila fanā' daripada ĀthārNya<sup>1236</sup> dan Af'ālNya<sup>1237</sup> dan AsmāNya dan ŞifātNya, maka dapat bertemu dengan Dhāt, kerana ĀthārNya<sup>1238</sup> itu dinding af'ĀlNya; Af'ālNya<sup>1239</sup> dinding AsmāNya; AsmāNya dinding ŞifātNya; ŞifātNya dinding Dhāt. Sekalian ini kelakuanNya jua. Apabila fanā' daripada sekalian kelakuanNya, maka dapat bertemu dengan Dhāt. Adapun yang Aşal, Dhāt - Itu Esa; kelakuanNya banyak, ribu dan ratus. Apabila fanā' daripada ribu dan ratus, maka dapat bertemu dengan Dia. Seperti kata Ahlu'l-Sulūk:

'Hijābu<sup>1240</sup>, l-dhāti bi'l-şifāt [73]

1236. Text incorrect: atharNya.

1237. Text incorrect: fi'ilNya.

1238. Text incorrect: atharNya.

1239. Text incorrect: fi'ilNya.

1240. In the text the word hijab in this quotation is written hajb. But it is the noun of hajaba that is intended here.

ḥijābu'l-ṣifāti bi'l-asmā'  
ḥijābu'l-asmā'i bi'l-af'āl  
ḥijābu'l-af'āli bi'l-āthār.'

ya'nī:

'Dinding Dhāt itu ṣifāt,  
 dinding ṣifāt itu asmā',<sup>1241</sup>  
 dinding asmā' itu af'āl,<sup>1242</sup>  
 dinding af'āl itu āthār.'

Adapun suatu ma'nā fanā' [itu iaitu] tanggal; tanggal daripada ribu dan ratus, dan anak-isteri, dan arta dan kekayaan, dan ṣuḥbat dan kekasih, dan pakain yang baik dan kebesaran dan hendak menjadi Shaykh dan karāmat dan kasih akan riyā dan 'ajab daripada ribu dan ratus - [demikian] dapat adamu ini fanā. Hendak[nya]: maka di[a] dapat bertemu dengan Tuhannya.

(56) Fa'lam - Tiadakan [dapat adamu]kau hapus.

Ya'nī jika belum<sup>1243</sup> fanā' daripada ribu dan ratus, dimanakan dapat adamu hapus? - kerana 'ibārat hapus' [itu iaitu] fanā' daripada sekalian 'ālam dan kebesaran dan anak-isteri. Selang [kepada] dirinya lagi hapus, istimewa<sup>1244</sup> [kepada] 'ālam<sup>1245</sup> dan kebesaran dan anak-isteri. Tetapi kata ini kepada menuntut ia juga, tiada kepada menahani. Sungguh pun beranak-isteri, sediakala hapus jua. Adapun akan

---

1241. Text incorrect: af'al.

1242. Text has: āthārNya.

1243. Text repetitive.

1244. Istimewa here conveys the meaning: apalagi.

1245. Text repetitive.

orang muntahī, sediakala hapus jua muntahī. Bukan yang hapus [itu] junūn, atau 'uryān, atau tiada makan, atau tiada tidur, atau tiada [mandi] junūb, atau berchamping, atau tiada mahu sembahyang. Jikalau diikut [yang] demikian itu, hijāb [hukumnya]. Adapun ma'nā hapus [itu iaitu] makan sama, tiada makan [74] sama; 'uryan sama, berkain sama; shurga sama, neraka sama; sungguh pun ia berbuat 'ibādat tetapi tiada ia ingin akan shurga dan tiada ia takut akan neraka, ya'nī taslīm - seperti firmān Allāh Ta'ālā:

Inna'l-dīna 'inda'llāhi'l-islām.<sup>1246</sup>

ya'nī:

Bahwa yang agama itu pada Allāh agama Islām ([ya'nī] menyerahkan dirinya).

Kerana dirinya itu bukan Dirinya, yogyalah diserahkan kepada Yang Empunya Diri, maka dapat hapus daripada dirinya.

(57) Fa'lam - Nafikan dirimu daripada kasar dan halus.

Ya'nī [nafikan dirimu] daripada badan dan nyawa; suatu ma'nā: daripada baik dan jahat; suatu ma'nā: daripada kedua 'ālam; suatu ma'nā: daripada islām dan kāfir; suatu ma'nā: daripada zāhir dan bāṭin.<sup>1247</sup> Sekalian itu yogya dinafikan, maka dapat bertemu dengan Dhāt Allāh, kerana pada sekalian itu bukan Dhāt. Apabila hapus menafikan semesta sekalian yang kasar dan halus, maka dapat bertemu dengan

---

1246. Qur'ān, 3:19.

1247. Text: bāṭin.

Dhāt, kerana Dhāt itu terlalu mahasuchi daripada kasar dan halus. [Yang kasar dan yang halus itu] tiada hukumnya suchi. Barang yang tiada suchi [itu] makhluqāt hukumnya. Jika belum lenyap sekalian makhluqāt [dari penglihat], tiada dapat kelihatan Khāliq. Seperti sabda Rasūlu'Ellāh (ṣalla'Ellāhu 'alayhi wa sallam!):

"Hijābu'Ellāhi sab'īna alfan<sup>1248</sup>  
mina'l-nuri wa sab'īna alfan<sup>1249</sup>  
mina'l-zulumāt."

ya'nī:

"Dinding antara Allāh Subhānahu wa Ta'ālā tujuh puluh ribu dinding daripada cahaya [75] dan tujuh puluh ribu dinding [daripada] kelam."

Itulah dinding yang kepada kasar dan kepada halus.

(58) Fa'lam - Supaya dapat barang katamu harus.

Ya'nī seperti kata Shaykh Junayd<sup>1250</sup> Baghdādī

(rahmatu'Ellāhi 'alayhi!):

"Laysa fī jubbati siwā<sup>1251</sup> 'Ellāh."<sup>1252</sup>

[dan] seperti kata Shaykh Bā Yazīd:

"Subhānī ma a'zama shā'nī"

atau seperti kata Mansūr Hallāj:<sup>1253</sup>

"Anā'l-Haqq."

---

1248. Text incorrect: alfin.

1249. Text incorrect: alfin.

1250. Text corrupt: Junaydī.

1251. Text incorrect: siwa.

1252. Text incorrect: Khallāj.



kerana mereka itu sempurna<sup>1253</sup> ma'rifatnya. Tiada mereka itu melihat kasar dan halus melainkan Dhāt Semata jua. Barang kata mereka itu harus. Adapun kita, jika belum beroleh ma'rifat yang sempurna seperti ma'rifat mereka itu, atau belum hapus daripada kasar dan halus, jangan barang kata [seperti ini] dikatakan; [nischaya] khilāf sharī'at, kerana jalan word jauh is intended. ai<sup>1254</sup> - terlalu suchi.

<sup>1255</sup>. Text: ḥaqīqatnya. Adapun jalan ḥaqīqat, sungguh pun hampir, maranya banyak. Jangan kita meninggalkan sembahyang dan jangan meninggalkan sharī'at, kerana sharī'at dengan ḥaqīqat<sup>1255</sup> esa jua. Barangsiapa belum mabok atau belum mahw atau belum junūn datang daripada Allāh, jikalau meninggal[kan] sembahyang dan puasa dan makan ḥarām,<sup>1256</sup> fāsiq dan 'āṣilah mereka itu hukumnya.

Ya'nī<sup>1258</sup> [76] sungguh pun ḍa'īf, terlalu yaqīn, bukan bermain sia-sia; sungguh pun<sup>1259</sup> lemah pada semesta; bukan bermain sia-sia; sungguh pun<sup>1259</sup> lemah pada semesta

1253. Text repetitive.

1254. The meaning intended is not conveyed by this word. The word jauh is intended.

1255. Text: ḥaqīqatnya.

1256. Text incorrect: ḥaram.

1257. Text repetitive.

1258. Following Ya'nī the text is garbled and corrupt:

... inilah kitab daripada Hamzah yang berbuat dia dengan anugerahkan Allāh Ta'ālā kepadanya, maka dapat berkata. Negerinya Barus. Sungguh pun [76] ḍa'īf terlalu kathīf, ḥaqīqat[nya] sampai ke[pada] Dhāt al-Sharīf.

1259. Sungguh pun here means walau pun.

sekalian kerjanya, mithal berbuat 'ibādat dan<sup>1260</sup> riyāḍat<sup>1261</sup> dan 'uzlat dan qanā'at dan tark al-dunyā; dan lemah pada 'ilmunya dan ma'rifatnya. Seperti firmān Allāh Ta'ālā:

Wa mā ūtītum<sup>1262</sup> mina'l-'ilmi illā qalīlan.<sup>1263</sup>

ya'nī:

Tiada Kuberikan kamu daripada 'ilmu melainkan sedikit jua.

Manakan dapat mengenal Allāh dengan sempurna kenal? Selang Rasūlu'llāh (ṣalla'llāhu 'alayhi wa sallam!) lagi bersabda demikian bunyinya:

"Subḥānaka mā 'arafnāka ḥaqqā  
ma'rifatika."

ya'nī:

"Mahasuchi Engkau! - tiada [ku]kenal  
Engkau sebenar-benar mengenal Dikau."

- istimewa<sup>1264</sup> kita, dimana akan datang kepada ma'rifat kelebihan? Tetapi seqadar anugeraha Allāh Ta'ālā jua akan kita chari dan kita bicharakan, dengan kashf al-kashf, pada ĀthārNya<sup>1265</sup> dan Af'ālNya dan Asmā'Nya dan ṢifātNya. Adapun pada suatu ma'nā, [Ḥamzah] ḍa'īf kerana [ia] tiada berwujūd. Apabila tiada berwujūd, [maka] tiada[lah] berṣifāt [dan] tiada[lah] beraf'āl. ḍa'īf[lah] ḥukumnya.

1260. Text has: pada.

1261. Text repetitive.

1262. Text incorrect: utītum.

1263. Qur'ān, 17:85.

1264. Istimewa here means apalagi.

1265. Text incorrect: atharNya.

(60) Fa'lam - Haqīqatnya hampir kepada Dhāt al-Sharīf.

Ya'nī sungguh pun [ia] ḍa'īf, haqīqatnya tiada bercherai dengan Dhāt yang Mahamulia, kerana Dhāt itulah [yang] Empunya ḥarakāt dan sukunāt, qu'ūd<sup>1266</sup> dan qiyām, tidur dan jaga, berhenti<sup>1267</sup> dan berjalan; Ia jua yang menggerak dia maka<sup>1268</sup> dapat bergerak. Jika tiada Ia menggerak dia, tiada dapat Ḥamzah bergerak, [77] kerana Ḥamzah seperti bayang-bayang jua. Jika tiada yang Empunya bayang-bayang mengerak dia, dimana dapat Ḥamzah bergerak? Adapun suatu tamthīl lagi mithal [buah] chatur. Asalnya kayu sepuhun jua. Maka dilarik berbagai-bagai; dinamainya "raja" dan "mentri" dan "gajah" dan "kuda" dan "tīr" dan "baidaq". Asalnya kayu sekerat jua dijadikan banyak. Maka dipermain [buah] chatur itu: "raja" dan "mentri" dan "gajah" dan "kuda" dan "tīr" dan "baidaq" -namanya jua ada,<sup>1269</sup> haqīqatnya tiada. Tetapi [ia] hampir kepada orang [yang] melarik dia dan bermain [dengan] dia, kerana tangan orang itu dā'im lekat kepada [buah] chatur itu<sup>1270</sup> kerana [buah] chatur itu tiada bergerak melainkan gerak yang empunya [buah] chatur jua. Inilah ma'nā [haqīqatnya] hampir kepada Dhāt al-Sharīf.

---

1266. Text corrupt: qūd.

1267. Text corrupt: berhentiya.

1268. Makahere means sehingga.

1269. Text: adanya.

1270. Text repetitive beginning from the word kerana.

(61) Fa'lam - Sungguh pun ḥabāb<sup>1271</sup> rupanya kathīf.

Ya'nī ḥabāb<sup>1272</sup> [itu iaitu] buih; rupanya keras [tetapi] kerana asalnya air hukumnya lembut jua. Apabila timbul, menjadi keras hukumnya, kerana pada 'ibārat [buih] lain daripada air - ya'nī air laṭīf, buih kathīf. Adapun kepada ḥaqīqat [buih] tiada lain daripada air. Kerana ini maka dikatakan buih kathīf: sebab ia berupa dan bernama lain daripada air.<sup>1273</sup> Tetapi kepada ḥaqīqat tiada ia berupa dan tiada ia berwujūd; dan bernamanya itu wahmī<sup>1274</sup> juga, tiada ḥaqīqī, kerana ia dā'im fanā' didalam air. Adapun qudratnya dan irādatnya dan penengarnya dan penglihatnya [78] dan budinya [dan] ma'rifatnya yang kita lihat daripadanya, [sebenarnya] tiada daripadanya, [akan tetapi] daripada air jua. Inilah ma'nā sungguh pun ḥabāb<sup>1275</sup> rupanya kathīf.

(62) Fa'lam - Wāsilnya dā'im dengan Bahr al-Laṭīf.

Ya'nī laṭīf [itu iaitu] lemah; senantiasa buih wāsil<sup>1276</sup> dengan air, kerana air lembut buih keras. Apabila buih pechah, kembali kepada air. Sebab ini maka dikatakan buih wāsil dengan air. Adapun kepada suatu 'ibārat Ahlu'l-Sulūk wāsil<sup>1277</sup> tiada; sungguh pun wāsil dikata[kan] [tetapi]

1271. Text incorrect: ḥabāb.

1272. Text incorrect: ḥabāb.

1273. Text repetitive.

1274. Text incorrect: wahmi.

1275. Text incorrect: ḥabāb.

1276. Text: waṣl.

1277. Text: waṣl.

hanya] pada 'ibārat juga. Adapun kepada ḥaqīqat, tiada wāṣil namanya jika suatu shay' dengan shu'ūnnya. [Yang demikian itu] tiada wāṣil ḥukumnya. Adapun wāṣil di'ibāratkan supaya dapat oleh sekalian ṭālib; jika tiada dengan 'ibārat, tiada sekali[-kali dapat] menyeb[ut] dia dan mengetahui dan mengenal dia. Setelah sempurna yogya mengetahui dan mengenal dia, dan setelah itu yogya mengerjakan kerja sharī'at. Hubaya-hubaya jangan keluar daripada kandang sharī'at, kerana [sharī'at itu upama] kulit, ḥaqīqat [upama] otak; jika tiada kulit binasa otak. Mithal kelambir sebuah dengan kulitnya, dengan tempurungnya, dengan isinya, dengan minyaknya. Yang sharī'at seperti kulit[nya]; yang ṭarīqat seperti tempurungnya; yang ḥaqīqat seperti isinya; yang ma'rifat seperti minyaknya. Dengan empat itu maka sempurnalah ḥukumnya. Jika sesuatu ini kurang daripadanya, tiadalah sempurna lagi; jikalau ditanam juga, jika tiada dengan kulitnya, [79] tiadakan tumbuh jua [dan] akhirnya binasa. Demikian lagi akan orang menuntut Allāh Subḥānahu wa Ta'ālā jangan bercherai dengan sharī'at dan ṭarīqat dan ḥaqīqat dan ma'rifat maka sempurna. Apabila bercherai dengan sharī'at ḍalālat<sup>1278</sup> ḥukumnya. Jika terbang diudara atau berjalan atas air atau memakan api sekalipun - hubatan dusta dan sesat jalannya! Ḥukumnya bukan ia walī, kerana ia karāmatnya itu bukan karāmat - istidrāj<sup>1279</sup>

---

1278. Text incorrect: ḍalālat.

1279. Text incorrect: istidrāj.

namanya; ya'nī daripada Shayṭān atau daripada Jinn atau daripada siḥr atau murka Allāh Ta'ālā akan dia agar supaya ghurūr dengan karāmatnya itu disangkanya wāṣil ia dengan Allāh Ta'ālā. Adapun kepada 'Ulamā' karāmat awliyā yang memakai shari'at [itu] daripada anugeraha Allāh Ta'ālā; mu'jizāt<sup>1280</sup> akan anbiyā, karāmat<sup>1281</sup> akan<sup>1282</sup> awliyā. Karāmat keduanya tiada 'ayb dan tiada ḥijāb. Adapun kepada Ahlu'l-Ma'rifah<sup>1283</sup> dan 'Ushshāq karāmat [itu] ḥijāb dan quyūd - dinamai ḥaydu'l-rijāl, kerana karāmat bahayanya banyak; tiada berapa orang [yang] salāmat. Adapun 'ilmu sulūk [itu] 'ilmu Nabī Muḥammad Rasūlu'LLāh (ṣalla'LLāhu 'alayhi wa sallam!). Barangsiapa memakai 'ilmu sulūk [dan] khilāf<sup>1284</sup> 'amalnya daripada 'amal Nabī Muḥammad Rasūlu'LLāh (ṣalla'LLāhu 'alayhi wa sallam!), dalālat hukumnya - bukan [ia] Ahlu'l-Sulūk. Tetapi jika ma'rifatnya sempurna - kerana ma'rifat itu [ma'rifat] akan Tuhannya: orang itu mabok dan maḥw, tiada lagi ia khabar akan shari'at [80] dan ṭarīqat dan ḥaqīqat dan ma'rifat - itu tiada mengapa. Segala [a]mr Allāh, kerana orang itu seperti hamba sultān yang didalam pagar; barang perbuatannya tiada raja gusar akan dia. Adapun akan segala orang yang memakai shari'at dan ṭarīqat

---

1280. Text: mu'jizat.

1281. Text: karāmat.

1282. Text redundant: akan karāmat.

1283. Text: ma'rifatnya.

1284. Text incorrect: khilaf.

dan ḥaqīqat dan ma'rifat seperti perbuatan Nabī Muḥammad Rasūlu'LLāh (ṣalla'LLāhu 'alayhi wa sallam!), mereka itu seperti mentri dā'im mengerjakan amr raja. Sungguh pun jauh daripada raja, tetapi ia [terlebih] besar [pangkatnya] daripada orang yang dalam pagar kerana mentri perdana khalīfah raja, dan memegang pekerjaan raja jua. Jikalau tiada karāmat kepada ḡāhirnya kita lihat, kepada bāṭinnya karāmat<sup>1285</sup> ia. Jangan kita sangka sharī'at kecil, kerana Allāh Ta'ālā bernama ḡāhir dan Bāṭin. Adapun ḡāhirNya itu sharī'atNya; bāṭinNya [itu] ḥaqīqatNya. Kepada 'awāmm, farq sharī'at daripada ḥaqīqat. Adapun kepada Ahlu'l-Ma'rifah, sharī'at dengan ḥaqīqat ia juga.<sup>1286</sup> Sharī'at berlindung kepada ḥaqīqat; ḥaqīqat berkandung kepada sharī'at. Apabila bertemu dengan sharī'at, bertemu dengan ṭarīqat; apabila bertemu dengan ṭarīqat, bertemu [dengan] ḥaqīqat; apabila bertemu [dengan] ḥaqīqat, bertemu dengan ma'rifat. Wa'LLāhu a'lam bi'l-ṣawāb! Tamma'l-kitāb.

Wa ṣalla'LLāhu 'alā khayri  
khalqihī Muḥammad wa alihi  
wa ṣahbihi ajma'in wa'l-ḥamdu  
li'LLāhi rabbi'l-'ālamīn.

Bahwa ini kitāb Asrāru'l-'Ārifīn fī bayān 'ilmi'l-Sulūk  
wa'l-Tawḥīd<sup>1287</sup> Tamma bi'l-khayr. Āmīn.

---

1285. In text the word pada precedes karāmat.

1286. Ia juga means sama juga, i.e. identical.

1287. The complete title of the Asrāru'l-'Ārifīn.

## CHAPTER VIII

Sharābu'l-'Āshiqīn

karangan Ḥamzah Fanṣūrī

[Naskhah Leiden, no.2016]

[1] Bismi'Llāhi'l-raḥmani'l-raḥīm  
Al-ḥamdu li'Llāhi rabbi'l-'ālamīn  
wa'l-'āqibatu li'l-muttaqīn  
wa'l-ṣalatu wa'l-salamu 'ala  
rasūlihi Muḥammadīn wa 'alā  
ālihi wa aṣḥābihi ajma'īn.

- (1) Ketahui bahwa faqīr ḍa'īf Ḥamzah Fanṣūrī hendak menyatakan jalan kepada Allāh Subḥānahu wa Ta'ālā dan ma'rifat Allāh dengan bahasa Jāwī dalam kitāb ini - inshā Allāh - supaya segala hamba Allāh yang tiada tahu akan bahasa 'Arab dan bahasa Fārisi supaya<sup>1288</sup> dapat memicharakan dia.
- (2) Adapun kitāb ini dinamai Sharābu'l-'Āshiqīn, ya'nī: Minuman segala orang yang berahi. Supaya<sup>1289</sup> barangsiapa hendak meminum minuman orang yang berahi [lihatlah] kedalam kitāb ini supaya dapat diperolehnya, kerana perkataan orang yang berahi [ada] dalam kitāb ini. [Akan tetapi perkataan ini] dimukhtasarkan juga, tiada dimutawwal.
- (3) Adapun ma'rifat Allāh terlalu mushkil. Jika tiada guru yang sempurna dan murīd yang bijakshana, tiada terbicharakan,

---

1288. The word supaya here seems redundant.

1289. This word here also seems redundant.



kerana ma'rifat Allāh rahasia Nabī (ṣalla'Llāhu 'alayhi wa  
sallam!). Tetapi barang kuasa kita yogya kita tuntut,  
seperti sabda Rasūlu'Llāh (ṣalla'Llāhu 'alayhi wa sallam!):

"Man ṭalaba shay'an jiddan wajada"

ya'nī:

"Barangsiapa menuntut sesuatu padahal  
disungguh-sungguhnya,<sup>1290</sup> nischaya diperolehnya."

Dan sabda Rasūlu'Llāh (ṣalla'Llāhu 'alayhi wa sallam!):

"Ṭalabu'l-'ilma<sup>1291</sup> farīdatun 'ala kulli  
muslimin wa muslimatin."<sup>1292</sup>

ya'nī:

"Menuntut 'ilmu itu farḍu atas segala islām  
laki-laki dan segala islām perempuan."

Dan sabda Rasūlu'Llāh (ṣalla'Llāhu 'alayhi wa sallam!):

"Uṭlubu'l-<sup>1293</sup> 'ilma wa law kāna bi'l-ṣin."

ya'nī:

"Pergi tuntut olehmu 'ilmu jikalau dibenua  
China sekalipun."

Dan firmān Allāh Ta'āla:

Wa mā khalaqtu'l-jinna wa'l-insa illā  
li ya'budūn.<sup>1294</sup> [2]

ya'nī:

Tiada Kujadikan jinn dan manuschia  
melainkan bagi menyembah Daku (ya'nī:  
mengenal Daku).

1290. I.e. Dengan sungguh-sungguh.

1291. Text incorrect: 'ilmi.

1292. Text incorrect: mustimatin.

1293. Text incorrect: uṭlubi.

1294. Qur'an, 51:56.

Dan firmān Allāh Ta'ālā pada Ḥadīth Qudsī:

Kuntu kanzan makhfiyyan fa aḥbatu an  
u'rafa fa khalaqtu'l-khalqa li<sup>1295</sup> u'raf.

ya'nī:

Dahulu<sup>1296</sup> adalah Aku pada perbenda[ha]raan yang terbunyi, maka Kukasih akan dikenal Daku, maka Kujadikan segala makhluk supaya dikenal Aku.

- (4) Kerana ini maka kata Ahlu'l-Sulūk [bahwa] mengenal Allāh [itu] farḍu dan menyembah Allāh pun farḍu seqadar kuasa kita. Jangan taqsīr dan jangan menchari kebesaran dunyā dan arta banyak - lebih daripada [quwwat]<sup>1297</sup> pagi dan petang - dan [jangan] mashghūlkan anak-isteri dan [jangan] makan-tidur seperti binatang, kerana manusia itu terlalu mulia pada Allāh Ta'ālā. Yogya kita ketahui kemuliaan diri kita. Ya'nī barangsiapa berma'rifat dan berbuat 'ibādat banyak, orang itulah mulia pada Allāh Ta'ālā; barangsiapa tiada berma'rifat dan tiada berbuat 'ibādat, orang itulah nāqis hukumnya.

Seperti firman Allāh:

Lahum qulūbun lā yafqahūna bihā  
wa lahum a'yunun lā yubṣirūna bihā  
wa lahum ādhanun lā yasma'ūna bihā  
ulā'ika kā'l-an'āmi bal hum aḍallu  
ulā'ika humu'l-ghāfilūn.<sup>1298</sup>

1295. Li can also be read as likay in this quotation. Cf. note 1780.

1296. On the margin.

1297. Quwwat from 7291, p.82.

1298. Qur'an 7:179.

ya'nī:

Bermula: bagi mereka itu hati, tiada faham mereka itu dalamnya dengan dia; dan bagi mereka itu mata, tiada mereka itu melihat dengan dia; dan bagi mereka itu telinga, tiada mereka itu menengar dengan dia. Mereka itulah seperti binatang dikita - mereka itu terlalu sesat - mereka itulah yang lupa (akan Tuhannya).

- (5) Daripada āyat ini jangan kita ghāfil, jangan kita sangka akan kāfir juga<sup>1299</sup> ghāfil. [Kerana itu]<sup>1300</sup> yogya kita kerjakan ṭā'at, dan menchari ma'rifat kepada guru yang sempurna kepada shari'at dan ṭariqat dan haqiqat; [3] kerana shari'at seperti pagar, ṭariqat seperti rumah, haqiqat seperti isi rumah; jika rumah itu tiada berpagar 'āqibat[nya] isi rumah itu dichuri orang. Ya'nī kepada Allāh, jika tiada dengan shari'at 'āqibat[nya] diharu Shayṭān. Seperti firmān<sup>1301</sup> Allāh Ta'ālā:

A lam a'had ilaykum yā banī Ādama an lā  
ta'budu'l-shayṭāna innahu lakum 'aduwwu  
'l-mubīn.<sup>1302</sup>

ya'nī:

Tiadakah Aku berjanji dengan kamu, hai anak Ādam, bahwa jangan kamu menyembah Shayṭān? Bahwa sesungguhnya ia bagi kamu setru terlalu nyata.

- (6) [Maka] yogya[lah] kita memagari diri kita supaya kita jangan diharu Shayṭān. Barangsiapa memagari dirinya dengan pagar shari'at, tiada dapat[ia] diharu Shayṭān.

1299. Juga here means saja.

1300. Kerana itu from 7291, p.83.

1301. Text has: sabda.

1302. Qur'an 36:60.

Adapun barangsiapa keluar daripada kandang sharī'at, nischaya dapat [ia] diharu Shayṭān. Adapun barangsiapa menyangka sharī'at kechil, atau menchela dia, kāfir - na'ūdhu bi' Llāhi minhā! - kerana sharī'at tiada bercherai dengan ṭarīqat, ṭarīqat tiada bercherai dengan ḥaqīqat, ḥaqīqat tiada bercherai dengan ma'rifat. Seperti kapal sebuah; sharī'at seperti lunasnya, ṭarīqat seperti papan[nya], ḥaqīqat seperti isinya, ma'rifat akan labanya. Apabila lunas dibuangkan, nischaya kapal itu karam; laba pun lenyap, modal pun lenyap, merugi dikita.<sup>1303</sup> Wa'Llāhu a'lam bi'l-ṣawab!

---

1303. I.e. pada kita. It is not a mistake for dikata, as it frequently occurs in the texts. It seems to me to be an equivalent of the Arabic 'indanā.

Bābu'l-awwal fī bayān a'māli'l-sharī'at

[Bāb yang Pertama  
Pada menyatakan Perbuatan Sharī'at]<sup>1304</sup>

- (7) Ketahui bahwa yang dinamai sharī'at itu sabda<sup>1305</sup>  
Nabī (ṣalla'llāhu 'alayhi wa sallam!) menyuruh[kan] kita  
berbuat baik, melarangkan [kita] berbuat jahat. Seperti  
sabda Nabī (ṣalla'llāhu 'alayhi wa sallam!):

"Al-sharī'atu aqwālī."

[ya'nī:]

"Yang sharī'at [itu] kataku."

Adapun kata Nabī (ṣalla'llāhu 'alayhi wa sallam!) daripada  
Allāh juga; seperti dalīl Qur'ān bukan daripada kehendak  
hatinya berkata. Seperti firmān<sup>1306</sup> Allāh Ta'ālā:

Wa mā yanṭiqu 'ani'l-hawā in  
huwa illā waḥyun [4] yūḥā.<sup>1306</sup>

ya'nī:

Tiada Nabī (ṣalla'llāhu 'alayhi wa sallam!)  
berkata daripada kehendak hati[nya]. Bahwa  
melainkan ia yang diturunkan Allāh Ta'ālā  
kepadanya firmān.

- (8) Adapun Nabī (ṣalla'llāhu 'alayhi wa sallam!)  
mengatakan bahwa Allāh Subḥānahu wa Ta'ālā esa tiada dua,  
dan tiada sebagaiNya, dan tiada bertimbal, dan tiada sekutu  
dan sebangsa, dan tiada serupa, dan tiada berjihāt dan

1304. Cf. 7291, p.84.

1305. Text has: firmān.

1306. Text has: sabda.

1307. Qur'ān 53:3-4.

tiada bertempat - seperti firmān<sup>1308</sup> Allāh Ta'ālā:

Laysa kamithlihi shay'un.<sup>1309</sup>

ya'nī:

Tiada sebagaiNya suatu pun.

[Dan Lagi] firmān<sup>1310</sup> Allāh Ta'ālā:

Subhāna'LLāhi 'ammā yaṣifūn.<sup>1311</sup>

ya'nī:

Mahasuchi Allāh Ta'ālā! - tiada dapat diperikan.

(9) Adapun perkara sharī'at sendirinya, pertama shahādat, dan [kedua] sembahyang farḍu, [ketiga] memberi zakāt, dan [keempat] puasa farḍu, [kelima] jika ada berzawādah pergi naik hajj. Kelimanya ini sharī'at Nabī (ṣalla'LLāhu 'alayhi wa sallam!). Adapun sharī'at tiga perkara: suatu sharī'at, barang dilihatnya tiada dilarang; suatu sharī'at, yang disuruhnya, suatu sharī'at, yang diperbuat Nabī (ṣalla'LLāhu 'alayhi wa sallam!). Seperkara [lagi] yogya kita membawa īmān akan Nabī (ṣalla'LLāhu 'alayhi wa sallam!) bahwa ia persuruh Allāh Ta'ālā. Barang katanya sungguh, barang perbuatannya benar.

(10) Barangsiapa i'tiqādnya sabda Rasūlu'LLāh (ṣalla'LLāhu 'alayhi wa sallam!) tiada sungguh atau perbuatannya tiada benar, kāfir - na'ūdhu bi'LLāhi minhā! - kerana Nabī

---

1308. Text has: sabda.

1309. Qur'ān 42:11.

1310. Text has: sabda.

1311. Qur'ān 6:100.

(ṣalla'llāhu 'alayhi wa sallam!) dijadikan Allāh Subḥānahu wa Ta'ālā lebih daripada makhlūq sekalian. Apabila ia lebih daripada makhlūq sekalian, nischaya barang perbuatannya benar, barang katanya sungguh. Barangsiapa berahi akan Allāh, yogya dituntut perbuatan Nabī (ṣalla'llāhu 'alayhi wa sallam!) maka<sup>1312</sup> sempurna berahi dan sempurna berma'rifat kerana ia<sup>1313</sup> sempurna berahi dan sempurna memakai ['ilmu] sulūk. Barangsiapa tiada menurut fi'ilnya, ia itu nāqis (kekurangan)<sup>1314</sup> [5] dan sesat hukumnya, kerana shari'at [dan ṭariqat]<sup>1315</sup> dan haqīqat pakaian Nabī. Apabila kita tinggalkan suatu daripada tiga itu, nāqis hukumnya. Jika haqīqat tiada dengan shari'at, binasa [hukumnya].<sup>1316</sup> Adapun barangsiapa mengerjakan sembahyang farḍu, dan puasa farḍu, dan makan ḥalāl, dan meninggalkan ḥarām, dan berkata benar, dan tiada laba, dan tiada dengki, dan tiada minum tuak,<sup>1317</sup> dan tiada mengupat orang, dan tiada mengadu-ngadu, dan tiada zīnat, dan tiada 'uyūb,<sup>1318</sup> dan tiada riyā', dan tiada takabbur - banyak lagi mithalnya ini - ia itu memakai shari'at. Kerana perbuatan itu perbuatan Muḥammad Rasūlu'llāh

---

1312. Maka here means: supaya, agar.

1313. Ia refers to Muḥammad.

1314. On the margin of the text (translation of the word nāqis).

1315. Cf. 7291. n.86.

nāqis).

1315. Cf. 7291, p.86.

86.

1316. Cf. 7291, p.86.

1317. I.e. arak, Arabic: khamr; cf. 7291, p.86.

1318. Next incorrect. Lubb

(ṣalla'llāhu 'alayhi wa sallam!) yogya kita turut supaya dapat kita kedalam ṭarīqat, kerana ṭarīqat tiada lain daripada shari'at.

(11) Seperti firmān<sup>1319</sup> Allāh Ta'ālā:

Qul in kuntum tuḥibbūna'llāha  
fa't-tabi'ūnī yuḥbibkumu'llāh.<sup>1320</sup>

ya'nī:

Katakan [olehnu] (yā Muḥammad) jika ada kamu mengasihi Allāh [maka] turut perbuatanku supaya kamu dikasihi Allāh Ta'ālā.

Dan firmān<sup>1321</sup> Allāh Ta'ālā:

Mā ātākumu'l-rasūlu fakhudhūhu  
wa mā nahākum 'anhu fa'l-ntahū.<sup>1322</sup>

ya'nī:

Barang [yang] diberikan Rasūlu'llāh kepada kamu ambil daripadanya.  
Bermula: barang yang dilarangkan Rasūlu'llāh tinggalkan oleh kamu.

Kata Shamsu Tabrīz:

"Shari'at rā muqaddam dāram aknūn  
Ḥaqīqat az shari'at nīst birūn ...

ya'nī:

"Yang shari'at itu kudahulukan sekarang,  
Kerana ḥaqīqat dan shari'at tiada berlainan ...

---

1319. Text: sabda.

1320. Qur'an 3:29.

1321. Text: sabda.

1322. Qur'an 59:7.



Kasī kū dar shari'at rāsikh āyad  
Ḥaqīqat rāh bar way khūd<sup>1323</sup> gushāyad."

ya'nī:

Barangsiapa ia itu kepada shari'at sempurna,  
 Datang jalan ḥaqīqat kepada orang itu  
 nischaya memukakan dirinya."

Adapun perkara shari'at banyak, mana dapat sekaliannya  
 disebut? Dalam kitāb ini ishārat [6] mukhtaṣar juga  
 tersebut. Barangsiapa berahi akan Allāh Ta'ālā, yogya  
 dichari dengan budi pula.<sup>1324</sup> Wa'LLāhu a'lam bi'l-ṣawāb!

1323. Text: khūb.

1324. Text has the form: pulang.

Bābu'l-thānī fī bayān a'māli'l-ṭarīqat

[Bāb yang Kedua

Pada menyatakan Perbuatan Ṭarīqat]<sup>1325</sup>

(12) Ketahui bahwa ṭarīqat itu tiada lain daripada ḥaqīqat, kerana ṭarīqat permulaan ḥaqīqat [seperti shari'at permulaan ṭarīqat pun].<sup>1326</sup> Seperti sabda Rasūlu'Llāh (salla'Llāhu 'alayhi wa sallam!):

"Al-ṭarīqatu af'ālī."

ya'nī:

"Yang ṭarīqat itu perbuatanku."

Adapun permulaan ṭarīqat [itu] tawbat, seperti tawbat naṣūḥan daripada segala dosa yang māḍī, kerana firmān<sup>1327</sup> Allāh Ta'ālā:

Yā ayyuhā'l-ladhīna āmanū tūbū ilā'l-Lāhi  
tawbatan naṣūḥan.<sup>1328</sup>

ya'nī:

Hai segala kamu<sup>1329</sup> yang membawa īmān, tawbatlah kamu kepada Allāh dengan tawbat naṣūḥan (ya'nī setelah sudah tawbat jangan kembali lagi).

Dan [Lagi] firmān<sup>1330</sup> Allāh Ta'ālā:

Inna'Llāha yuḥibbu'l-ttawwābīna  
wa yuḥibbu'l-mutaṭahhirīn.<sup>1331</sup>

1325. Cf. 7291, p.87.

1326. Cf. 7291, p.87.

1327. Text: sabda.

1328. Qur'an 66:8.

1329. Text: mereka - literal translation for second person plural.

1330. Text: sabda.

1331. Qur'an 2:222.

ya'nī:

Bahwa sesungguhnya Allāh Ta'ālā kasih akan orang [yang] tawbat, dan kasih akan orang [yang] menyuchikan diri.

(13) Dan [ṭarīqat itu] tarku'l-dunyā, ya'nī jangan menaruh arta dunyā banyak, lebih daripada [untuk] dimakan dan diperkain, kerana sabda Rasūlu'llāh (ṣalla'llāhu 'alayhi wa sallam!):

"Tarku'l-dunyā ra'su kulli 'ibādatin  
ḥubbu'l-dunya ra'su kulli khaṭi'atin."

ya'nī:

"Meninggalkan dunyā kepala segala 'ibādat kasih akan dunyā kepala segala kejahatan."

Dan [lagi] sabda Rasūlu'llāh (ṣalla'llāhu 'alayhi wa sallam!):

"Kun fī'l-dunyā ka'annaka gharībun  
aw 'ābiru sabīlin wa 'udda nafsaka  
min aṣḥābi'l-qubūr."

ya'nī:

"Diam dalam dunyā engkau seperti dagang, atau seperti orang melalui jalan, dan jadikan dirimu [seolah-olah engkau] daripada orang isi qubūr."

Dan [lagi] sabda Rasūlu'llāh (ṣalla'llāhu 'alayhi wa sallam!):

"Man tawakkala 'alā'llāhi kafā." 1332

ya'nī:

"Barangsiapa menyerahkan dirinya kepada Allāh padahal."

---

1332. Cf. Qur'ān 4:80.

Erti tawakkal [itu ialah] tiada shakk dalamnya, seperti firmān<sup>1333</sup> Allāh Ta'ālā:

Fa tawakkalū in kuntum mu'minīn.<sup>1334</sup>

ya'nī;

Serahkan dirikamu [7] pada Allāh jika ada kamu orang perchaya.

(14) Dan [ṭarīqat itu] menuntut Allāh Ta'ālā bersungguh-sungguh, dan bersuhabat dengan orang berma'rifat, dan menurut firmān Allāh Ta'ālā, dan benchi pada segala [yang] dilarangkan Allāh Ta'ālā, dan sembahyang sunnat, rawātib, dan taḥajjud, dan [sembahyang] ḍuḥā dan nawāfil barang kuasa kita, [dan] menguchap tasbīḥ dan dhikru'llāh dan tilāwat al-Qur'ān, dan puasa ayyāmu'l-bīd - ya'ni puasa tigabelas, empatbelas dan limabelas haribulan - dan yawmu'l-ithnayn dan yawmu'l-khamīs dan 'Ashūrā dan bulan Rajab dan bulan Sha'bān [dan bulan Dhū'l-Ḥijjah],<sup>1335</sup> dan mengurangi makan-[minum], dan [meng]urangi berkata-kata, dan [meng]urangi tidur, dan jauh daripada orang dan berpada-pada.

(15) Sekalian perbuatan ini ṭarīqat namanya, tiada lain daripada ḥaqīqat. Jangan kamu sangka ṭarīqat ini kechil, kerana ṭarīqat pakaian Nabī (ṣalla'llāhu 'alayhi wa sallam!). Barangsiapa mungkir daripada sharī'at dan ṭarīqat, [ia itu] kāfir - na'ūdhu bi'llāhi minhā! Adapun barangsiapa mengatakan sharī'at dan ṭarīqat jalan yang sebenarnya, tetapi tiada

1333. Text: sabda.

1334. Qur'ān, 5:23.

1335. Cf. 7291, p.89.

kuasa mengerjakan dia, tiada ia kāfir; 'āṣī hukumnya daripada ia tiada kuasa memakai dia.

- (16) Adapun mintak makan, kepada sharī'at, jikalau ada padanya [untuk] pagi dan petang, jika pergi mintak ḥaram hukumnya, kerana sabda Nabī (ṣall'LLāhu 'alayhi wa sallam!):

"Man sa'ala wa 'indahū mā yughnīhi fa innama yastakthiru minā'l-nari qālū yā rasūlu'LLāhi wa mā yughnīhi qāla qadru mā yaghdihi wa ya'shīhi."

ya'nī:

"Barangsiapa memintak, bermula: [dan ada] kepadanya barang qadar kayanya, bahwa sesungguhnya membanyak daripada api neraka." Maka bertanya suḥbat: "Berapa barang qadar kayanya?" Maka sabda Rasūlu'LLāh: "Qadar pagi dan petang."

- (17) Adapun kepada ṭarīqat, jika tiada dapat berdiri sembahyang farḍu, maka harus pergi memintak - itu pun jangan banyak, seqadarmu [8] sekali makan juga. Jika lebih daripada sekali makan, jangan ditaruh; berikan kepada faqīr. Adapun kepada Ḥaqīqat, jangan mintak sekali-kali, kerana rizqi kita tersurat pada Lawḥ al-Maḥfūz, dan sudah terbagi: yang banyak, banyak; yang sedikit, sedikit - tiadakan lebih dan tiadakan kurang.

- (18) Lagi seperkara, Allāh Ta'ālā tahu akan lapar kita dan dahaga kita. Kenapa kita mengadu [kan ḥāl]<sup>1336</sup> kepada lain?

---

1336. Cf. 7291, p.90.

Seperkara, [se]olah-olah rāḍi akan kenyang, tiada rāḍi akan lapar! Kerana [ini] firmān<sup>1337</sup> Allāh Ta'ālā:

Man lam yarḍa biqadā'ī wa lam yaṣbir 'ala  
balā'ī wa lam yashkur 'ala ni'matī<sup>1338</sup> fa'l-  
yakhruj min tahti'l-samā'ī fa'l-yaṭlub  
rabban siwā'ī.<sup>1339</sup>

ya'nī:

Barangsiapa tiada rāḍi kepada bahgianKu,  
 dan tiada ia ṣābar atas kutukKu, dan  
 tiada memuji atas ni'matKu, maka keluarlah  
 dari bawah lengitKu, maka tuntutan Tuhan  
 yang lain daripadaKu!

- (19) Kerana ini maka dilarangkan Ahlu'l-Ḥaqīqah mintak.  
 Adapun kata Ahlu'l-Ḥaqīqah, jika tawakkalnya sempurna, dan  
 rāḍinya sempurna, dan memandang pada Lawḥ al-Maḥfūẓ naṣībnya,  
 jika ia mati lapar, matinya mati shahīd hukumnya. Adapun  
 perkara ṭarīqat Muḥammad Rasūlu'Llāh (ṣallā'Llāhu 'alayhi wa  
sallam!) banyak lagi tiada tersurat. Wa'Llāhu a'lam bi'l-  
ṣawāb!

---

1337. Text: sabda.

1338. In 7291, p.90, the plural form is given: ni'amī.

1339. I.e. in the Holy Tradition (Ḥadīth Qudṣī).

Bābu'l-thālith fī bayān a'mālī'l-ḥaqīqat

[Bab yang Ketiga

Pada menyatakan Perbuatan Ḥaqīqat]<sup>1340</sup>

- (20) Ketahui bahwa jalan ḥaqīqat [itu] jalan Muḥammad Rasūlu'llāh (ṣalla'llāhu 'alayhi wa sallam!) kesudah-sudahan jalannya. Seperti Ḥadīth:

"Al-sharī'atu aqwālī  
wa'l-tarīqatu af'ālī  
wa'l-ḥaqīqatu ahwālī."

ya'nī:

"Yang sharī'at [itu] kataku,  
yang tarīqat itu perbuatanku,  
yang ḥaqīqat itu pertingkahku."

Ketiganya itu dipakai Nabī. [9] Barangsiapa memakai ketiganya ini, maka kāmīl mukammal namanya.

- (21) Adapun a'māl Ahlu'l-Ḥaqīqah, dahulu mengenal Allāh dengan sempurna kenal hendak[nya]. [Jika] tiada mengenal Allāh dengan sempurna kenal, tiada dapat memakai ḥaqīqat kerana ḥaqīqat perbuatan ma'rifat. Maka apabila berma'rifat, dapat mengerjakan ḥaqīqat.

- (22) Adapun Ahlu'l-Ḥaqīqah dua bahagi. Sebahagi<sup>1341</sup> beranak beristeri dan berumah dan bertanaman, tetapi tiada hatinya lekat kepada tanamannya dan pada anak-isterinya dan [kepada]

1340. Cf. 7291, p.90.

1341. Text has: setengah; I have altered to sebahagi for the sake of consistency.

rumah[nya]. Apabila hatinya tiada lekat kepada sekalian itu, tiada ḥijāb padanya. Sungguh pun ia beranak beristeri berumah bertanaman, jikalau anak-isterinya mati tiada ia berchinta; jikalau rumahnya dan tanamannya tertunu tiada ia duka; jikalau kerajaan Sulaymān dan [kerajaan] Iskandar diberi Allāh Ta'ālā akan dia pun tiada ia suka, kerana hina dan mulia sama padanya; kaya dan miskin sama padanya; sakit dan nyaman sama padanya - tiada ia melihat dirinya, melainkan Allāh Subḥānahu wa Ta'ālā juga [dilihatnya], kerana kepada Ahlu'l-Ḥaqīqah wujud sekalian 'ālam wujud Allāh; nisohaya sekalian daripadaNya.

(23) Adapun Ahlu'l-Ḥaqīqah sebahagi lagi dā'im menyembah Allāh, dan berahi akan Allāh, dan mengenal Allāh tunggal-tunggal; dan mengenal dirinya, dan meniadakan dirinya dan mnngesakan<sup>1342</sup> dirinya, dan berkata dengan dirinya dan fanā dalam dirinya dan baqā dengan dirinya dan benchi akan ḡāhir dirinya dan kasih akan bāṭin dirinya, dan menchela dirinya dan memuji dirinya; jika makan, makan dengan dirinya, jika duduk, duduk dengan dirinya, jika tidur, tidur [10] dengan dirinya, jika jaga, jaga dengan dirinya, jika berjalan, berjalan dengan dirinya - tiada ia lupa akan dirinya, kerana sabda Rasūlu'Llāh (ṣalla'Llāhu 'alayhi wa sallam!):

---

1342. In 7291: mengithbātkan, but the sense conveyed is identical, p.91.



"Man 'arafa nafsahu faqad 'arafa rabbahu".

ya'nī:

"Barangsiapa mengenal dirinya maka  
sesungguhnya mengenal Tuhannya."

(24) Seperkara lagi, tatkala ia memandang diluar dirinya,  
barang dilihatnya dirinya juga<sup>1343</sup> dilihatnya; barang  
dipandangnya dirinya juga dipandangnya, kerana kepada  
Ahlu'l-Ḥaqīqah 'alam dengan dirinya esa juga, tiada dua-tiga.  
Apabila 'ālam sekalian dengan dirinya esa, nischaya barang  
dilihatnya dirinya juga dilihatnya. Seperti sabda Rasūlu'LLāh  
(ṣalla'LLāhu 'alayhi wa sallam!):

"Ra'aytu rabbī bi 'ayni rabbī."

ya'nī:

"Kulihat Tuhanku dengan mata rahmat Tuhanku."

Kata Lam'at:

"Lā yarā'LLāha ghayra<sup>1344</sup>,LLāha".

ya'nī:

"Tiada melihat Allāh lain daripada Allāh."

Sabda Rasūlu'LLāh (ṣalla'LLāhu 'alayhi wa sallam!):

"Ra'aytu rabbī bi rabbī."

ya'nī:

"Kulihat Tuhanku dengan Tuhanku."

---

1343. The text is corrupt: jika.

1344. The text is incorrect: ghayru.

(25) Maka sabda Nabī (ṣalla'LLāhu 'alayhi wa sallam!) demikian kerana semesta sekalian 'ālam tiada berwujud. Apabila 'ālam tiada berwujud, tiada berqudrat dan tiada beraf'āl akan dia. Jika dipalu orang atau diperbaiki orang, af'āl Allāh juga dilihatnya, tiada af'āl orang yang lain dilihatnya; nischaya dirinya, barang dijabatnya, dirinya juga dijabatnya, kerana firmān<sup>1345</sup> Allāh Ta'ālā:

Fa aynamā tuwallū fa thamma wajhu'LLāh.<sup>1346</sup>

ya'nī;

Barang kemana kamu hadapkan muka  
kamu disana ada Allāh.

(26) Kerana ini maka kata Ahlu'l-Ḥaqīqah sekalian makhluqāt diri kita juga, sekalian manusia saudara kita. Islām dan kāfir, kekasih dan setru, bisa dan tawar, [11] shurga dan neraka, murka dan ampun, baik dan jahat, kaya dan miskin, puji dan chela, kenyang dan lapar, kechil dan besar, mati dan hidup, sakit dan nyaman, benar dan salah - sekalian sama padanya, kerana ma'nā aynamā tuwallū fa thamma wajhu'LLāh terlalu nyata padanya. Barangsiapa mendapat ma'nā aynamā tuwallū fa thamma wajhu'LLāh tamām. Nischaya barang dipandanginya wajhu'LLāh juga dilihatnya. Wa'LLāhu a'lam bi'l-ṣawab!

---

1345. Text: sabda.

1346. Qur'an 2:115.

Bābu'l-rābi' fī bayān ma'rifati'Llāhi Ta'ālā.

[Bāb yang Keempat

Pada menyatakan Ma'rifat Allāh Ta'ālā]

(27) Ketahui bahwa sabda Nabī (ṣalla'Llāhu 'alayhi wa sallam!):

"Al-ma'rifatu sirrī"

ya'nī:

"Yang ma'rifat itu rahasiaku."

Dan [lagi] sabda Rasūlu'Llāh (ṣalla'Llāhu 'alayhi wa sallam!):

"Lā taṣiḥḥu'l-ṣalātu illā bi'l-ma'rifah."

ya'nī:

"Tiada ṣaḥ sembahyang melainkan dengan ma'rifat."

Ketahui bahwa ittifāq sekalian Anbiyā' dan Awliyā' dan Ḥukamā' dan Ahlu'l-Kalām mengatakan Allāh Subḥānahu wa Ta'āla Esa, tiada dua; Qadīm, tiada muḥdath; Khāliq, tiada makhlūq; tiada berupa dan tiada berwarna; Kekal, tiada fanā'; dan tiada bercherai dan tiada bertemu; dan tiada putus dan tiada pesuk; dan [tiada] mithal dan tiada sebangsa/<sup>dan</sup>sekutu dan tiada bagaiNya; dan tiada bertempat dan tiada bermasa<sup>1347</sup> dan tiada ākhir - suchi [Ia dari] pada kata ini!

(28) Sekalian Ahlu'l-Sulūk dan Ahlu'l-Kalām dan 'Ulamā' muwāfaqat, tetapi terlebih Ahlu'l-Sulūk mengatakan [bahwa Ia] tiada berhingga dan berkesudahan. Ma'nā tiada berkesudahan

---

1347. Text follows with: dan tiada berwarna - tautology.

dan tiada berhingga [itu iaitu] tiada atas akan Dia dan tiada bawah akan Dia, dan tiada kanan [12] akan Dia dan tiada kiri akan Dia, dan tiada hadapan akan Dia dan tiada belakang akan Dia - ya'nī [Ia] suatu wujūd [yang] tiada berenam jihāt.

Seperti laut yang mahaluas; seperti buah yang kecil [se]biji juga. Sebab ini maka kata Ahlu'l-Sulūk Allāh Subḥānahu wa Ta'ālā ṣamad - kepada semesta sekalian 'ālam ini meliputi. Seperti firmān<sup>1348</sup> Allāh Ta'ālā:

Innahu bikulli shay'in muḥiṭ.<sup>1349</sup>

ya'nī:

Bahwa sesungguhnya Ia itu dengan semesta sekalian meliputi.

(29) Maka kata 'Ulamā' 'IlmuNya juga [yang] meliputi. Maka kata Ahlu'l-Sulūk DhātNya pun meliputi, 'IlmuNya pun meliputi semesta sekalian, kerana Ia tiada bercherai dengan 'IlmuNya kerana Allāh Subḥānahu wa Ta'ālā tiada seperti manusia dapat bercherai dengan 'ilmunya.

(30) Seperkara, Allāh Subḥānahu wa Ta'ālā hampir kepada kita dengan DhātNya dan 'IlmuNya, tetapi terlalu mushkil orang mengetahui hampirNya itu. Adapun ma'nā hampir empat perkara: seperkara hampir kepada zamān; kedua perkara hampir kepada makān; ketiga perkara hampir kepada ṣifāt; keempat perkara hampir kepada Allāh Ta'ālā. Tetapi hampir kepada

---

1348. Text: sabda.

1349. Qur'ān 41:54.

Allāh Ta'ālā [ter]lalu mushkil mengetahui dia. Adapun hampir kepada zamān seperti kata orang: 'Zamān Muḥammad (ṣall'LLāhu 'alayhi wa sallam!) terhampir kepada kita daripada zamān 'Isā (alayhi'l-salām!).<sup>1350</sup> Adapun hampir kepada makān seperti kata orang: 'Bulan terhampir kepada kita daripada bintang Mushtarī.' Adapun hampir kepada ṣifāt seperti kata orang: 'Bā Yazīd (raḍīya'LLāhu 'anhu!) kepada Rasuluh'LLāh (ṣalla'LLāhu 'alayhi wa sallam!) terhampir daripada 'Utbah<sup>1351</sup> dan Shaybah ('alayhimā'l-la'nah!),<sup>1352</sup> jikalau Bā Yazīd [13] terjauh daripada 'Utbah<sup>1351</sup> dan Shaybah pun, kerana Bā Yazīd (raḍīya'LLāhu 'anhu!) hampir [kepada Rasūlu'LLāh] dengan ṣifāt. Adapun hampir kepada Allāh Subḥānahu wa Ta'ālā kepada semesta sekalian 'ālam tiada demikian, sungguh pun firmān<sup>1352</sup> Allāh Ta'ālā:

Wa huwa ma'akum aynamā kuntum,<sup>1353</sup>

ya'nī:

Ia serta kamu barang dimana [ada] kamu.

Dan [lagi] firmān<sup>1354</sup> Allāh Ta'ālā:

Wa naḥnu aqrabu ilayhi min ḥabli'l-warīd.<sup>1355</sup>

ya'nī:

---

1350. Text incorrect: 'Atabah.

1351. Text incorrect: 'Atabah.

1352. Text: sabda.

1353. Qur'ān 57:4.

1354. Text: sabda.

1355. Qur'ān 50:16.

Kami terhampir kepadanya daripada  
urat leher kedua.

Dan [lagi] firmān<sup>1356</sup> Allāh Ta'ālā:

Wa fī anfusikum a fa lā tubṣirūn.<sup>1357</sup>

ya'nī:

Dalam diri kamu - tiadakah kamu lihat?

(31) Kerana ini maka kata Ahlu'l-Sulūk [ma'nā] hampir kepada Allāh Ta'ālā [itu] Anbiyā' dan Awliyā' dan Ṣālihīn dan Mushrikīn<sup>1358</sup> dan Kāfirīn<sup>1359</sup> dan 'Aṣiyyīn<sup>1360</sup> sama dikita Ia hampir. Kepada sekalian makhluk sama [Ia hampir], tetapi farḍu hampirNya kepada Ahlu'l-Ma'rifah dan 'Ābid terlebih; ya'nī barangsiapa berma'rifat dan banyak berbuat 'ibādat ia itu hampir hukumnya; barangsiapa tiada berma'rifat dan berbuat ma'ṣiat ia itu jauh, bukan hampir - jauh seperti tamthīl dahulu itu.<sup>1361</sup> Kata ini mushkil, orang Ahlu'l-Kashf juga mengetahui dia.

(32) Su'āl<sup>1362</sup> [jika] seorang orang bertanya): "jikalau Dhāt Allāh kepada semesta sekalian lengkap, kepada najis dapatkah dikatakan lengkap?" Maka jawāb: "Seperti panas<sup>1363</sup> lengkap kepada sekalian 'ālam, kepada najis pun lengkap,

1356. Text: sabda.

1357. Qur'ān 51:21. The text incorrect: yubṣirūn.

1358. Text: mushrik.

1359. Text: kāfir.

1360. Text: 'aṣī.

1361. Cf. above, pp.12-13 of the text, the reference to 'Utbah and Shaybah.

1362. Cf. Hujwiri, Kashf al-Mahjūb, chapter on technical terms.

1363. I.e. chahaya.

kepada busuk pun lengkap, kepada baik pun lengkap, kepada jahat pun lengkap, kepada Ka'bah pun lengkap, kepada rumah berhala pun lengkap - kepada sekalian pun sama [lengkap]; kepada najis tiada ia akan najis, kepada busuk tiada ia akan busuk, kepada baik tiada ia akan baik, kepada jahat tiada ia akan jahat; daripada Ka'bah [14] tiada [ia] beroleh kebajikan, daripada rumah berhala tiada ia beroleh kejahatan. Selang panas<sup>1364</sup> lagi demikian, istimewa [Allāh Subḥānahu wa Ta'ālā], Suchi daripada segala suchi, dimana Ia akan najis dan busuk?" Fa'afham.<sup>1365</sup>

- (33) Su'āl; "Jika Dhāt Allāh kamu kata lengkap kepada semesta sekalian makhlūqāt, siapa yang merasai shiksa neraka, siapa yang merasai ni'mat shurga?" Jawāb: "Seperti emas dan Ashrafī,<sup>1366</sup> jika ditunu Ashrafī itu, Ashrafī juga yang hangus, emas tiada hangus. Sungguh pun Ashrafī dengan emas tiada bercherai seratus kali atau seribu kali diperbuat, maka [apabila] ditunu, Ashrafī juga yang hangus, emas baqā'; manakan hangus dan manakan lenyap? - kerana Ashrafī seperti makhlūqāt, emas seperti Khāliq; makhlūq juga yang hangus dan binasa."

Kata itu terlalu mushkil.

---

1364. Cf. note 1363.

1365. 7291, p.94, has: Maka fahamkan olehmu kata ini:  
i.e. fa'afham.

1366. Text: Ishrafī.

Barang orang<sup>1367</sup> tiada lulus disini, yogya kita bicharakan  
 sabda 'Alī ibni Abī Ṭālib (karrama'LLāhu wajhahu!):

"Ma ra'aytu shay'an illā wa ra'aytu'LLāha fīhi."

ya'nī:

"Tiada kulihat sesuatu melainkan  
 kulihat Allāh didalamnya."

Dan sabda Rasūlu'LLāh (ṣalla'LLāhu 'alayhi wa sallam!):

"Man naẓara ilā shay'in wa lam  
 yara'LLāha fīhi fā huwa baṭilun."

[ya'nī]:

"Barangsiapa memandang kepada  
 sesuatu, maka tiada ia melihat  
 Allāh dalamnya, maka ia itu sia-sia."

(34) Kerana ini maka kata Ahlu'l-Sulūk [bahwa Dhāt Allāh]  
 lengkap [kepada semesta sekalian makhlukāt]. Tetapi ittifāq  
 'Ulamā' dan Ahlu'l-Sulūk dan Ahlu'l-Kalām dan Ḥukamā'  
 mengatakan kunhi Dhāt Allāh Subḥānahu wa Ta'āla tiada siapa  
 datang kesana. Tetapi 'ibāratNya dapat dikatakan seqadar  
 kuasa kita. Wa'LLāhu a'lam bi'l-ṣawāb!

---

1367. I.e.: Barangsiapa.



Bābu'l-khāmis fī bayān tajalliyāti dhātī  
[ 'l-]bāri Ta'ālā.

[Bab yang Kelima pada menyatakan Kenyataan  
 Dhāt Tuhan yang Mahatinggi]<sup>1368</sup>

(35) Ketahui bahwa kunhi Dhāt Ḥaqq Subḥānahu wa Ta'ālā ini dinamai [15] Ahlu'l-Sulūk lā ta'ayyun. Maka dinamai lā ta'ayyun kerana budi<sup>1369</sup> dan bichara,<sup>1370</sup> 'ilmu dan ma'rifat kita tiada lulus kepadaNya. Jangankan 'ilmu dan ma'rifat kita, Anbiyā' dan Awliyā' pun ḥayrān. Olehnya itu maka sabda Nabī (ṣalla'llāhu 'alayhi wa sallam!):

"Subḥānaka mā 'arafnāka ḥaqqā ma'rifatika."

ya'nī:

"[Maha] suchi Mu! - tiada kukenal  
 sebenar kenal akan Dikau."

Dan sabda Nabī (ṣalla'llāhu 'alayhi wa sallam!):

"Tafakkarū fī khalqī'llāhi<sup>1371</sup> wa lā  
tafakkarū fī dhāti'llāh."

ya'nī:

"Kamu fikirkan dalam yang dijadikan  
 Allāh; bermula; jangan kamu fikirkan  
 dalam Dhāt Allāh."

Kerana [ini] maka dinamai Ahlu'l-Sulūk lā ta'ayyun - ya'nī  
 ma'nā lā ta'ayyun [itu iaitu] 'tiada nyata'.

1368. Cf. 7291, pp.95-96.

1369. Budi: 'Aql.

1370. Bichara: Kalām, in the sense of 'diatectic'.

1371. Text has: ālā'i'llāhi, but khalqī'llāhi is correct.  
 Cf. 7291, p.96.

(36) Adapun pertama ta'ayyun empat bahagi: 'Ilmu dan Wujūd dan Shuhūd dan Nūr. Ya'nī yang keempat inilah bernama ta'ayyun awal, kerana daripada 'Ilmu maka 'Ālim dan Ma'lūm nyata; kerana Wujūd maka Yang Mengadakan dan [Yang] Dijadikan nyata; kerana Shuhūd maka Yang Melihat dan Yang Dilihat nyata; kerana Chahaya maka Yang Menerangkan dan Yang Diterangkan<sup>1372</sup> nyata. Sekalian itu daripada ta'ayyun awal<sup>1373</sup> juga; 'Ilmu dan Ma'lum, Awal dan Ākhir, Ṣāhir dan Bāṭin beroleh nama.

(37) Adapun Ma'lūm itulah yang dinamai Ahlu'l-Sulūk a'yān thābitah. Setengah menamai dia<sup>1374</sup> ṣuwaru['l-]'ilmiyyah,<sup>1375</sup> setengah menamai dia<sup>1376</sup> ḥaqīqatu'l-ashyā', setengah menamai dia<sup>1377</sup> rūḥ idāfī. Sekalian ini dinamai ta'ayyun thānī hukumnya.

Adapun rūḥ insānī dan rūḥ ḥayawānī dan [rūḥ] nabatī<sup>1378</sup> ta'ayyun thālith hukumnya.

---

1372. Text has the order reversed, which is logically inconsistent.

1373. Text has: lā ta'ayyun, but this is incorrect according to the context. Cf. 7291, p.96.

1374. Text: dinamai.

1375. 7291 has: ṣuwar 'ilmiyyah, p.96.

1376. Text has: dinamai.

1377. Text: dinamai.

1378. Text incorrect: nabatī.

- (38) Adapun ta'ayyun rābi' dan ta'ayyun-khāmis ya'nī [ta'ayyun] jasmānī kepada semesta sekalian makhluqāt ilā mā lā nihāyata[lahu]<sup>1379</sup> ta'ayyun juga namanya.
- (39) Tiada terhisābkan ta'ayyun itu lagi,<sup>1380</sup> tetapi 'Ilmu dan Wujūd dan Shuhud [16] dan Nūr tiada bercherai dengan sekalian ta'ayyun; kerana jika tiada yang keempatnya itu Yang Empunya ta'ayyun tiada dapat ta'ayyun. Kerana itu maka kata Ahlu'l-Sulūk wujūd 'ālam sekalian Wujūd Allāh. Adapun wujūd 'ālam, sungguh pun kita lihat wujūd, tiada berwujūd, kerana wujūdnya daripada Wujūd Muta'ayyin.<sup>1381</sup> Daripada ghāfil<sup>1382</sup> kita juga kita sangka 'alam berwujūd.
- (40) Adapun ta'ayyun awal dinamai aḥad pun ia, wāḥid pun ia; apabila kita lainkan Dhāt Semata SendiriNya aḥad NamaNya; apabila kita sertakan SifātNya dan 'ibāratNya wāḥid NamaNya, kerana aḥad itulah bernama wāḥid memegang 'ālam sekalian min awwalihi ilā ākhirihi.<sup>1383</sup>
- (41) Adapun ta'ayyun awal ini dimithalkan Ahlu'l-Sulūk seperti laut. Apabila laut timbul, ombak namanya - ya'nī apabila 'Ālim memandang Dirinya Ma'lūm jadi daripadanya.

1379. 7291, p.97: kepada tiada berkesudahan.

1380. I.e.: tiada lagi terhisābkan ta'ayyun itu. Lagi means here: dapat.

1381. Text incorrect: ta'ayyun.

1382. Text corrupt: 'āqil.

1383. 7291, p.97: daripada pertamanya hingga kesudahannya.

Apabila laut itu melepas nyawa asap namanya - ya'nī dirinya nyawa dengan rūḥ idāfī kepada a'yān thābitah sekalian. Apabila asap berhimpun diudara awan namanya - ya'nī isti'dād adanya a'yān thābitah berhimpun hendak keluar. Apabila awan itu titik daripada udara hujan namanya - ya'nī rūḥ idāfī dengan a'yān thābitah keluar dengan qawl "Kun!" (fa yakūn) berbagai-bagai. Apabila hujan itu hilir dibumi [air namanya; apabila air itu hilir dibumi]<sup>1384</sup> sungai namanya - ya'nī setelah rūḥ idāfī dengan isti'dād aṣlī dengan a'yān thābitah "hilir" dibawah [qawl] "Kun!" (fa yakūn) "sungai" namanya. Apabila sungai itu pulang kelaut, laut ḥukumnya - tetapi Laut itu mahasuchi; tiada berlebih dan tiada berkurang. Jika keluar sekalian itu,<sup>1385</sup> tiada [17] Ia kurang; jika masuk pun sekalian itu, tiada [Ia] lebih kerana Ia Suchi daripada segala yang suchi.

(42) Seperti firmān<sup>1386</sup> Allāh Ta'ālā:

Kullu shay'in hālikun illā wajhahu.<sup>1387</sup>

ya'nī:

Semesta sekalian binasa melainkan DhātNya.

Ya'nī AdaNya itu senantiasada ada, yang lain daripada[Nya] itu senantiasada tiada ada, kerana kepada Ahlu'l-Sulūk yang ada

1384. Cf. 7291, p.98.

1385. Itu refers to the "waves" i.e. the World. The analogy of sea and waves now refers to God and His creation.

1386. Text: sabda.

1387. Qur'an 28:88.

juga menjadi ada; yang tiada itu tiada [dapat]<sup>1388</sup> menjadi ada. Ya'nī Allāh Subḥānahu wa Ta'ālā Wajibu'l-Wujūd, qā'im SendiriNya, tiada dengan lain. Mumkinu'l-wujūd qā'im dengan Dia. Apabila mumkinu'l-wujūd qā'im dengan Dia, hukumnya tiada [ber] wujūd. Kata 'Ulamā' 'ālam ini daripada tiada diadakanNya; sudah diadakanNya maka ditiadakanNya. Kata Ahlu'l-Sulūk jika demikian fāsiqlah Allāh Ta'ālā, atau berhingga. Adapun kepada kami yang tiada itu tiada dapat menjadi ada; yang ada itu tiada'kan tiada. Ada kepada ṣuwarī juga lenyap, kepada ma'nawī tiada lenyap. Seperti upama yang mati; zāhirnya lenyap, kepada bāṭinnya tiada lenyap, seperti firmān<sup>1389</sup> Allāh Ta'ālā:

Wa lā taqūlu liman yuqtalu fī sabīli'LLāhi  
amwātun bal aḥyā'un wa lākin lā tash'urūn.<sup>1390</sup>

ya'nī:

Jangan kamu berkata bagi barangsiapa yang  
terbunuh dalam jalan Allāh itu mati dikita  
[bahkan mereka itu] hidup, tetapi tiada  
[kamu]<sup>1391</sup> sekalian menyadar [akan dia].

(43) Akan semesta sekalian pun demikian; asalnya daripada Allāh, pulangnyapun kepada Allāh - bukan daripada tiada pulang kepada tiada! Seperti firmān<sup>1392</sup> Allāh Ta'ālā:

1388. Cf. 7291, p.98.

1389. Text: sabda.

1390. Qur'an 2:154.

1391. Text reading: mereka itu.

1392. Text: sabda.

Innamā amruhu idhā arāda shay'an an  
yaqūla lahu kun fa yakūn.<sup>1393</sup>

ya'nī:

Bahwa sesungguhnya, [titahNya] tatakala berkehendak [Ia] kepada sesuatu bahwa berkata [Ia] baginya: "Jadi engkau!" - maka menjadi sekalian [itu].

Kata Ahlu'l-Sulūk ma'nā lahu [itu] ada hendak[nya] maka firmān<sup>1394</sup> Allāh Ta'ālā lahu. Jika [18] tiada mawjūd tiadakan disebut Allāh Ta'ālā lahu.<sup>1394</sup> Seperkara pula<sup>1395</sup> kata Ahlu'l-Sulūk Allāh Ta'ālā Qadīm dan 'Ālim; apabila Ia 'Ālim, Ma'lūm dalam 'IlmuNya ada hendak[nya]. Barang yang dijadikanNya 'dahulu' atau 'kemudiannya' kita lihat sekalian daripada Ma'lūm itu juga. Jikalau demikian, hukumnya daripada ada juga diadakanNya, bukan daripada tiada maka diadakanNya, kerana yang dinamai ada itu wujūd Shu'ūnNya juga. Seperti firmān<sup>1396</sup> Allāh Ta'ālā:

Kullu yawmin huwa fī shā'n.<sup>1397</sup>

ya'nī:

Kepada segala hari Ia dalam KelakuanNya juga.

(44) Hai [Ṭalīb!], Keadaan Allāh Subḥānahu wa Ta'ālā seperti laut yang tiada berhingga dan tiada berkesudahan;

---

1393. Qur'ān 36:82.

1394. Text: sabda.

1395. Text: pulang.

1396. Text: sabda.

1397. Qur'ān 55:29. Text incorrect rendering: mereka itu.

'alam ini dan semesta sekalian dalam laut itu seperti buih kecil sebihi juga. Manusia seorang dalam buih [itu] akan berapa bahagiannya? - ya'nī tiada lagi melainkan seperti firmān<sup>1398</sup> Allāh Ta'ālā:

Kullu man 'alayhā fān  
wa yabqā wajhu rabbika  
dhū'l-jalāli wa'l-ikrām.<sup>1399</sup>

ya'nī:

Barang segala yang diatas 'ālam nin<sup>1400</sup>  
 lenyap; bermula: yang kekal Dhāt  
 Tuhan[mu] juga, Yang Empunya Kebesaran  
 dan Kemuliaan.

(45) Hai Ṭālib!, 'ālam ini seperti ombak, Keadaan Allāh Ta'ālā seperti laut; sungguh pun ombak lain daripada laut, kepada haqīqatnya tiada lain daripada laut. Kamā qāla [Rasūlu]'Llāhi Ta'ālā;<sup>1401</sup>

Khalāqa Ādama 'ālā sūratihī

ya'nī:

Bahwa Allāh Ta'ālā menjadikan Ādam  
 atas RupaNya.

Kata 'Ulamā' [ma'nā] atas rupanya [itu] ya'nī Allāh Ta'ālā menjadikan atas rupa Ādam. Kata<sup>1402</sup> Ahlu'l-Sulūk atas Rupa Yang Menjadikan. Adapun suatu Ḥadith ini tiada terma'nākan

1398. Text: sabda.

1399. Qur'an 55:26-27.

1400. I.e. ini.

1401. 7291, p.100, Seperti sabda Rasūlu'Llāh.

1402. Text has: Berkata.

oleh [para] pandita. Sabda Rasūlu'LLāh (ṣalla'LLāhu 'alayhi wa sallam!):

"Inna'LLāhu Ta'ālā [19] khalāqa Ādama 'alā ṣūratī'l-raḥmān."

ya'nī:

"Bahwa Allāh Ta'ālā menjadikan  
Adam atas Rupa Raḥmān."

kerana Raḥmān seperti laut, Adam seperti buih. Sabda  
Rasūlu'LLāh (ṣalla'LLāhu 'alayhi wa sallam!):

"Man arafa nafsahu faqad 'arafa rabbahu."

ya'nī:

"Barangsiapa mengenal dirinya,  
maka sesungguhnya mengenāl Tuhannya."

Ḥadīth ini pun ishārat kepada laut dan buih juga. Barangsiapa tahu akan 'ibārat ini, tahu akan tajalliyāt Dhāt Ḥaqq Subḥānahu wa Ta'ālā. Adapun perkataan tajalliyāt banyak lagi tiada tersuratkan. Sekalian yang sudah dikatakan dalam kitāb ini mukhtaṣar juga. Barangsiapa berahi akan Allāh, yogya dichari dengan kebaktian pula.<sup>1403</sup> Wa'LLāhu a'lam bi'l-ṣawāb!

---

1403. Text: pulang.



Bābu'l-sādis fī bayān ṣifāti['Llāhi]  
Subḥānahu wa Ta'ālā.

[Bāb yang keenam pada menyatakan  
 Ṣifāt Allāh Subḥānahu wa Ta'ālā]

(46) Ketahui bahwa Ṣifāt Allāh yang qadīm sertaNya tujuh: suatu Ḥayāt,<sup>1404</sup> kedua 'Ilm,<sup>1405</sup> ketiga Irādah, keempat Qudrah<sup>1406</sup> kelima Kalām, keenam Samī',<sup>1407</sup> ketujuh Baṣar.<sup>1408</sup> [Allāh itu]<sup>1409</sup> qadīm dengan Ṣifāt yang ketujuh ini. Adapun jika Ṣifāt yang ketujuh ini tiada sertaNya, nāqis hukumnya, kerana kepada Ahlu'l-Sulūk Ṣifāt 'ayn Dhāt, seperti Ḥayāt;<sup>1410</sup> Dhāt juga yang bernama Ḥayy, seperti 'Ilm;<sup>1411</sup> Dhāt juga, kerana 'Ilmu, maka bernama 'Ālim, seperti Irādah; Dhāt juga, kerana Irādat, maka bernama Murīd. Dengan sekalian Ṣifāt pun demikian - ilā mā lā nihāyata lahu.<sup>1412</sup> Adapun kata 'Ulamā' Ṣifāt 'ayn Dhāt pun tiada, ghayr Dhāt pun tiada; seperti kata Imām Ghazzālī (raḍiya'Llāhu 'anhu!):

"Ṣifātu'Llāhi laysat 'ayna'l-dhāti  
wa lā ghayra siwāhu dhā'l-infiṣāli."

ya'nī:

1404. Text: Ḥayy.

1405. Text: 'Ālim.

1406. Text: Qādir.

1407. Text: Samī'.

1408. Text: Baṣīr.

1409. Text: ya'nī.

1410. Text: Ḥayy.

1411. Text: 'Ālim.

1412. Cf. Asrār, pp.19, 23-24.

"Şifāt Allāh tiada 'ayn Dhāt dan  
tiada yang lain -[20] daripadaNya  
bercherai."

(47) Adapun Şifāt Haqq Subhānahu wa Ta'ālā Kamāl. Dibawah ini Jalāl dan Jamāl, kerana kenyataan semesta sekalian 'ālam ini dibawah Jalāl dan Jamāl juga. Ya'nī segala yang baik daripada Jamāl, segala yang jahat daripada Jalāl; kāfir daripada Jalāl; islām daripada Jamāl; shurga daripada Jamāl, neraka daripada Jalāl; murka daripada Jalāl, ampun daripada Jamāl.<sup>1413</sup>

(48) Adapun Dhāt lengkap; kepada Jalāl pun serta, kepada Jamāl pun serta, kerana Jalāl dan Jamāl ŞifātNya juga. Ada kalanya daripada Jamāl menjadi Jalāl; ada kalanya Jalāl menjadi Jamāl. Adapun Shayṭān dahulu Jamāl, kemudian menjadi Jalāl.<sup>1414</sup> Şifāt ini juga yang bertukar. Akan Dhāt Subhānahu wa Ta'ālā mahasuchi daripada bertukar; seperti air menjadi ombak, ombak juga bertukar-tukar, akan air tiada bertukar, senantiasa hening dan suchi, tiada berupa dan tiada berwarna. Sekalian rupa dan sekalian warna daripada JalālNya dan JamālNya juga.

---

1413. Cf. Asrār, pp. 38-39, 40, 44-45.

1414. Cf. Qur'ān 2:34, 7:11-12, 15:31-37, 17:61, 18 and 50, 20:116. See also the Mathnawī II, pp.356-57; also Nicholson's The idea of Personality in Şūfism, (op.cit.), pp.31-33.

(49) Su'āl Ahlu'l-Suluk kepada 'Ulamā': "Islām pun dijadikan Allāh, kāfir pun dijadikan Allāh; kerana apa maka tiada disamakan Allāh Subḥānahu wa Ta'ālā? Islām diberiNya īmān dan ma'rifat, kāfir diberiNya kufr dan shirk; setelah diberiNya akan mereka itu īman dan kufr,<sup>1415</sup> maka diberiNya shurga akan islām, neraka akan kāfir - keduanya ilā abadi'l-<sup>1416</sup> ābād. Kerana NamaNya 'Ādil [mengapa maka perbuatanNya itu?] Maka kata 'Ulamā': "Kerana<sup>1417</sup> Ia berbuat sekehendakNya." Kata Ahlu'l-Sulūk: "Jika [Ia] berbuat sekehendakNya, ḡālim hukumnya, kerana kāfir dapat diislamkanNya, ngapa maka dikāfirkanNya, sudah dijadikanNya kāfir [21] maka dimasukkanNya kedalam neraka ilā abadi'l-ābād<sup>1418</sup> tiada lagi ampun - betapa<sup>1419</sup> maka dikatakan 'Ādil?"

(50) Kata 'Ulamā': "Seperti seorang orang berkambing banyak. Setengah disembelihnya, maka dikubaknya, maka diharbusnya,<sup>1420</sup> maka ditununya, maka dipachaknya - ia juga yang empunya, bukan benda orang lain. Jika benda orang lain disembelihnya maka ḡālim hukumnya; jika bendanya disembelihnya

---

1415. Text: kufr dan īmān. I have reversed the order for the sake of logical consistency.

1416. Cf. 7291, p.103.

1417. Text corrupt: kiranya.

1418. Text incorrect: abadi.

1419. Text corrupt: tetapi - due to faulty diacritical symbols.

1420. I.e. direbusnya. For a note on the prefix har see Brandstetter, R., An Introduction to Indonesian Linguistics, translated by C.O. Blagden, R.A.S., London, 1916, pp.172: 52,1.

tiada ḡālim ḡukumnya." Kata Ahlu'l-Sulūk: "'Ibārat kepada kami dengar pula.<sup>1421</sup> Adapun Dhāt Allāh Qadīm; isti'dād makhlūqāt sekalian yang dalam 'IlmuNya [pun] qadīm. Barang dijadikan Allāh Subḡānahu wa Ta'ālā muwafaqat dengan isti'dād itu juga. Kerana isti'dād sekalian islām daripada Jamāl, isti'dād [sekalian] kāfir daripada Jalāl-kerana Jamāl se[b]agai Laṡīf, Jalāl se[b]agai Qahhār - maka dikeluarkan Allāh Subḡānahu wa Ta'ālā dengan Af'ālNya daripada Laṡīf, 'Azīz; daripada Qahhār, Dhalīl.<sup>1422</sup> Kerana NamaNya Al-Mu'izz [dan] Al-Mudhill, maka dimasukkanNya mereka itu kedalam [shurga dan kedalam] neraka dengan [ḡukum] isti'dād mereka itu kerana shurga daripada Laṡīf, neraka daripada Qahhār, dipulangkan Allāh Ta'ālā mereka itu kepada tempatnya [masing-masing].<sup>1423</sup>

- (51) Adapun manusia sekalian dan malā'ikat dan jinn yang disuruhnya Allāh Ta'ālā mereka itu berbuat 'ibādat, sungguh pun mereka itu berbuat 'ibādat, [tetapi] tawfīq daripadanya, gerak daripadanya, quwwat daripadanya, berahi daripadanya; Kerana dilihatNya isti'dād mereka itu daripada islām [dan ismi] Laṡīf dan Mu'izz,<sup>1424</sup> maka disuruhNya berbuat 'ibādat. Setelah mereka itu berbuat 'ibādat maka dimasukkanNya kedalam

---

1421. Text: pulang.

1422. Text incorrect: dalīl.

1423. Text: mereka itu.

1424. Text: ma'rifat. Cf. 7291, p.104.

shurga. Adapun mereka itu yang kāfir, diberiNya quwwat berbuat ma'siat, melawani islām, dan kebencian hatinya supaya jangan dapat membawa īmān. Kerana dilihatNya isti'dād mereka itu daripada ismi [22] Qahhār dan Mudhill, disuruhNya berbuat ma'siat, maka dimasukkanNya kedalam neraka. Inilah ma'nā 'Ādil, tiada ḡālim - tiada ditukariNya tempat mereka itu.

(52) Sungguh pun sabda Rasūl'LLāh (ṣalla'LLāhu 'alayhi wa sallam!):

"Lā tataharraka dharratun<sup>1425</sup> illā  
bi idhni'LLāh."

ya'nī:

"Tiada bergerak suatu dharrat pun  
melainkan dengan kehendak Allāh juga."

Dan sabda Rasūlu'LLāh (ṣalla'LLāhu 'alayhi wa sallam!):

"Khayrihi wa sharrihi mina'LLāhi Ta'ālā."

ya'nī:

"Baik dan jahat daripada Allāh Ta'ālā."

Sungguh pun sekalian daripadanya, tetapi muwāfaqat dengan isti'dād ma'lūmāt yang dalam 'IlmuNya juga, kerana isti'dād ma'lūmāt Shu'ūn DhātNya berbagai-bagai. Tetapi DhātNya tiada berbagai-bagai - mahasuchī daripada sekalian Shu'ūn dan sekalian

---

1425. Text incorrect: tataharraka dharratan.

'ibārat." Kata 'Ulamā': "Apabila demikian, hukumnya [tiada]<sup>1426</sup> berguna lagi Irādat dan Qudrat, kerana barang jadi [menjadi]<sup>1427</sup> sendirinya, dengan hukum [isti'dādnya, tiada dengan hukum] Irādat dan Qudrat." Kata Ahlu'l-Sulūk: Irādat dan Qudrat sedia ada - senantiasa [adanya]<sup>1428</sup> qadīm - tetapi IrādatNya dan QudratNya pun muwāfaqat dengan isti'dād ma'lūmāt juga, kerana isti'dād ma'lūmāt Shu'ūn DhātNya. Apabila diubahNya binasa kebesaranNya, kerana kebesaranNya itu KamālNya - tiada dapat diubahNya lagi. Apabila diubahNya, binasa KamālNya.

(53) Seperti seorang orang permai rupanya; maka diubahnya permainya dengan irādatnya dan qudratnya - ya'nī keningnya dibetulkan[nya], atau hidungnya diratakannya, atau bibirnya diratakannya - [semua ini] dengan hikmat juga. Apabila tiada dengan hikmat, binasa kamālnya. [Suatu] tamthīl lagi seperti seorang raja sempurna lengkap dengan kekayaannya. Dapat diubahnya kekayaannya; gajah dijadikannya kuda, atau kuda dijadikannya gajah, atau kambing dijadikannya anjing, atau anjing dijadikannya kambing. [23] Tetapi tiada ia mahu mengubah dia, kerana apabila ia mengubah [dia] binasa kamālnya. Yang sadya<sup>1429</sup> [se]olah-olah belum kamāl - baru

---

1426. Cf. 7291, p.105 .

1427. Cf. 7291, p.105 .

1428. Text: dan - but see 7291, p.105 .

1429. I.e. sedia.

hendak mengadakan kamālnya dan kebesarannya. Fa ifham!"<sup>1430</sup>

(54) Adapun farḍu akan kita membawa ĩmān kepada Shu'ūnNya dan ṢifātNya dan Af'ālNya dan ishārātNya - seperti shurga dan neraka dan shiksa qubūr dan 'adhāb neraka dan ḥisāb pada Hari Qiyāmat. Sungguh pun [itu semua] tiada berwujūd, membawa ĩmān akan sekalian itu [farḍu atas sekalian kita. Barangsiapa mungkir daripada sekalian itu]<sup>1431</sup> tempat Jalāl dan Qahhār dan 'adhāb diperolehnya, dan [ia] menjadi kāfir-na'udhu bi'llāhi minha! Adapun barangsiapa membawa<sup>1432</sup> ĩmān akan semesta sekalian itu, islām ḥukumnya; tempat Jamāl dan Laṭīf dan Mu'izz diperolehnya. Wa'llāhu a'lam bi'l-sawāb!

---

1430. 7291: Maka fahamkan olehmu perkataan ini!, p.105.

1431. 7291, p.106.

1432. On the margin of the text.

Bābu'l-sābi' fī bayān'l-'ishqi wa'l-shukr

[Bāb yang Ketujuh pada menyatakan  
Berahi dan Shukur]<sup>1433</sup>

(55) Ketahui bahwa pangkat berahi terlalu tinggi daripada segala pangkat, kerana berahi tiada dapat diperbuat melainkan anugerah Allāh Ta'ālā juga. Adapun 'alāmat orang berahi, tiada takut akan mati. Apabila [takut ia akan mati, tiada berahi hukumnya, kerana]<sup>1434</sup> kehendak orang berahi [itu mati]. Seperti sabda Rasūlu'LLāh (ṣalla'LLāhu 'alayhi wa sallam!):

"Man māta mina'l-'ishqi faqad<sup>1435</sup> māta shahīdan."

ya'nī:

"Barangsiapa mati daripada berahinya,  
maka bahwa sesungguhnya mati shahīd."

Sabda Rasūlu'LLāh (ṣalla'LLāhu 'alayhi wa sallam!):

"Man 'ashaqa wa 'ūshiqa fa māta  
mina'l-'ishqi fa qad māta shahīdan."

ya'nī:

"Barangsiapa berahi dan bersungguh-sungguh  
diberahikannya, maka mati ia daripada  
berahi [itu], maka bahwa sesungguhnya  
mati shahīd."

Dan kata Ahlu'l-Sulūk:

1433. 7291, p.106 .

1434. Cf. 7291, p.106 .

1435. On the margin of the text.



"Al-'ishqu 'aduwu'l-'aqli."

ya'nī:

"Yang Berahi itu setru Buddi."<sup>1436</sup>

[kerana buddi] hendak hidup, berahi hendak mati; [24] buddi hendak menchari arta banyak-banyak, berahi hendak memuangkan [arta]; buddi hendak menjadi raja dan mentri, berahi hendak menjadi faqīr; buddi hendak nyaman, berahi hendak sakit; buddi hendak mulia, berahi hendak hina; buddi hendak kenyang, berahi hendak lapar; buddi hendak duduk keatas, berahi hendak duduk kebawah - kerana itu dikatakan Ahlu'l-Sulūk: 'Berahi setru Buddi.' Seperti seorang orang hendak melawan seratus [orang]; kata Buddi: Jangan dilawan, engkau seorang lawanmu banyak, manakan dapat kan lawan? Kata Berahi: Seorang pun engkau jangan takut! Seperti firmān<sup>1437</sup> Allāh Ta'ālā:

Idhā jā'a ajaluhum lā yasta'khiruna sā'atan  
wa lā yastaqdimūn.<sup>1438</sup>

ya'nī:

Apabila datang ajal mereka itu, tiadakan dapat mereka itu kemudian seketika dan tiadakan [dapat] dahulu mereka itu.

1436. Budi written in sanscrit form budd[h]i. Repetition of budi in text.

1437. Text: sabda.

1438. Qur'ān 7:34.

(56) Adapun maka mereka itu hendak mati kerana sabda Rasulullah'Llāh (ṣalla'Llāhu 'alayhi wa sallam!):

"Al-mawtu jisru'l-ḥabībi<sup>1439</sup> ilā ḥabībin.

ya'nī:

"Mati itu iaitu [sebagai titian yang] menyampaikan kekasih pada kekasih."

Dan [lagi] sabda Rasūlu'Llāh (ṣalla'Llāhu 'alayhi wa sallam!)

"Mūtū qabla an tamūtū."

ya'nī:

"Matikan 9dirimu) sementara belum mati."

Dan lagi firmān<sup>1440</sup> Allāh Ta'ālā:

Qul in kānat lakumu'l-dāru'l-ākhiratu  
'inda'Llāhi khālīṣatan min dūni'l-nāsi  
fa tamannū'l-mawta in kuntum ṣādiqin.<sup>1441</sup>

ya'nī:

Katakan (yā Muḥammad) jikalau ada bagi kamu negeri ākhirat kepada Allāh tertentu tiada bagi segala manusia, maka tuntutan oleh kamu mati-jikalau ada kamu orang yang betul.

(57) Erti mati bukan pergi memunuh diri dengan senjata atau dengan rachun [25]; erti mati menyerahkan diri kepada Allāh Ta'ālā dengan tajrīd dan tafrīd. Hendak[nya] tajrīd dan tafrīd [itu iaitu] tinggal dan tunggal - ya'nī tinggal daripada rumah dan arta kekayaan dan bersuḥbat dengan raja

---

1439. Text incorrect: jasru'l-ḥabību.

1440. Text: sabda.

1441. Qur'an 2:94.

dan mentri; adapun ma'nā tunggal [itu iaitu] tiada berchampur dengan orang. Ya'nī tajrīd [ialah] tinggal daripada dirinya; [tafrīd ialah] tunggal dengan Tuhannya - ya'nī menafikan<sup>1442</sup> dirinya[dan] mengithbātkan Tuhannya. Ya'nī inilah ḥaqīqat lā ilāha illā'Allāhu waḥdahu lā sharīka lahu, [kerana] shirk Allāh Subḥānahu wa Ta'ālā [itu dirinya].<sup>1443</sup> Apabila ia tinggal daripada dirinya, maka tunggal - [ya'nī] apabila ia tinggal daripada shirk, maka dapat menjadi tunggal. [Setelah dapat menjadi tunggal]<sup>1444</sup> maka 'āshiq dan mabok namanya, kerana orang berahi yang sudah tunggal daripada dirinya, akan harimau tiada ia takut - akan [orang] berbuddi takut [ia akan harimau] - akan gajah tiada ia takut, akan ular tiada ia takut, akan api tiada ia takut - akan orang<sup>1445</sup> berbuddi, ia takut [akan semua ini]. Kerana itu maka kata Ahlu'l-Sulūk: 'Buddi setru Berahi.'

- (58) Adapun akan [orang] berahi tiada ia takut akan neraka dan tiada ia ingin akan shurga - Allāh SendiriNya juga kehendaknya. Apabila ṣifāt yang demikian ada akan dia berahi hukumnya. Jika tiada ṣifāt demikian akan dia 'āshiq akan nasi baru - belum 'āshiq akan Allāh Ta'ālā! Ya'nī selang nyawanya lagi tiada dikhabarkannya, manakan ingat ia kepada arta dan nasi?

---

1442. Text has: melainkan.

1443. Cf. 7291, p.108.

1444. Cf. 7291, p.108.

1445. On the margin of the text.

(59) Adapun akan orang berahi yang tiada dapat menaruh rahasia[nya] - seperti kata Nawlānā Rūm:

"Man khudā am! man khudā am!  
man khudā am!"<sup>1446</sup>

ya'nī:

"Aku Allāh! Aku Allāh! Aku Allāh!"

Katanya itu kata mabok, bukan hawa nafsunya. Dan [seperti kata] Shaykh [26] Maṣṣūr [al-Ḥallāj] mengatakan "Anā'l-Ḥaqq!" itu pun [demikian]. Jangan kita menurut katanya [kerana kita tiada maghlūbu'l-ḥāl].<sup>1447</sup> Tetapi jika kita berahi dan mabok - tiada tertaruh rahasia kita lagi - barang kata dika-takan, tiada berdosa. Fa ifham!<sup>1448</sup>

(60) Adapun kitāb ini tujuh bāb diperbuat Darwīsh Ḥamzah Permainan Orang Berahi supaya jangan sukar hamba Allāh menchari 'ilmu, kerana dalam kitāb ini 'ilmu dan 'amal baik termadhkūr.

(61) Tiada berapa lagi kurangnya. Tetapi barangsiapa menyamakan dia, yogya diṣaḥkan dua-tiga kali supaya [jangan] lebih-kurang ḥuruf-ḥurufnya [dan kalīmatnya. Apabila lebih kurang, binasa ma'nānya].<sup>1449</sup>

Wa'Ellāhu a'lam bi'l-sawab!  
Tamm al-Kitāb.

1446. Text has: khudā im!

1447. Cf. 7291, p.109.

1448. 7291 has: Maka fahamkanlah olehmu!

1449. Cf. 7291, pp.109-110.

'Alāmat tanmat menyurat kitāb ini pada bulan Rajab, pada  
sembilan hari daripadanya, waktu ḍuḥā, hari Thalāthah  
Ḥijratu'l-Nabī (ṣalla'LLāhu 'alayhi wa sallam!) Seribu  
Seratus Enam Belas tahun berjalan. Wa'LLāhu a'lam bi'l-  
ṣawāb!

CHAPTER IXAl-Muntahī

karangan

Ḥamzah Faṣṣūrī

[Naskhah Leiden no. 7291 (111)]

[110] Bismi' Llāhi' l-rahḡmāni' l-rahīm.Al-ḡamdu li' Llāhi rabbi' l-'ālamīnwa' l-'aḡibatu li' l-muttaḡīnwa' l-ṡalātu 'ala rasūli[hi] Muḡammadin<sup>1450</sup>wa ālihi ajma'īn.

- (1) Ketahui olehmu, hai Ṭālib<sup>1451</sup> bahwa sabda Rasūlu' Llāh  
(ṡalla' Llāhu 'alayhi wa sallam!):

"Man naḡara ita shay'īn wa lam yara,"<sup>1452</sup> Llāha  
fīhi fa huwa bāṡilun."

ya'nī:

"Barangsiapa menilik kepada suatu, jika  
tiada dilihatnya Allāh dalamnya, maka ia  
itu sia-sia." [111]

1450. Text has duplication of Muḡammad.

1451. Text has duplication of Ṭālib.

1452. Text has yā rā yā, but in the jussive mood the final yā is dropped, hence text should read yā ra.

Kata 'Alī (raḍiya'Llāhu 'anhu!):

"Mā [ra]'aytu shay'an illā wa ra'aytu'Llāha  
[fīhi]."

ya'nī:

"Tiada kulihat suatu melainkan kulihat  
Allāh dalamnya."

Sabda Nabī (ṣall'Llāhu 'alayhi wa sallam!):

"Man 'arafa nafsahu fa qad 'arafa rabbahu."

ya'nī:

"Barangsiapa mengenal dirinya maka sanya  
menenal Tuhannya."

(2) Erti mengenal Tuhannya dan mengenal dirinya ya'nī:

Diri kuntu kanzan makhfiyyan [itu] dirinya, dan seme[s]ta  
sekalian dalam 'Ilmu Allāh. Seperti sebiji dan puhun;  
puhunnya dalam sebiji itu, sungguh pun tiada kelihatan,  
tetapi hukumnya ada dalam biji itu.<sup>1453</sup> Kata Shaykh  
Jun[ay]d (raḍiya'Llāhu 'anhu!):

"Kāna'Llāhu wa lam yakun ma'ahu shay'un  
[Huwa']l-āna kama kana."<sup>1454</sup>

ya'nī:

"Ada Allāh dan tiada ada sertaNya suatu pun.  
[Ia] sekarang ini seperti AdaNya dahulu itu jua."

1453. Cp. Rānīrī in Tibyān, p. 97.

1454. Cf. Lama'āt, Lam'at II, p. 330.

Kerana ini maka sabda 'Alī (raḍiya' Llāhu 'anhu!):

"Mā ra'aytu shay'an illā wa ra'aytu' Llāha  
fīhi.

- (3) Tetapi jangan melihat seperti kain basah kerana kain lain, airnya lain. Allāh Subḥānahu wa Ta'ālā mahasuchi daripada demikian itu tamthilnya! Tetapi jika ditamthilkan seperti laut dan ombak, harus - seperti kata sha'ir:

Fa'l-baḥru baḥrun 'alā mā kāna fi qidamin  
inna'l-ḥawāditha<sup>1455</sup> amwājun wa anhāru  
lā yaḥjibannaka<sup>1456</sup> as[h]kālun tushākiluhā  
'an man tashakkala fīhā fahiya<sup>1457</sup> astāru.<sup>1458</sup>

ya'nī:

"Yang laut itu laut jua pada sediapertamanya  
Maka yang baharu itu ombaknya dan sungainya  
Jangan mend[ind]ing[i] dikau [112] segala  
rupa yang menyerupai dirinya  
Kerana dengan segala rupa itu dinding daripadanya."

1455. Text has kāf instead of wāw.

1456. The Persian text reads lā yu'jibannaka, but the version Ḥamzah qotes fits better in the context of this poem.

1457. The text is corrupt: nahā.

1458. Cf. Lama'āt, Lam'at III, p. 332. See also Asrār, p. 50.



Tetapi [ombak] berserta dengan laut qadīm. Seperti  
[kata] miṣrā':<sup>1459</sup>

[Daryā kuhan chū bar zand mawjī nū

Mawjish khwānand u dar haqīqat daryāst]<sup>1460</sup>

[ya'nī:]

"Laut itu qadīm; apabila berpalu, baharu  
ombak namanya dikata.

Tetapi pada haqīqatnya laut jua"

Kerana laut dan ombak esa tiada dua.

Seperti firmān Allāh Ta'ālā:

Wa'LLāhu bi kulli shay'in muḥīṭ.<sup>1461</sup>

ya'nī:

Bahwa Allāh Ta'ālā dengan suatu meliputi.

Sabda Rasūlu'LLāh (ṣalla'LLāhu 'alayhi wa sallam!):

"Anā mina'LLāhi wa'l-'ālamu minnī."

ya'nī:

"Aku daripada Allāh; sekalian 'ālam daripadaku."

Seperti matahari dengan cahayanya dengan panasnya;  
namanya tiga haqīqatnya suatu jua. Seperti ishārat

1459. In Arabic prosody, a miṣrā' is half a bayt (verse). See Nicholson, Literary history of the Arabs, Cambridge, 1953, p. 74, and Literary history of Persia, II, pp. 24, 25.

1460. Missing in the Malay text. Cf. Asrār, p. 55. Lama'at, Lam'at III, p. 332.

1461. Qur'ān 41:54, but the Qur'ān reads: Alā innahu instead of Wa'LLāhu.

Rasūlu'Llāh (ṣalla'Llāhu 'alayhi wa sallam!):

"Man 'arafa nafsahu fa qad 'arafa rabbahu."

ya'nī:

"Barangsiapa mengenal dirinya maka sanya mengenal Tuhannya."

(4) Adapun dirinya itu, sungguh [pun] beroleh nama dan rupa jua, ḥaqīqatnya rupanya dan namanya tiada. Seperti bayang-bayang dalam chermin; rupanya d[an] namanya ada [ḥaqīqatnya tiada]. Seperti sabda Nabī (ṣalla'Llāhu 'alayhi wa sallam!):

"Al-mu'minu mir'ātu'l-mu'mini."

ya'nī:

"Yang Mu'min itu chermin samanya mu'min." Ertinya ya'nī Nama Allāh Mu'min.<sup>1462</sup> Maka hambaNya yang khāṣṣ pun namanya mu'min. Jika demikian, sama-sama dengan Tuhannya, kerana hamba tiada bercherai dengan Tuhannya, dan Tuhan pun tiada bercherai dengan hambaNya.

(5) Seperti firmān Allāh Ta'ālā:

Wa huwa ma'akum aynamā kuntum.<sup>1463</sup>

ya'nī:

Ia itu serta kamu barang dimana ada kamu.

1462. Cf. Qur'ān 59:23; also Lama'āt, Lama'at VII, p. 337.

1463. Qur'an 57:4.

Dan[113] lagi firmān Allāh Ta'ālā:

Thalāthatin illā huwa rābi'uhum wa lā  
khamsatin illā huwa sādīsuhum  
wa lā adnā min dhālika wa lā akthara illā  
huwa ma'ahum.<sup>1464</sup>

ya'nī:

Jika orang tiga, melainkan Ia jua keempatnya  
 dengan mereka itu; dan jika ada lima,  
 melainkan Ia keenam[nya] dengan mereka itu;  
 dan tiada lebih dan tiada kurang daripada  
 demikian itu melainkan Ia jua serta mereka itu.

Seperti firmān Allāh:

Wa nahnu aqrabu ilayhi min ḥabli'l-warīd.<sup>1465</sup>

ya'nī:

Kami<sup>1466</sup> [terlebih] hampir kepadanya daripada  
 urat lehernya yang kedua.

- (6) Dengarkan,<sup>1467</sup> hai Ṭālib! - wa huwa ma'akum tiada  
 diluar dan tiada [di] dalam, dan tiada diatas dan tiada  
 diatas dan tiada dibawah, dan tiada dikiri dan tiada

1464. Qur, ān 58:7.

1465. Qur'ān 50:15.

1466. Text incorrect: Aku for nahnu.

1467. Text corrupt: Dengankan.

dikanaan - [Ia khālī]<sup>1468</sup> daripada enam pihak. Seperti firmān Allāh Ta'ālā:

Wa huwa'l-awwalu wa'l-ākhiru wa'l-ẓāhiru  
wa'l-bāṭin<sup>1469</sup> -

ya'nī:

Ia itu jua yang Dahulu dan Ia jua yang  
 Kemudian dan Ia jua yang Nyata dan Ia  
 jua yang Terbuni

[Lagi] pun tamthil seperti pohon kayu sepuhun. Namanya limau atau lain daripada limau. Daunnya lain, dahannya lain, bunganya lain, buahnya lain, akarnya lain. Pada ḥaqīqatnya sekalian itu limau jua. Sungguh pun<sup>1470</sup> namanya dan rupanya dan warnanya berbagai, ḥaqīqat[nya] esa jua. Jikalau demikian, hendaklah segala 'Ārif mengenal Allāh Ta'ālā seperti [ishārat] Rasūlu'llāh (ṣalla'llāhu 'alayhi wa sallam!):

"Man<sup>1471</sup> 'arafa nafsahu fa qad<sup>1472</sup> 'arafa<sup>1473</sup>

1468. Cf. Asrār, pp. 50-51.

1469. Qur'ān 57:3.

1470. Text has: punya.

1471. Text has duplication of man.

1472. Text corrupt: qadh.

1473. Text incorrect: 'arāfa.

rabbahu" -

seperti yang tersebut dahulu itu.

- (7) Sebermula. Sabda Rasūlu'LLāh itu [114] dengan diishāratkan jua. Sungguh pun pada Sharī'at rupanya berbagai-bagai pada Ḥaqīqat esa jua. Seperti kata sha'ir Lam'at:

["Yārī dāram ki jism u jān sūrat ūst  
Chi jism u chi jān jumlah jihān sūrat ūst  
Har sūrat khūb u ma'nā pākīzah  
Kāndar nazr man āyad ān sūrat ūst.]<sup>1474</sup>

ya'nī:

"Bahwa ada kekasihku, tubuh dan nyawa

rupanya jua,

Apa tubuh, apa nyawa? - sekalian 'ālam pun

rupanya jua;

Segala rupa yang baik dan erti yang suchi

itu pun rupanya jua,

Segala barang yang datang kepada penglihatku<sup>1475</sup>  
 itu pun rupanya jua."

---

1474 This rubā'ī is not found in the Malay text. It comes from Lam'at VIII, Lama'at, p. 338. I would like to acknowledge Professor A.J. Arberry of Pembroke College, Cambridge, for his help in identifying this quatrain.

1475. Text has penglihatmu.

Seperti firmān [Allāh] Ta'ālā:

Fa aynamā tuwallū fa thamma wajhu'Llāh.<sup>1476</sup>

ya'nī:

Barang kemana mukamu kan hadapkan, maka  
disana ada Dhāt Allāh.

Tamthīl seperti susu dan minyak sapi; namanya dua,  
ḥaqīqatnya suatu jua. Kesudahannya susu lenyap  
[apabila di] putar<sup>1477</sup> - minyak jua kekal sendirinya.

(8) Sekali-kali tiada bertukar, seperti sabda Rasūlu'-  
Llāh (ṣalla'Llāhu 'alayhi wa sallam!):

"Man 'arafa nafsahu bi'l-fanā'i  
fa qad 'arafa rabbahu bi'l-baqā'."

ya'nī:

"Barangsiapa mengenal dirinya [dengan]  
fanā'nya, bahwa sanya mengenal Tuhan yang  
baqā'lah dan serta Tuhannya."

Seperti mengetahui ruh dengan badān; muḥīṭ pada badān  
pun tiada, dalam badān pun tiada, luar badān pun  
tiada. Demikian lagi Tuhan; pada sekalian 'ālam pun  
tiada, dalam 'ālam pun tiada, diluar 'ālam pun tiada.  
Seperti permata chinchin dengan chahayanya; dalam

1476. Qur'ān 2:109.

1477. Text reads: susu lenyap, putar pun lenyap -  
but this makes no sense.

permata pun tiada chahayanya, diluar permata pun  
tiada chahayanya.

(9) Kerana ini maka kata 'Alī (raḍiya'LLāhu 'anhu!):

"Mā ra'aytu shay'an illā wa ra'aytu'LLāha fīhi."

ya'nī:

"Tiada kulihat suatu melainkan [115] kulihat  
Allāh dalamnya."

Maka Mansūr<sup>1478</sup> Ḥallāj<sup>1479</sup> pun berkata daripada sangat  
berahi ini mengatakan:

"Anā'l-Ḥaqq"

ya'nī:

"Akulah yang Sebenarnya!"

Maka kata [Bā] Yazīd pun mengatakan demikian:

"Subḥānī mā a'ẓama shā'nī."

ya'nī:

"Maha suci aku, dan siapa besar sebagaiku!"

Maka Shaykh Jun[ay]d Baghdādī pun mengatakan:

"Laysa fī jubbatī siwā'LLāh."

ya'nī:

"Tiada didalam jubbahku ini melainkan Allāh!"

1478. Text duplicates Mansūr.

1479. Text corrupt: Khallāj.

Dan Sayyid Nasīmī<sup>1480</sup> pun mengatakan:

"Innī anā'LLāh."

ya'nī:

"Bahwa akulah Allāh!"

Dan Mas'ūdī<sup>1481</sup> pun mengatakan dengan bahasa Farsī:

"Anchih hamān dhāt būd

bāz haman dhāt shud."

ya'nī:

"Dhāt Allāh yang Qadīm

itulah dhātku sekarang.<sup>1482</sup>

Dan kata Mawlānā Rūm:

"'Ālam nin belum, adaku adalah

Ādam pun belum, adaku adalah

Suatu pun belum, adaku berahikan qadīmku jua."<sup>1483</sup>

Dan kata Sultānu'l-'Āshiqīn<sup>1484</sup> Shaykh 'Alī Abū'l-Wafā'

1480. Text incorrect: Nasīmī. This refers to the Turkish Hurūfī poet who was skinned alive in Aleppo in 1417-8. He was very much influenced by al-Ḥallāj and went about crying: "I am God!" See Gibb, E.J.W., History of Ottoman poetry, I, London, 1900, pp. 336-388.

1481. Mas'ūd i Sa'di Salmān, a Persian poet (d. 1131). See Literary history of Persia, II, pp. 324-326; 298.

1482. Text duplicates sekarang.

1483. I have not been able to trace the original.

1484. Text has: Shultānu'l-'Āsiqīn.



"Kullu'l-wujūdi wujūduhu lā tushrikanna bihi'l-milāh  
Fa idhā nazarta lahu bihi fa'sjud hunaka fa lā junāh."

ya'nī:

"Segala [wujūd itu]<sup>1485</sup> wujūdNya<sup>1486</sup> jangan kau  
sekutukan dengan yang baik;

Apabila kau lihatNya bagiNya dengan dia, maka  
sujūdlah engkau sana tiada berdosa."

Maka kata kitā[b] Gulshan:<sup>1487</sup>

"Hai segala islām! jika kau ketahui bahwa  
berhala apa,

Kau ketahui olehmu bahwa yang jalan itu  
pada menyembah berhala dikata.

Jika segala kāfir daripada berhalanya itu  
dalālnya,

Ngapa maka [116] pada agamanya itu jadi sesat."<sup>1488</sup>

(10) Sebab demikianlah maka Shaykh 'Aynu'l-Qudāt menyembah  
anjing mengatakan: "Hādihā rabbī" - ya'nī: "Inilah

1485. Cf. 1952, p. 9.

1486. Text has the Malay rendering of wujūd: ujud.  
This occurs several times in the text.

1487. Text corrupt. refers to the Gulistān of Sa'dī  
(d. 1291). The book is a collection of anecdotes. See Literary history of Persia, II, pp.  
525-532.

1488. The Persian text is missing in the Malay text and  
unintelligible in the Javanese. This comes from  
the Gulshan-i-Rāz. See Shabistari, p. 51 of the  
Persian text.

Tuhanku!" - kerana anjing tiada dilihatnya, hanya dilihatnya Tuhannya jua dilihatnya. Seperti orang melihat kepada chermin; muka jua yang dilihatnya, chermin ghā'ib daripada penglihatnya kerana 'ālam ini pada penglihatnya seperti bayang jua - rupanya ada haqīqatnya tiada. Nisbat kepada Ḥaqq Ta'ālā tiada nisbat kepada kita adalah kerana kita memandang dengan hijāb. Seperti sabda Rasūlu'LLāh (ṣalla'LLāhu 'alayhi wa sallam!):

"Man 'arafa nafsahu faqad 'arafa rabbahu" dengan ishāratkan jua. Pada haqīqatnya dikenal pun Ia, mengenal pun Ia.

(11) Seperti sabda Rasūlu'LLāh (ṣall'LLāhu 'alayhi wa sallam!):

"Man 'arafa'LLāha ṭāla lisānuhu".  
ya'nī:

"Barangsiapa mengenal Allāh lanjuti lidahnya." Pada tatakala mulanya mengetahui man 'arafa nafsahu, setelah sampai kepada fa qad 'arafa rabbahu maka SendiriNya. Maka sabda pula Nabī Allāh:

"Man 'arafa'LLāha kalla lisānu[hu]".  
ya'nī:

"Barangsiapa mengenal Allāh kulūlah lidahnya." - ertinya: tempat berkata tiada lagi lulus.

(12) Seperti kata Shaykh Muḥyī'l-Dīn 'Arabī (qaddasa'-  
Llāhu sirrahu!) itu pun ishārat kepada "man 'arafa  
nafsahu faqad 'arafa rabbahu" jua. Sha'īr:

"Al-ḥaqqu 'aynu'l-khalqī in kunta dhā<sup>1489</sup>  
'ayni

Wa'l-khalqu 'aynu'l-ḥaqqi in kunta dhā<sup>1490</sup>  
'aqli

Fa in kunta dhā<sup>1491</sup> 'aynin wa 'aqlin fīmā  
tara

Fa huwa 'aynu shay'in wāhidin fihi illā  
bi'l-shakli.<sup>1492</sup>

[117] ya'nī kata Muḥyī'l-Dīn sebenarnya itu keadaan  
hambaNya:

"Jika ada engkau orang bermata, bermula:

hamba itu kenyataan Tuhan,

Jika ada engkau orang berbudi maka barang

segala kau lihat ini keadaanNya;

[Dan jika ada engkau orang bermata dan berbudi,  
dalam sesuatu yang kau lihat]

Segala suatu itu dalamNya [melainkan] dengan  
segala rupa."

---

1489. Text corrupt: da.

1490. Text corrupt: dā.

1491. Text corrupt: dā.

1492. I am unable to trace this verse. It probably  
came from the Dīwān of Ibnu'l-'Arabī.

Seperti firmān Allāh Ta'ālā:

Wa huwa ma'akum aynamā kuntum.<sup>1493</sup>

ya'nī:

Ia itu serta kamu barang dimana ada kamu.

Lagi perka[taa]nnya Shaykh Muḥyī'l-Dīn ibn 'Arabī(shi'r):

"Kunnā ḥurūf[an] 'āliyātin lam nu[n]qal

muta'āliqatin bi'd-dāri 'alā'l-qulal

kuntu anā[anta] fīhi wa nahnu anta [wa anta]

huwa fa'l-kullu fī huwa huwa fa's'al 'an man

waṣal.<sup>1494</sup>

ya'nī:

"Kamilah ḥurūf yang mahatinggi yang tia[da]  
berpindah

Dan yang tergantung dengan istananya diatas  
puchak gunung.

Aku<sup>1495</sup> engkau dalamnya dan [kami engkau dan]  
engkau Ia

Maka sekalian dalam Itu Ia, maka bertanyalah  
engkau kepada barangsiapa yang waṣal."

(13) Hai Ṭālib! - mengetahui "Man 'arafa nafsahu bukan

1493. Qur'an 57:4.

1494. Quoted in the Asrār, pp. 36-37.

1495. Preceding Aku the text has: engkau dan.

mengenal jantung dan paru-paru, dan bukan mengenal<sup>1496</sup>  
 kaki dan tangan. Ma'nā "Man 'arafa nafsahu": adanya  
 dengan Ada Tuhannya esa jua. Seperti kata Shaykh  
 [Junayd] Baghdā[dī] (rahmatu'llāhi 'alayhi!):

"Lawnu'l-mā'i lawnu inā'ihī."<sup>1497</sup>

ya'nī:

"Warna air warna bejananya."

Dan seperti kata sha'ir Lam'at:

"Laqad baṭanta<sup>1498</sup> fa lam<sup>1499</sup> taḥhar li dhī  
baṣari

Wa<sup>1500</sup> kayfa yudraku man bi'l-'ayni mustatiru<sup>1501</sup>

ya'nī:

"Sungguhnyā telah terbunilah Engkau maka  
 tiada dapat dilihat oleh segala mata;

Maka betapa dilihat oleh segala mata [118]<sup>1502</sup>  
 kerana Ia terdinding dengan adaNya?"

1496. Mengenal duplicated in the text.

1497. The text is corrupt. This passage is also quoted in the Asrār, pp. 61-62. In the Kitāb al-Luma' of Abū Naṣr al-Sarrāj (p. 36), this passage is attributed to Abū Yazīd al-Bisṭāmī and not to Junayd.

1498. Text incorrect: baṭnanta.

1499. Text corrupt.

1500. Text has: fakayfa.

1501. Text has: muntatirun. Lama'āt, Lam'at XIII, p. 343.

1502. Maka betapa dilihat oleh segala mata duplicated in text.

Lagi kata Shaykh Muḥyī'l-Dīn:

"In ruḥtu bi ṭa'abihi lam yanqadi safari"<sup>1503</sup>

In ji'tu [ilā] ḥadrihi<sup>1504</sup> wahishta fī  
ḥadri

La anā [a]rāhu wa lā yanfakku min baṣari

Wa fī damiri wa lā yalqāhu fi 'umri.

ya'nī:

"Jika pergilah aku menuntut Dia, tiadalah  
berkesudahan tuntutanku

Jika datang aku kehadratNya, Ia liar  
daripadaku

Tiada aku melihat Dia, Ia tiada jauh  
daripada penglihatku

Bermula: Ia ada dalamku dan tiada aku  
bertemu pada se'umurku."

Inilah maka kata Shaykh Jun[ay]d (rahmatu'llāhi 'alayhi!):

"Wujūduka dhanbun lā yuqāsu bihi dhanbun  
[ākharu]."<sup>1505</sup>

ya'nī:

"Adamu ini dosha, tiada dosha sebagainya."

1503. Text corrupt: safari.

1504. Text corrupt: ḥasrihi.

1505. Quoted by Hujwiri in the Kashf al-Maḥjūb. See Asrār, p. 61.

(14) Barangkala engkau pun suatu wujud, Ḥaqq [Ta'ālā] pun suatu wujud, sharīka lahu datang kerana Ḥaqq Subḥānahu wa Ta'ālā waḥdahu lā sharīkā lahu<sup>1506</sup> - ertinya ya'nī: tiada sekutu bagiNya; ertinya tiada wujud lain hanya wujud Ḥaqq Ta'ālā jua. Seperti laut dan ombak. Seperti firmān Allāh Ta'ālā:

Fa aynamā tuwallū fa thamma wajhu'LLāh.<sup>1507</sup>

ya'nī:

[Barang kemana mukamu kau hadapkan, maka disana ada] Dhāt Allāh.

Dan kata Mawlānā 'Abdu'l-Raḥmān Jāmī (rahmatu'LLāhu 'alayhi!):

Bayt: Ham sāyah u ham[ni]shīn u ham rāhu hamah ūst  
[Dardalaq gadā u [dar] aṭlas shāhi hamah ūst]<sup>1508</sup>  
Dar anchuman farq nihān [k]hānah u jam'  
[hamah ūst]

1506. Qur'ān 6:163.

1507. Qur'ān 2:109.

1508. The second line of the verse is missing in the Malay text. This verse comes from the Lawā'ih. But in Whinefield and Qazvīnī's edition and translation, the Persian text does not show this verse. 5716(2), p. 70 gives the verse in full.

Bi'LLāhi hamah ūst thumma bi'LLāhi hamah

ūst."1509

ya'nī:

"Sekampung sekedudukan sekejalaman<sup>1510</sup>

sekaliannya itu [Ia] jua;

Pada telekung<sup>1511</sup> segala minta makan dan  
pada atlas segala raja-raja itu pun [119]

Ia jua;

Pada segala perhimpunan dan percheraian dan  
rumah yang terbuni dan yang berhimpun itu  
pun Ia jua,

Demi Allāh sekaliannya Ia jua! Maka demi  
Allāh sekaliannya Ia jua!"

(15) Tamthīl seperti biji sebiji, dalamnya pohon kayu  
sepuhun dengan selengkapnyā. Aşalnya biji itu jua;  
setelah menjadi kayu biji sebiji itu ghā'ib - kayu jua  
kelihatan. Warnanya berbagai-bagai, rasanya berbagai,  
[tetapi] aşalnya sebiji itu jua. Seperti firmān Allāh

---

1509. See English translation of the text, p.759 ,below.

1510. The text is garbled. Sekejalaman is meant as it  
is the literal translation of the Persian ham rāhu:  
fellow traveller, occurring in the first line of  
Jāmī's verse.

1511. Text corrupt. This word translates the Persian  
dalaq.



Ta'ālā:

... Yusqā<sup>1512</sup> bi mā'in wāḥidin wa nufaḍḍilu  
ba'daha 'alā ba'din fi'l-ukuli.<sup>1513</sup>

ya'nī:

... Kami tuangkan dengan suatu air dan  
 Kami lebihkan setengah atas setengahnya  
 pada rasa makanan.

Tamthil seperti air hujan dalam sebuah tanaman. Air  
 i[tu] jua yang lengkap pada sekalian dan berbagai-  
 bagai rasanya. Pada limau masam, pada tebu manis,  
 pada mambu pahit; masing-masing membawa rasanya.  
 Tetapi ḥaqīqatnya air itu jua pada sekalian itu.<sup>1514</sup>  
 Suatu lagi<sup>1515</sup> tamthīl seperti matahari dengan panas.  
 Jikalau panas kepada bunga, atau kepada chendana,  
 tiada ia beroleh bahu daripada bunga. Jikalau najis  
 pun demikian lagi.<sup>1516</sup> Jangan shakk disini kerana  
 shakk ini itulah ḥijāb.

(16) Kerana [atas] maḥzar Jalāl dan atas maḥzar Jamāl

1512. Text incorrect: nusqā.

1513. Qur'ān 13:4.

1514. See Asrār, pp. 52-53.

1515. Text duplicates lagi.

1516. See Sharāb, p. 13(32).

tiada [Ia] bercherai, maka Kamāl NamaNya. Nama al-Mu'izz<sup>1517</sup> tiada bercherai, Nama al-Laṭīf [dan] al-Qahhār tiada bercherai.<sup>1518</sup> Dan shirk pun mazharNya jua. Seperti kata Shāh Ni'matu'Llāh<sup>1519</sup> (qaddasa'-Llāhu sirrahu!):

[120] "Ra'aytu<sup>1520</sup> 'Llāha fī 'aynī bi 'aynihi  
Wa 'aynī 'aynuhu<sup>1521</sup> fa'nzur bu'aynihi  
Habībī<sup>1522</sup> 'inda<sup>1523</sup> ghayrī ghayru 'aynī  
Wa 'indī 'aynuhu min ḥaythu 'ayni[hi]."<sup>1524</sup>

ya'nī:

"Kulihat Allāh padakeadaanku dengan penglihatNya;

Bermula: keadaanku itu KeadaanNya, maka<sup>1525</sup>

1517. Text corrupt.

1518. See Sharāb, pp. 20-23.

1519. Sayyid Ni'matu'Llāh of Kirmān (d. 1431). See Literary history of Persia, III, pp. 463-473.

1520. Text incorrect: Wa ra'aytu.

1521. Text incorrect: wa 'aynihi.

1522. Text incorrect: Ḥubbī. The Persian edition has a printing error: the ḥ of ḥabībī is printed as mīm.

1523. Text incorrect: 'indī.

1524. From the Dū Baytī (Ḥurf Yā). See Kulliyyāt i Dīvan i Shah Ni'matu'Llāh Walī, Persian text, ed: Mahmud 'Ilmi, Tihran, 1333/1954, p. 604.

1525. Maka duplicated in text.

tilik kepadaNya dengan tilik daripadaNya.  
 Kekasihku,<sup>1526</sup> pada segala lain daripadaku,  
 lain daripada adaku,  
 Bermula: padaku AdaNya itu dengan keadaanku  
 suatu jua."

Inilah ṣifāt "Man 'arafa nafsahu faqad 'arafa rabbahu"  
 itu pun permulaan jua.

- (17) Sebermula. Firmān<sup>1527</sup> Allāh Ta'ālā:  
Wa'LLāhu khalāqakum wa mā ta'malūn.<sup>1528</sup>  
 ya'nī:

Bahwa Allāh Ta'ālā menjadikan kamu dan  
 barang perbuatan kamu.

Dan lagi firmān Allāh Ta'ālā:

Mā min dābbatin illā huwa ākhidhun  
bi nāṣiyatihā inna rabbī 'alā ṣirātin  
mustaqīm.<sup>1529</sup>

ya'nī:

Tiada siapa dapat membawa melainkan Ia jua

1526. Text corrupt: Kekasih kasihku. Kekasihku is  
 the correct translation of Ḥabībī.

1527. Text duplicates firmān.

1528. Qur'ān 37:94.

1529. Qur'ān 11:56.

menghela<sup>1530</sup> rambut dahinya. Bahwa Tuhanku  
Esa jalanNya sebenarnya itupun.

Dan lagi sabda Nabī (ṣalla'LLāhu 'alayhi wa sallam!):

"Lā ḥawla wa lā quwwata illā bi'LLāhi  
'l-'aliyyi 'l-'azīm."<sup>1531</sup>

ya'nī:

"Tiada mengeliling<sup>1532, 1533</sup> dan tiada  
quwwat seorang melainkan dengan kuasa Allāh  
yang Mahatinggi dan Mahabesar."

Dan lagi sabda Nabī (ṣalla'LLāhu 'alayhi wa sallam!):

"Lā tataḥarraka dharratun<sup>1534</sup> illā bi  
idhni'LLāh."

ya'nī:

"Tiada bergerak suatu dharrat pun melainkan  
dengan gerak Allāh Ta'ālā."

[Dan lagi sabda Nabī (ṣalla'LLāhu 'alayhi wa sallam!):

1530. Text corrupt.

1531. Qur'ān 18:40.

1532. This is an incorrect translation. It seems that the translation given here is of the preposition ḥawla: around. The noun ḥawl means power; hence the correct translation should be kuasa.

1533. See note 1682.

1534. Text incorrect: dhārnaturun.

"Khayrihi wa sharrihi mina'LLāhi Ta'ālā."

ya'nī:

"Baik dan jahatnya daripada Allāh Ta'ālā."

Seperti firmān Allāh [121] Ta'ālā:

Wa mā tashā'ūna illā an yashā'a'LLāh.<sup>1535</sup>

ya'nī:

Dan tiada berkehendak mereka itu seorang

jua pun melainkan dengan [kehendak] Allāh jua.

(18) Sekalian dalīl<sup>1536</sup> dan hadīth ini ishārat kepada  
man 'arafa nafsahu fa qad 'arafa rabbahu jua. Lain  
daripadanya tiada. Dan kata Shaykh Muḥyī'l-Dīn ibnu'l-  
'Arabī (qaddasa'Lahu sirra ruḥihi'l-'azīz!):

Shi'r:

"Ḥarāmun 'ala'l-'ushshāqi<sup>1537</sup> an yashhada,<sup>1538</sup>

l-siwā

Idha kāna wajhu'l-ḥaqqi [bi'l-nūri]<sup>1539</sup>

sha'sha'a

Mā dhā aqūlu wa anta waḥduka lam yaku

1535. Qur'ān 76:30; 81:29.

1536. Text reads incorrectly: dālīl.

1537. Text corrupt: Ussāqi.

1538. Text corrupt: yashhīda.

1539. Cf. 5716(2), p. 74.

Aḥadun siwāka fa mā siwāka fa kā'l-habā."

ya'nī:

"Telah ḥaramlah atas segala yang berahi

bahwakan memandang lain daripadaNya

Apabila ada keadaan Allāh denganchahyaNya

gilang-gemilang

Barang segala yang kukata dan bahwa Engkau

jua Esa, tiada lain

Suatu pun daripadaMu maka sekarang barang

lain daripadaMu itu seperti habā adanya."

Seperti firman Allāh Ta'ālā:

Kullu yawmin huwa fī shā'n.<sup>1540</sup>

ya'nī:

Pada segala hari Ia itu dalam kelakuanNya.

(19) Ya'nī pada zuhūrNya berbagai-bagai [akan tetapi  
Dhāt tiada berbagai-bagai]<sup>1541</sup> dan tiada berubah,  
kerana Ia -

Huwa'l-awwalu wa'l-'ākhiru wa'l-  
ẓāhiru wa'l-bāṭinu<sup>1542</sup>

ya'nī:

1540. Qur'ān 55:29.

1541. See 5716(2), p. 75.

1542. Qur'ān 57:3.

Ia yang Pertama dan Ia yang Kemudian

dan Ia Nyata dan Ia Terbuni -

AwalNya tiada ketahuan,<sup>1543</sup> 'akhirNya tiada berkesudahan,  
 zāhirNya amat terbuni<sup>1544</sup> dengan bāṭinNya tiada kedapatan;  
 memandang diriNya dengan diriNya, melihat diriNya  
 [dengan] DhātNya dengan ṢifātNya dengan 'Af'alNya<sup>1545</sup>  
 dengan ĀthārNya.<sup>1546</sup> Sungguh pun namanya empat pada  
 haqīqatnya esa. Seperti kata Shaykh [122] Muḥyī'l-Dīn:

"Tajallī bi dhātihi fī dhātihi."

ya'nī:

"Menunjukkan AdaNya bagi AdaNya"

Lagi kata Imām Muḥammad Gazzālī (rahmatu'Llāhi 'alayhi!):

"In 'ālam azūst<sup>1547</sup> be ūst balki hamah ūst ..."

ya'nī:

"'Ālam ini daripadanya dengan Dialah-tetapi-  
 sekaliannya Ia."

Diikut dari Kīmiyā-i-Sa'ādat:<sup>1548</sup>

1543. Text: ketahui.

1544. Text repetitive.

1545. Text incorrect: Af'alNya.

1546. Text: ĀthārāNya.

1547. Text: ūst. Cf. 5716(2), p. 76.

1548. Text: Kamā-i-Sa'ādat.

"Guft<sup>1549</sup> Bā Yazīd: 'Wujūdunā minhu  
wa quwwāmunā bihi lā farqun baynī  
wa bayna rabbī illā bihādhā'l-martabatayn."<sup>1550</sup>

ya'nī:

"Wujūd kami daripadaNya dan quwwat  
kami dengan Dia. Tiada bedha antaraku  
dan antara Tuhanku melainkan dengan  
duamartabat.

Inilah 'ibārat "man 'arafa nafsahu fa qad 'arafa  
rabbahu."

(20) Sebermula. Allāh Subḥānahu wa Ta'ālā tiada  
bertempat dan tiada bermithal. Apa akan tempat  
[apabila] lain daripadaNya tiada? Mana tempat, mana  
mithal, [mana] warna? Hamba pun demikian lagi hendak[nya]  
jangan bertempat, jangan bermithal, jangan berjihāt  
enam,<sup>1551</sup> kerana sifat hamba Tuhannya: hendak[nya]  
maka datang kepada

"Idhā tamma'l-faqrū"<sup>1552</sup> fa huwa'Llāhu

1549. Text corrupt: kepintu - obviously guft is meant.

1550. Cf. Lama'āt, Lam'at XVII, p. 348.

1551. See Asrār, pp. 51-52.

1552. Text corrupt: atamma'l-faqiru.



'īshuhu bi 'īshi'l-Llāh."<sup>1553</sup>

ya'nī:

"Apabila sempurnalah faqīr maka  
ia itu Allāh dan hidupnya dengan  
hidup Allāh."

Seperti kata Mawlānā 'Abdu'l-Raḥmān Jāmī (raḥmatu'Llāhi  
'alayhi!):

[Bas bī rangīst yārī dilkhwāh ay dil  
Qāni' nashawī barangi nā gāh ay dil  
Aṣal īn hamah rangahā azān bīrangīst  
Man aḥsanu sibghatan mina'Llāhi ay dil].<sup>1554</sup>

[ya'nī:]

"Kepada kekasih yang tiada berwarna itu  
kau kehendak, hai hati;  
Jangan kau padamkan kepada warna  
mudah-mudahan, hai hati:  
Bahwa segala warna daripada tiada  
berwarna datangnya, hai hati,  
'Barangsiapa mengambil warna daripada  
Allāh itulah terlebih baik,' hai hati?"

(21) Ya'nī [123] yang asalnya itu tiada berwarna dan

---

1553. Cf. Lama'āt, p. 352.

1554. See below, note, 1901.

tiada berupa. Segala rupa yang dapat dilihat dan dapat dibicharakan, sekalian makhlūq jua pada 'ibārat.

Barangsiapa menyembah makhlūq, ia itu mushrik; seperti menyembah orang-orang mati dan manī dan jantung dan paru-paru - sekalian itu berhala jua hukumnya. Barangsiapa menyembah berhala, ia itu kāfir - na'ūdhubi'-Llāhi minhā! Wa'LLāhu a'lam!

(22) Jika demikian ngapa memandang seperti ombak dan laut juga dapat? Seperti sha'ir:

"Fa 'awwil 'alayhi lā siwāhu  
fa'aynama tuwallū fa thamma wajhu  
'Llāhi laysa mubarqa'an."]<sup>1555</sup>

.....<sup>1556</sup>

(23) ["Raqu'1-zujāju wa rāqati'1-khamru  
Fatashābahā wa tashākula'1-amru  
Fa ka'annamā khamrun wa lā qadahu  
Fa ka'annama qadahun wa lā khamru."<sup>1557</sup>

ya'nī:

---

1555. The Malay text is incomplete. Cf. 5716(2), p. 79.

1556. There is a considerable lacuna in the text here.  
Cf. 5716(2), pp. 79-84. See also above, pp. 369-377.

1557. Not in the text, but see 5716(2), pp. 84-85.  
See also Lama'āt, Lam'at V, p. 335.

[Naqshkacha dan hening<sup>1558</sup>] minuman

Maka serupa keduanya dan sebagai pekerjaannya

Maka sanya minuman tiada dengan piala

Dan bahwa piala tiada dengan minuman.

Ya'nī warna kacha dan warna minuman esa jua; warna minuman dan kacha pun sebagai jua, tiada dapat dilainkan.

Seperti kata Lam'at:

"Al-'aynu wāhidatun wa'l-hukmu mukhtalifun  
Wa dhāka sirran <sup>1559</sup> li ahli'l-'ilmi  
yankashifun."<sup>1560</sup>

ya'nī:

"Aşalnya suatu jua warnanya berbagai-bagai  
 Rahasia ini bagi orang yang tahu jua dapat  
 memakai dia."

[Seperti kata mişrā':

"Ma'shūq u'ishq u'āshiq har sih yakyast ĩnjā  
Chun waşl dar na-gunjad hijrān chi kār  
dārad]"<sup>1561</sup>

1558. See Asrār, p. 56.

1559. Text corrupt: shirrun.

1560. Text incorrect: yankasifun. Lama'āt, the XI  
Lam'at, p. 341.

1561. Cf. Asrār, p. 28.

ya'nī]:<sup>1562</sup>

"Berahi dan yang berahi dan yang diberahikan  
itu ketiganya esa jua,  
Sini, apabila pertemuan tiada lulus,  
percheraian dimanakan ada?"

(24) Kenapa dikata kerana sifat bertemu dan bercherai  
dua? Hendak[nya] pada 'Ālim, ḥaqīqat tiada dua.  
Seperti ombak dan laut esa jua, pada ḡāhirnya jua dua,  
teta[pi] bertemu pu[n] tiada bercherai pun tiada;  
didalampu[n] tiada [124] diluar pun tiada.

Qāla'l-ghawthu'l-a'ḡam: Ayyi  
Qāla'LLāhu Tlu 'indaka ya rabbī?  
Qāla'LLāhu Ta 'ālā: Ṣalātu'l-ladhī  
laysa fīhā siwā'i<sup>1563</sup> wa'l-muṣallī  
ghā'ibun 'anhā.

ya'nī:

Sembah Ghawth: "Mana kebaktian  
Terlebih kepadaMu yā Tuhanku?"  
Firmān Allāh Ta'ālā: Sembahyang  
yang tiada dalamnya suatu pun lain  
daripadaKu, dan yang menyembah  
ghā'ib.

---

1562. Not in the text. See 5716(2), fol. 69r-69v and  
Lama'āt, Lam'at III, p. 331.

1563. Text incorrect: siwānī.

Nyatalah [daripada ini bahwa yang] disembah pun Ia  
jua, yang menyembah pun Haqq. Seperti kata Mashā'-  
ikh:<sup>1564</sup>

"Mā<sup>1565</sup> 'arafa' Llāhu illā' Llāh  
mā ya'lamu' Llāhu illā' Llāh  
mā yarā' Llāhu illā' Llāh."

ya'nī:

"Tiada mengenal Allāh hanya Allāh,  
tiada mengetahui Allāh hanya Allāh,  
tiada melihat Allāh hanya Allāh."

Dan seperti kata Mawlānā 'Abdu'l-Raḥmān Jāmī:

Hamchunīn<sup>1566</sup> wāṣil nash[as]tah pesh yārī  
mīkunad an<sup>1567</sup> hajr nālahāi zār tā shuwad  
mahjūb u mahrūm az waṣl wāqif an bar ranj  
u malāl.<sup>1568</sup>

ya'nī:

---

1564. Text incorrect: mā shaykh.

1565. Text has man.

1566. Text has hū janīn, but see 5716(2) p. 87.

1567. From 5716(2), p. 87; text incomplete.

1568. Text has malāt, or perhaps mala'āt. 5716(2)  
p. 87 has malāl, which seems to be the correct  
reading.

"Orang yang waṣal itu seperti orang duduk [kesal];<sup>1569</sup> taulannya dicheriterakannya daripada percheraiannya dan serunya dan tangisnya, sehingga jadi ḥurūm daripada waṣal; terhenti [o]lehnya daripada percheraiannya dan daripada penuh dengan dukachitanya."

Dan seperti kata Shiblī:<sup>1570</sup> hendak[nya] sha'ir:

"Anā kaḍafda'un yaskunu fī'l-līmi

In hiya [fāhat] mala'at aqāhā

wa in sakatat<sup>1571</sup> mā tat mina'l-ghammi."<sup>1572</sup>

ya'nī:

"Akulah seperti katak diam dalam laut;

jika kubukakan mulutku nischaya dipenuhi

air;

jika aku diam nischaya matilah aku dalam

perchintaanku." [125]

(25) Ishārat daripada Shaykh Sa'adu'l-Dīn:<sup>1573</sup> 'jika

---

1569. Text: kisi or lesi (?). As a translation for the Persian pesh it should surely be dihadapan.

1570. Text: corrupt.

1571. Text: sakanat.

1572. See Kalābādhi, p. 139; Lama'āt, Lam'at XXVIII, p. 361. For the correct reading of the text, see above, p. 772.

1573. Text: Sa'ādu'l-Dīn (i.e. Shabistarī).

lagi dituntut tiada diperoleh; [jika lagi] dipandang  
 tiada dilihat,' kerana fi'il kita itu seperti angin  
 dilaut. Jika berhenti angin maka ombak pulang kepada  
 asalnya. Seperti firmān Allāh Ta'ālā:

Yā ayyatuhā'l-nafsu'l-muṭma'innatu ijri'ī  
ilā rabbiki rāḍiyatan marḍiyyatan fa'dkhulī  
fī 'ibādī wa'dkhulī jannatī.<sup>1574</sup>

ya'nī:

Hai segala kamu bernyawa muṭma'innah!  
 pulanglah kamu kepada Tuhan kamu rāḍi  
 kamu akan Dia dan rāḍi Ia akan kamu.

Maka masuklah shurgaKu, hai hamba-hambaKu!

Ertinya datangnya pun daripada laut, pulangnya pun  
 kepada laut jua.

Jannatu'l-zāhidīna<sup>1575</sup> hūrun wa quṣūrun  
Jannatu'l-'āshiqīna fī maḥalli kuntu  
kanzan makhfiyyan -

ya'nī:

Shurga orang zāhid<sup>1576</sup> anak bidyadari  
 dan maligai,

---

1574. Qur'ān 98:27-30.

1575. Text incorrect: zāhidīn.

1576. Text corrupt: zāhiḡ.

Shurga o[rang] berahi kepada perbendaraan  
yang berbuni.

(26) Sanalah tempat diam segala 'Āshiqīn! Berahikan  
shurga pun tiada, dengan neraka pun tiada takut ia;  
kerana [pada] orang berahi yang waṣal jannat itulah  
yang dikatakan [dalam āyat] fa'dkhulī fī 'ibadī  
wa'dkhulī jannatī.<sup>1577</sup> Pulanglah ia kepada tempat  
kuntu kanzan makhfiyyan. Dan seperti kata Ahlu'LLāh;

"Man 'arafa'LLāhu fa huwa mushrikun."

ya'nī:

"Barangsiapa mengenal [Allāh] maka ia itu  
mushrik."

Itupun ia:<sup>1578</sup>

"Al faqīru lā yahtāju"<sup>1579</sup> ilā'LLāhi."<sup>1580</sup>

Itupun ia:

"Al-faqīru suwadu'l-wajhi fī'l-dārayni."<sup>1581</sup>

ya'nī:

"Yang faqīr itu hitam mukanya pada kedua negeri."

1577. See above, note 1574.

1578. This translates walahu aydan.

1579. Text has: yakhtāru.

1580. Lama'at, Lam'at XX, p. 352.

1581. Loc. cit.



Itupun ia: sha'ir:

"Anā'l-gharīqu [126] bibaḥri mā lahu tarafun  
ghibtu fīhi 'ani'l-wijdāni wa'l-'adam."

ya'nī:

"Aku telah karamlah pada laut yang tiada  
bersisi,

Maka lenyaplah aku dalamnya; daripada "ada"  
dan "tiada" pun aku tiadalah tahu."

Itupun ia: sha'ir:

"Raddadtanī bayna'l-maniyyati wa'l-munā  
wa jama'tanī bayna'l-'ināyati wa'l-'inā  
wa akhadhta nī[minnī] li dhātika<sup>1582</sup> fa'-  
rtaqītu  
limustawa lā anta fīhi wa lā<sup>1583</sup> anā."

ya'nī:

"Kembalilah aku daripada menuntut dan yang  
dituntut.

Dan berhimpunlah aku antara yang mengarunia  
dan [yang] dikarunia,

Dan kembalilah daripada aku bagi adaMu  
suatulah tiga.

---

1582. Text: lidhālika; lidhātika from 5716(2), p. 91.

1583. Text: wa illā; walā from 5716(2), loc. cit.

Tiada Engkau dalamnya dan tiada aku."<sup>1584</sup>

Lagi kata Shaykh 'Aṭṭār (raḍiya'llāhu 'anhu!):

[Bāz ba'de dar tamāshā ṭarab  
tan farudandi fārigh az ṭalab]<sup>1585</sup>

ya'nī:

"Daripadanya kembalilah setengah  
daripada melihat tamāshā tepuk dan tari:  
Nyawanya pun diberi selesailah ia daripada  
tuntut."

Itupun ia:

[Bayt: waraq shūqī wa qalam bashkun siyahi  
zir dam dhar kas hamīn dīn [u] qisṣati 'ishq  
ūst ki dar daftar nah mīgunjad.]<sup>1586</sup>

ya'nī]:

Qarṭas pun ditunukan dan qalam pun  
dipatahkan dan da'wat pun ditumpahkan  
dan nafas pun dihelakan.  
Inilah qisṣah ragam<sup>1587</sup> orang berahi bahwa

1584. Text: tiada aku dalamnya dan tiada engkau.  
But see the Arabic.

1585. From 5716(2), p. 91. The Malay text has only the  
Malay translation.

1586. From 5716(2), p. 92. Not in the Malay text.

1587. I.e. dīn: ugama: 'religion' in the sense of  
(religious) disposition: ragam.

dalam daftar tiada lulus.

Ini pun ia:

Kata bayt Shaykh Ni'matu'llāh:

[Ṭalab afdat irādat wa bila wujūd hijāb ast  
Wijdān muḥāl namnāyi waqrub wa khiyal  
Ḥudūr ghurūr nafsah dū dur dū dur.<sup>1588</sup>

ya'nī]:

Tuntut pun setru dan kehendak pun sia-sia  
 dan wujūd pun jadi dinding tiada dapat  
 diperoleh menghendaki damping dan  
 chita yang ḥāḍir segala ghurūr nafs pun  
 menjauhkan.

(27) Inilah kesudahan sekalian! Inilah yang dikatakan:

"Fā'l-fanā'u 'ani'l-fanā'i ghāyata'l-fanā." [127]

Inilah yang dikatakan 'ālam lāhūt pun dapat,<sup>1589</sup> dan  
 dikatakan waṣal pun dapat dikatakan maḥw pun dapat  
 dikatakan. Inilah kata Shāh 'Alī Bārizī<sup>1590</sup> d[alam  
 bahasa] Fā[r]sī:

"Bar dar dāra'l-fanā'i kardam sujūd

1588. 5716(2), p. 92.

1589. Dapat duplicated in the text.

1590. 'Alī ibn Muḥammad al-Bārizī, see Kalābādhi, p. 12.

Sar bar āwardam marā rū'ī numūd."<sup>1591</sup>

ya'nī:

"Kepada pintu degeri yang fanā' sujudlah aku  
Kubukakanlah kepalaku pertunjukkanlah  
mukaMu kepadaku!"

Kata orang Pasai: 'Jika tiada kuphō, tiada bertemu  
dengan kufu' - ya'nī kuphō pada bahasa Jawī 'tertutup':  
jika tiada tertutup, tiada bertemu dengan kufu' -  
ya'nī ['pada'].<sup>1592</sup> Erti pada [itu] tiada lagi lulus  
ia itu: ya'nī menjadi seperti dahulu tatakala dalam  
kuntu kanzan makhfiyyan, serta dengan Tuhannya. Seperti  
biji dalam puh'm kayu;<sup>1593</sup> sungguh pun zāhir[nya]  
tiada kelihatan haqīqatnya esa jua. Sebab inilah  
Mansūr [al-Ḥallāj] mengatakan: "Anā'l-Ḥaqq!" -  
setengah mengatakan: ["Innī"]<sup>1594</sup> Anā'LLāh!"; kerana  
adanya ini tiadalah dilihatnya lagi.

(28) Inilah ertinya:

Idhā tamma'l-faqrū fahuwa'LLāh.

ertinya:

1591. The words marā rū'ī are from 5716(20) p. 93.  
Text has: marā radi.

1592. Cf. above, p. 84 and note 183.

1593. Text repeats the word didalam after kayu.

1594. 5716(2), p. 94.

Yang faqīr tiada suatu pun akan baginya.  
Maka firmān Allāh Ta'ālā dalam Ḥadīth Qudsī:

Nawmu'l-faqīru nawmī  
ukulu'l-faqīru ukulī  
wa sharabu'l-faqīru sharabī.

ya'nī:

Tidur faqīr itu tidurKu, dan  
makan faqīr itu makanKu, dan  
minum [faqīr] itu minumKu.

Dan lagi firmān Allāh Ta'ālā:

Al-insānu sirrī wa an[ā] sirruhu  
wa sifatu[hu]. [128]

ya'nī:

Yang manushia rahasiaKu dan  
Aku rahasianya dan sifatnya.

Kata Uways al-Qaranī<sup>1595</sup>:

"Al-faqīru ḥayātuhu bi ḥayāti'Llāhi  
wa 'īshuhu bi 'īshil['Llāh]."

ya'nī:

"Yang faqīr itu hidupnya dengan hidup  
Allāh, dan sukanya dengan kesukaan  
Allāh."

---

1595. Cf. above note 172. Text has: Uwaysh.

Seperti kata Mashā'ikh hendak[nya]:

"Man 'arafa' Llāha fa huwa mushrikun  
wa man 'arafa nafsahu fahuwa kāfirun."

ya'nī:

"Barangsiapa mengenal Allāh maka ia itu  
menyekutukan, dan barangsiapa mengenal  
dirinya maka ia itu kāfir."

Seperti kata Shaykh Muḥyī'l-Dīn ibn 'Arabī:

"Al-ma'rifatu hijābun lahu wa law  
lā wujūda'l-kawnayni la zahara'l-'aynu."

ya'nī:

"Yang ma'rifat itu dinding; bermula:  
baginya jika tiadalah wujud kedua 'ālam  
nischaya nyatalah AdaNya."

- (29) Kerana tuntutan dan ma'rifat dan 'ishq dan maḥabbat,  
sekaliannya itu, pada i'tibār, sifat hamba jua;  
jikalau sekalian itu tiadalah padanya, maka lenyaplah  
ia. Kerana dhātnya dan sifatnya nisbat kepada Allāh  
Subḥānahu wa Ta'ālā jua, jikalau barangkala tiadalah  
ia, maka sifat hamba, seperti sifat ombak, pulang kepada  
laut. Inilah ma'nā irji'ī ilā aṣlihi<sup>1596</sup> [dan ma'nā  
innā li'Llāhi wa innā ilayhi rāji'ūn - ya'nī:]<sup>1597</sup>

---

1596. Qur'ān 89:28.

1597. Qur'ān 2:156. Not in the text but in 5716(2),  
p. 96.

Bahwa kami daripada Allāh dan kepadaNya kami pulang;  
 dan ma'nā kullu shay'in hālikun illā wajhahu<sup>1598</sup> ini  
 pun ia; dan ma'nā kullu man 'alayhā fānin wa yabqā  
wajhu rabbika dhū'l-jalāli wa'l-ikrām<sup>1599</sup> - ya'nī:

Segala sesuatu atas 'ālam ini lenyap, dan kekal Dhāt  
 Tuhanmu [129] yang empunya kebesaranNya dan kemuliaanNya  
 - ini pun ia.

- (30) Sebermula jikalau ada lagi rasanya dan chitanya  
 dan ladhdhatnya, sifat dua lagi; seperti mushāhadah  
 pun dua lagi hukumnya. Dan jika lagi shāhid, shuhūd  
 pun.[ada] hendak[nya]; seperti rasa, yang dirasa dan  
 merasa pun hendak[nya]; sepertimenyita dan dichita  
 hendak[nya]. Sekalian sifat itu pada i'tibār lagi  
 dua jua, seperti ombak pada ombaknya laut pada lautnya  
 - belum manā<sup>1600</sup> dilaut. [Apabila ombak dan laut sudah  
 menjadi satu]<sup>1601</sup> muqābah pun tiadalah, mushāhadah  
 pun tiadalah. Inilah 'ibārat idhā tamma'l-faqrū  
fa huwa'LLāh, dan 'ibārat al-faqīru lā yuhtāju ilā'LLāh.  
 Ma'nā[nya] hanya fanā' dengan fanā jua. Tetapi jika

---

1598. Qur'ān 28:88.

1599. Qur'ān 55:26-27.

1600. In 5716(2) this word is translated as sawiji,  
 p. 98.

1601. 5716(2), loc. cit.

akan fanā'nya itupun - jika diketahuinya - belum bertemu dengan fanā', kerana ia lagi ingat akan fanā'nya.<sup>1602</sup> Itu lagi sifat dua tinggal padanya.

(31) Seperti kata Shaykh 'Aṭṭār:

"Rāhi<sup>1603</sup> wiṣāli dost kase rāygān <sup>1604</sup>

nadīd

An kas ki dīdah har dū<sup>1605</sup> jihān dar miyān

nadīd."

ya'nī:

"Jalan orang berahi yang wāṣil pada Kekasihnya itu, akan orang itu suatu pun tiadalah dilihatnya; Segala orang yang melihat dia itu, kedua 'ālam itu pun tiadalah dilihatnya pada antara itu."

Lagi kata Shaykh 'Aṭṭār (rahmatu'Llāhi 'alayhi!):

"Tū [mabāsh]<sup>1606</sup> aṣlan [kamāl īn [130] ast  
u bas

1602. See above note 195.

1603. Text: rāhī; 5716(2), p. 98 reads as above.

1604. Text: rādi kār; see 5716(2), p. 98.

1605. Text: har dūm; see 5716(2), loc. cit.

1606. From 5716(2), p. 99.



Tū dū rū kam shor wiṣāl īn [ast] u bas].<sup>1607</sup>

ya'mī:

[Jangan ada semata-mata,  
inilah saja kamāl;  
Jangan bermuka dua, inilah sebenar wiṣāl"]. -  
kerana erti wāṣil bukan dua.

Ya'nī barangkala shakk dan yaqīn tiadalah padanya,  
wāṣillah. Namanya 'ilmu'l-yaqīn, ya'nī mengetahui  
dengan yaqīn;<sup>1608</sup> dan 'aynu'l-yaqīn, [ya'nī] melihat  
dengan yaqīn; dan ḥaqqu'l-yaqīn, [ya'nī] sebenar yaqīn<sup>1609</sup>  
yaqīn adanya dengan ada Tuhannya esa juga. Aşalnya pun  
esa, pulang[nya] pun kepada esa jua - ya'nī irji'ī ilā  
aşlihi,<sup>1610</sup> dan inilah ma'nā idhātamma'l-faqr fa  
huwa'LLāh. Wa'LLāhu a'lam bi'l-şawāb!

Tammāt al-kitāb [al-musammā  
bi'l-muntahī].<sup>1611</sup> Āmīn!

1607. Loc. cit.

1608. Text: harap (?).

1609. Text: hadap (?). See 5716(2), p. 99.

1610. Qur'ān 89:28.

1611. 5716(2), p. 100.

CHAPTER X

## The Secrets of the Gnostics

by

Ḥamzah Fanṣūrī

[Leiden Text no 7291 (I)]

[16] Bismi' Llāhi' l-Raḥmāni' l-Raḥīm.  
 Al-ḥamdu li' Llāhi' l-ladhī sharaḥa  
 ṣudūra' l-'ārifīn bi mafātīḥi wujūdihi  
 wa zayyana qulūbahum bi asrārihi [wa]  
 nawwara arwāḥahum bi ma'ārifi shuhūdihi  
 wa ṣaḥhara nufūساهum bi nūri 'ishqihi.  
 Afḍalu' l-salāt wa akmalu' l-taḥiyāt 'alā  
 sayyidinā Muḥammad ṣāḥibi' l-ḥawḍi  
 ' l-mawrūd wa' l-maqāmi' l-muḥammadi  
 ' l-maḥmūd wa 'alā ālihi wa ṣaḥbihi  
 aḥam' īn wa' l-ḥamdu li' Llāhi  
 rabbi' l-'ālamīn.

In the name of God, the Most Compassionate,  
 the Most Merciful.

Praise be to God,  
 Who expands the breasts of the gnostics  
 With the Keys of His Existence;  
 And adorns their hearts  
 With His Secrets;  
 And illumines their spirits  
 With the Knowledge of His Vision;

And purifies their souls  
With the Light of His Love.

The most excellent of blessings  
And the most perfect of salutations be  
Upon our lord Muḥammad,  
Lord of the Basin of Drink<sup>1612</sup> and  
Of the Lauded Station,<sup>1613</sup>  
And upon his House  
And his Companions all.

Praise be to God,  
The Lord of the Worlds.

- (1) Know, O sons of Ādam who are Muslims, that God<sup>1614</sup>  
the Glorious and Exalted creates us; from being name-  
less,<sup>1615</sup> He bestows upon us names; and from being  
formless, He fashions for us a form complete with ears,  
heart, soul and intellect. It is incumbent upon us to  
seek our Lord in order that we may know [Him] with our  
gnosis, or through our service to a

1612. The Basin of the Prophet is one of the eschato-  
logical stations in Muslim eschatology, based  
on the Qur'ān (108:1). See further E.I., article  
Ḥawd; al-Ash'arī, pp. 160, 244; Wensinck, pp.  
195, 231ff., 258, 268, 274.

1613. The Lauded Station is the station promised by  
God to Muḥammad. See e.g. Nicholson in Studies,  
p. 136; Insānu'l-Kāmil II, pp. 51-58.

1614. Throughout this study the word Allāh is trans-  
lated as God.

1615. See note 867

teacher<sup>1616</sup> who has perfect gnosis of Him, so that we may not fall short [of our duty].

- (2) However, before you meet with one whose gnosis is perfect, consider these fifteen bayts. These [fifteen bayts] are [composed of] a verse of four lines to each bayt.<sup>1617</sup> Should you fail to comprehend [the meaning of] these fifteen verses, consult their commentaries, for in the commentaries are made manifest discourses on the gnosis of God. But God knows best!
- (3) Shahdān.<sup>1618</sup> There is nothing amiss [in this book]. Nevertheless, should you find inadequacies, complete them; should you find errors, correct them; should you meet with mutilations in the language, or in the letters - more or less [17] - improve them [and] do not scorn [the work], for man is beset with

1616. I.e. a Spiritual Guide, a Shaykh, or a Murshid (Pr. Pīr). This is a prerequisite to entrance into a Tarīqah. There is a tradition that the seeker must not travel alone - if he has no spiritual guide the Devil is his guide. See Rūmī, Mathnawī, VI, 494.

1617. It is incorrect to consider a bayt a couplet. It is more properly speaking a verse. In the way in which Ḥamzah uses the term here he obviously means a verse composed of four lines to a bayt. See further Browne, Literary history of Persia, vol. II, pp. 24-25ff.

1618. See note 871

forgetfulness and carelessness. As the Messenger of Gof (God bless him and give him peace!) says:

"Al-insānu murakkabun 'alā'l-nisyān."

that is:

"Man is composed<sup>1619</sup> of forgetfulness" -  
for man is replete with imperfections. Only God the  
Glorious and Exalted is free from imperfections!

(4) On an exposition of the gnosis of God Most  
Exalted, His Attributes and His Names.

O we all who worship the Name!

It is incumbent to know what is First;

For our Lord Who is Eternal

Is One with His seven Attributes.<sup>1620</sup>

[18] Our Lord is the Possessor of the  
Essence.

The first of His Attributes is 'Living',

The second is 'Knowledge and the Forms of  
the Known,'

The third is 'Willing' all [acts of] the Will.

The fourth is 'Powerful,' with a Power  
Absolute,

Fifth is the Attribute called 'Speech'

Sixth is 'Hearing', with His Existence  
endures

1619. The Malay translation: terkendaraan atas for  
murakkabun 'alā is literal.

1620. Two wandering quatrains follow. See note 875

The seventh is 'Seeing' the permitted and  
forbidden.

The existence of these seven Attributes is  
Eternal.

Of the Universal Potentialities He is Omniscient  
In virtue of these Attributes, with Wise  
Perfection,  
He is called 'Most Compassionate' and  
'Most Merciful.'

Knowledge is the Reality of Muḥammad the  
Prophet,  
Pursuing the Known with Its Omniscience;  
From that Reality the sinner and the saint  
Derive their forms in all manner of ways.

Our Lord is the Possessor of Perfection  
Within His Knowledge never vanishing  
In the 'Most Compassionate' is the sum of  
Majesty

[19] And upon all Beauty the 'Most Merciful'  
holds sway.

Our Lord is He Who is called Exalted  
With all His Attributes forever abiding  
Upon the Universe entire His effects take  
form

From the six directions - hence He is Alone.<sup>1621</sup>

The light of His Effects will never die out  
Giving existence to the Universe entire

---

1621. Khālī: alone, free from the limiting nature of  
dimension.

Creating creation day and night

Forever and ever it will never cease.

Our Lord is like/<sup>a</sup>Fathomless Ocean

Whose waves are rolling in every direction

Ocean and waves are both intimate

At last to its depths the waves will sink.

The Ocean is Knower its currents the Known

Its Condition is Qāsim its waves are Maqsūm.

Its tempest is 'governing'; its dispositions  
are 'governed'.

Upon the entire Universe it is these that  
are featured.

If you really know [the meaning of] existence

It is where you effect true vision

Cast off your form from all restrictions

In order that you/<sup>may</sup>abide in your Self.

Upon God's Existence you must subsist.

Cast off your form and your name constantly

Annihilate your consciousness from Lordship  
and slavehood.

In order that you may achieve the Act that  
is Final.

If you are not yet firm as a stone

Duality is still your lot: slave and Lord

When you are no longer conscious of gold  
and coin,<sup>1622</sup>

Then indeed you can become one.

---

1622. See below, note 1753

If you are yet not extinct from hundreds  
 and thousands  
 You will never be able to annihilate your  
 existence  
 Make yourself extinct from the gross and  
 the subtle  
 In order that whatever you say becomes  
 permissible.

Ḥamzah Fanṣūrī, though he is insignificant  
 His Reality is close to the Noble Essence  
 Though but a bubble whose form is gross  
 His union is constant in the Sea of the  
 Subtle.

These are the fifteen verses. Now look again and  
 listen to their commentaries.

(5) O we all who worship the Name!  
It is incumbent [to know what is First] ...

That is to say, [by 'name' is meant] the Name of  
 God the Glorious and Exalted, for according to the  
 Prescribed Law (sharī'at) whosoever says: 'There is  
 no god but God and Muḥammad is the Messenger of God'  
 with his tongue, he is a Muslim. But in his heart? -  
 God alone knows best! As the Prophet (God bless him  
 and give him peace!) says:

"Man qāla lā ilāha illā'LLāhu  
dakhala'l-jannah."

that is:



"Whosoever utters: 'There is no god but God' enters into Paradise (with much ease)." [21]

Furthermore the Messenger of God (God bless him and give him peace!) says:

"Man qāla lā ilāha illā'Allāhu  
khāliṣan mukhlīṣan dakhala'l-jannah."

that is:

"Whosoever utters: 'There is no god but God' with a pure heart enters into Paradise."

It is by virtue of the reason that the name and [the] possessor of [the name] is one and the same, when the name is mentioned the one who mentions it and the possessor of the name mentioned feel at one with each other. From the point of view of reality it is incumbent to know the Possessor of the Name in order that [your] islām may be complete. It is just like a person who goes to China and hears the name of the Emperor of China; although he does not meet the Emperor in person, [his] visiting China is complete in all respects and [it were as though] he sees the Emperor. He hears the Emperor's name [mentioned] - and both [seeing and hearing] are accomplished by him. For this reason, from the standpoint of reality, it is incumbent to know and have gnosis of the Name of Him who is called Allāh, for God the Exalted says:

Man kāna fī hādhihi a'mā fahuwa  
fi'l-'āakhirati a'mā wa adallu sabīlan.<sup>1623</sup>

that is:

Whosoever is blind in this (world) he will  
 be blind in the Hereafter, [and further away  
 from the path].<sup>1624</sup>

Hence the People of the Path (Ahlu'l-Sulūk)<sup>1625</sup> say,  
 concerning a person who does not know God but who  
 mentions His Name with a pure heart, that that person  
 is a Muslim. The Doctors of Theology ('Ulamā') and  
 the People of the Path are agreed [on this point]:  
 that a person who knows God is among the elect; a  
 person who has gnosis of God is among the super-elect,  
 for the person who has gnosis of God is higher [in  
 rank] than the person who knows Him. As the Messenger  
 of God (God bless him and give him peace!): says:

"Wa 'bud rabbaka ka'annaka tarāhu ...

1623. Qur'ān 17:72. See also Qur'ān 57:13.

1624. Ḥamzah interprets this verse as:  
 Whosoever does not know God in this world  
 will not know Him in the Hereafter.  
 By 'know' Ḥamzah means gnosis: Kenal.

1625. Literally: People of the Way, i.e. the mystical  
path. See for the distinction between sālikūn  
 and majādhīb, Frithjof Shuon's account, op. cit.,  
 pp. 26-27, note 2.

that is:

"Worship your Lord as if you see Him ...  
(this can be applied with reference to  
the person who has gnosis of God) [22]

... Fa'in lam takun tarāhu fa 'innahu yarāka."

that is:

... [for] if you do not see Him, He sees you."  
(this can be applied with reference to the  
person who knows God).<sup>1626</sup>

Further God the Exalted says:

Wa' bud rabbaka hattā ya'tiyaka'l-yaqīn.<sup>1627</sup>

that is:

Serve your Lord until there comes to you certainty.  
(i.e. [by] certainty [is meant]: that which is  
devoid of doubt).

This is the meaning of '... worship the Name'.

(6) Fa'lam - It is incumbent to know what is first.

That is to say, when the earth and the heavens,  
the Throne and the Footstool, Heaven and Hell, were  
all yet non-existent - when the Universe together  
with all its parts was yet non-existent - what was the  
First [Existent]? The First was the Essence Unique,

1626. Cp. Lama'āt XIII, p. 342-343.

1627. Qur'an 15:99. Cf. Lama'āt, p. 357.

Self-Subsistent, without Attributes and Names - That was the First. The Name of the Essence is He. The meaning [conveyed] by [the Name] He serves as a symbolic allusion to the Name of the Essence without Attributes. The Name Allāh is one degree below the rank of the Name He. But [the Name Allāh] is the sum of all Names.<sup>1628</sup> As in the case of one who is named Muḥammad, if he has learning, he is called learned; if he is clever, he is called intelligent; if he trades, he is called trader. All names that come under these names are contained in the name Muḥammad, for Muḥammad is the sum of all these names. In the same manner the Name Allāh Glorious and Exalted is the sum of all Names: by virtue of His creating the creatures He is called Creator; by virtue of His providing His creatures, He is called Provider; by virtue of His fashioning the Universe, He is called Maker; by virtue of His creating with wisdom, He is called Wise. All these Names are contained in the Name Allāh, for Allāh [23]

---

1628. Cf. Shabistari:

Each creature has its being  
 From the One Name,  
 From which it comes forth,  
 And to which it returns,  
 With praises unending.

Lederer, F., The Secret Rose Garden, London, 1920, p. 72.

is the sum of all Names. But [the Name] He is higher in rank than the Name Allāh, and [likewise] the Essence is higher in rank than the Name He. Whosoever comprehends the meaning of this, he will comprehend the meaning of 'The First'.

(7)       ·Fa'lam - For our Lord Who is Eternal.

That is to say, [He] is Eternal, and His Eternity is timeless and impossible to discourse upon. That is, [He] is Eternal without eternity, [He is] First without firstness, [He is] Eternally Existing. Discourse upon His Eternity is futile except for the discourse of the People of Revelation (Ahlu'l-Kashf). According to the People of Revelation His Eternity may be likened to a round fruit neither bounded by sides nor having a tree; neither having a beginning nor having an end; neither having a centre nor having sides; neither having a front nor having a back; neither having a left to it nor having a right to it; neither having an above nor having a below. This is what is meant by Eternal. It is also possible to liken [His Eternity] to a circle, for the circle has neither beginning nor end: if it is said that it has a beginning, then it can also be said that it has an end; if it is said that it has an end, then it can likewise be said that it has a beginning.

It is incumbent to comprehend the Eternity of God the Glorious and Exalted with perfect gnosis. This is the meaning of 'Eternal'. How can we achieve gnosis of God Most Exalted if we do not comprehend His timeless and spaceless Eternity?

(8) Fa'lam - Is One with His seven Attributes.

That is to say, [He] is not separate from His seven Attributes, even though it is said that the Essence of God is The First.<sup>1629</sup> But [here] expression becomes difficult; that is, [24] [if we say that the Essence is The First, it conveys the impression as though] It is separate from Its seven Attributes - and this makes Him logically insufficient. According to the Doctors of Theology, God's Attributes are neither His Very Essence nor other than His Essence. According to the People of the Path, the Attributes are His Very Essence. The analogy is that of a person who, by virtue of his knowledge, is called knowing; by virtue of his power, is called powerful, by virtue of his will, is called willing; by virtue of his speech is called speaking; by virtue of his hearing, is called hearing; by virtue of his sight is called

---

1629. See above, p. 22 of the text.

seeing. It is only expression that makes [the attributes] 'other' than the Pure Essence. The names of the seven Attributes are first, 'Life'; second, 'Knowledge'; third, 'Will'; fourth, 'Power'; fifth, 'Speech'; sixth, 'Hearing'; seventh, 'Sight'. The Essence and these seven Attributes are never separate. There are other Attributes without number, but [all those other Attributes] are contained in the seven Attributes, for these seven Attributes are higher in rank than those other Attributes. Just as the Name Allāh is the sum of all names, so the seven Attributes are the sum of all Attributes. When [you] have comprehended the meaning of these seven Attributes, then [you] may know [Him] with perfect knowledge.

(9)            Fa'lam - Our Lord is the Possessor of the  
Essence.

That is to say, the [Essence is] Unique, without Attributes. According to one expression the Doctors of Theology call It Necessary Being because It is Self-Existent and does not exist through another. For this reason the Doctors of Theology call It Necessary Being. The People of the Path say [25] that It is indeed Self-Existent, but It also gives existence to the World together with all its parts.

It is called Necessary Being because Being and Essence are one and the same. According to the Doctors of Theology, the judgment concerning the Essence of God and His Being is that they are two; [similarly] the Being of Knowledge and the Knower are two; the being of the Universe and the Universe are two; the being of the Universe is different from the Being of God. God's Being and His Essence are like the sun and its light; although they appear as one and the same [thing] to external and internal perception, they are in fact two things: the sun is other than its light. As to the Universe, the reason why it is said that its being is different [from the Being of God] is because the universe is like the moon deriving its light from the sun. This is the reason why the Doctors of Theology say that the being of the Universe is different from the Being of God, and that God's Being and His Essence are different [entitities]. The People of the Path say that if this is the case, then God can be referred to as being 'outside' or 'in' [the Universe]; or 'near' the Universe or 'far' from it. To us, the Essence of God and His Being is one; His Being and the being of the Universe is one; the being of the Universe and



the Universe is one, the like of which is, as it were, its<sup>1630</sup> light; different only in name but not in truth. To external perception it is one; to the eye of the internal perception it is also one. So is the being of the Universe in 'relation' to the Being of God - it is one; for the Universe considered independently does not exist. Although outwardly it exists it is nothing but Appearance and not Reality; like the image [reflected] in the mirror, [26] though possessing form, does not possess real being. However, the Doctors of Theology and the People of the Path are in complete agreement with respect to the Essence: that It is Unique. Although the [concept of the] Essence can be expressed in words in reality expression falls short of the truth, for It is not 'above', It is not 'below', It is not 'before', It is not 'after', It is not to 'the right', It is not to 'the left', It is not 'far', It is not 'near', It is not 'outside', It is not 'in', It is not 'separate', It is not 'joined' - It is without 'how';<sup>1631</sup> It is without 'where' [i.e. being at a place], It is without 'where' [i.e. being

---

1630. I.e. the sun's.

1631. I.e. the bilā kayfa of the theologians. See above, note 930

to a place], It is without 'now', It is without a 'twinkling of an eye', without 'instant', without 'time'; It does not 'become', nor is It 'becoming', It is not a 'place', nor has it a 'place'. As the Messenger of God (God bless him and give him peace!) says:

"Kāna'llāhu wa lā shay'a ma'ahu."

that is:

"There 'was' only God and no thing 'was' with Him."

Shaykh Junayd Baghdādī (God's mercy be upon Him!) says:

"[Huwa]'l-āna kamā kāna."

that is:

"[He] 'is' now as He 'was' then."

God Most Exalted says:

Subḥāna'llāhi 'ammā yaṣifūn.<sup>1632</sup>

that is:

Glory be to God! Who cannot be described.

God Most Exalted says further:

Laysa kamithlihi shay'un.<sup>1633</sup>

that is:

1632. Qur'ān, 23:92.

1633. Qur'ān, 42:11.



God Most Exalted says further:

Huwa'l-hayyu lā ilāha illā huwa.<sup>1635</sup>

that is:

He is the Living (God) there is no god  
but He.

The reason why 'Living' is considered to be [logically] prior to all [other] Attributes is because - in the same manner as a person - if he is not living then he is dead. If he is considered as dead, then he cannot be 'knowing', 'willing', 'powerful', 'speaking', 'hearing', 'seeing'. Hence 'Living' is considered [logically] prior to all the Attributes which exist together [with God]. This is what is meant by 'Living' is the first Attribute.'

- (11) Fa'lam - The second is 'Knowledge' and the  
'Forms of the Known.'

That is to say, [He is] Knowing, for Knowledge is the first among the manifest. The reason why Knowledge is said to be the first among the manifest is because when God the Glorious and Exalted gazes upon Himself with His Knowledge He becomes three [Names]: Knower, Knowledge, and Known. The Seer

---

1635. Qur'ān, 40:65.

is called the Knower, the Seen is called the Known, Seeing is called Knowledge. All three are in fact one and the same, only its names are different, for it is by virtue of Knowledge [28] that the Knower and the Known acquire names and manifestation. The Lord then becomes apparent to His servants, and His servants then become apparent to their Lord. Because of this<sup>1636</sup> it is therefore said that Knowledge is the first among all that is manifest, for the Essence is ever contemplating Itself; Knower, Knowledge and Known are seen. The Essence is Absolute, Unique, without Attributes; That is the First.<sup>1637</sup> When It gazes upon Itself, It sees Itself together with all Its Predispositions. At that 'instant', the Seer is called the Knower, the Seen is called the Known, Seeing is called Knowledge. The Essence is concealed within Knower, Known and Knowledge. Hence [God] is called the First and the Last, the Outwardly Manifest and the Inwardly Hidden; the Seer is called the First, the Seen is called the Last, the Seen is called the Outwardly Manifest, the Seer is called the Inwardly Hidden.

---

1636. See above, note 791.

1637. See above, pp. 22-23 of the text.

For this reason God Most Exalted says:

Huwa'l-awwalu wa'l-ākhiru  
wa'l-ẓāhiru wa'l-bāṭinu wa huwa  
bi kulli shay'in 'alīm.<sup>1638</sup>

that is:

He is the First, He is the Last, He is the  
 Outwardly Manifest, He is the Inwardly  
 Hidden, and He is Knower of all things.

Further the Lama'āt says:

"Ma'shūq[u] 'ishq[u] 'āshiq har sih yakyast  
īn jā  
Chūn waṣl dar na-gunjad hijrān chi kār  
dārad.<sup>1639</sup>

that is:

"The Beloved, Love and Lover are all  
 one and the same,  
 When 'union' is not there, what business  
 is there for separation?

Further Shaykh Muḥammad Maghribī (God's mercy be upon  
 him!) says:

"Chūn 'azm tamāshā-i-jihān kad zi khalwat  
[29] Īmad betamāshā-i-jihān 'ayn jihān shud .."

that is:

---

1638. Qur'ān 57:3.

1639. Lama'āt, Lam'at III, p. 331.

"When he resolved to examine the world,  
coming from the house of seclusion,  
He went forth and became the very essence  
of the world ..."

"Har naqsh ki ū khwast badān naqsh barāmad  
Pūshid hamān naqsh bad[ān] naqsh 'iyān shud."

that is:

"Whatever painting that is desired by him  
came in that form,  
[And he] covered [himself] in the painting  
which became clearly apparent."

This is why 'Alī (may God be well-pleased with him!)  
says:

"Lā a'budu rabban lam arahu."

that is:

"I worship not God if I do not 'see' [Him]."  
'Alī (may God be well pleased with him!) says further:

"Mā ra'aytu shay'an illā wa ra'aytu  
'Llāha fīhi."

that is:

"I see nothing but that I 'see' God within it."  
This is the meaning of 'Knowledge is the first among  
the manifest'.

(12) Fa'lam - The third is Willing all [acts of]  
the Will.

That is to say, by Willing is meant Willing the

Potentialities in His Knowledge to become the World.

As the Holy Tradition says:

Kuntu kanzan makhfiyyan fa ahbibtu  
an u'raf ...

that is:

I was a hidden treasure and I desired  
to be known ...

That is: the World together with all its potentialities in His Knowledge is related within it [i.e. His Knowledge] as the hidden treasure about to bring forth the things known in His Knowledge. It then says:

'I was a hidden treasure and I desired  
to be known.'

The treasure [i.e. as a whole] is likened to a tree within its seed. The seed is the treasure, [30] the tree within it is the content of the treasure; hidden in its completeness: its roots, trunk, branches, boughs, twigs, leaves, flowers, fruits - all complete within that single seed. The seed desires to bring forth the growth of the tree within itself on a field of vast expanse. The seed says:

'I was a hidden treasure and I desired to  
be known.'

All this is an allusion to [God's Act of] willing.

Further God Most Exalted says:



Innanā amruhu idhā arāda  
shay'an yaqūla lāhu kun fa yakūn.<sup>1640</sup>

that is:

Verily His command is, when He is in  
the state of desiring a thing, to say to it  
'Be thou!' - and it becomes.

This too is an allusion to [God's Act of] willing.

The People of the Path say that the meaning conveyed by the words 'to it' refers to something existing, that is, it is present [to God]. Hence it is admissible [for Him] to say 'to it', for 'to it' is an allusion [referring to] something existing. Were it not existing, God the Glorious and Exalted would not refer to it as 'to it'. This is why the People of the Path say that the meaning conveyed by the [Command] "Be!" (to it) is a command [directed towards] the known that is ever existing in God's Knowledge. But to the Doctors of Theology the known is non-existing [in His Knowledge], it is something produced - [something] newly conceived at the 'moment' when He contemplates Himself. However, the People of the Path say that although outwardly the known is not existing [in God's knowledge] inwardly it is existing;

---

1640. Qur'an 36:82.



cannot be altered by Him. If [their natures] are altered, then [the nature of] that eternal Power is logically imperfect, that is, [whatever He causes to be comes into being in a] still imperfect state and requires once again His improvement. If [it is] already perfect from 'there',<sup>1642</sup> it is inadmissible [that it should be once again improved upon by Him].

(14) ... and our voice.<sup>1643</sup> This is the reason why according to the Prescribed Law, the Speech [of God] is not created. According to the schools of the Mu'tazilah,<sup>1644</sup> the Rāfiḍī<sup>1645</sup> and the Zindīq<sup>1646</sup> God's Speech is created.<sup>1647</sup> But according to the Prescribed Law whosoever says that God's Speech is created is an unbeliever - may God preserve us from such! God's Speech is as the Essence; It is eternal,

1642. 'There' here refers to the archetypal state.

1643. See above p. 350 , and note 770.

1644. See E.I., article Mu'tazila; Taftāzānī, p. 8, note 10, 59f., 62.

1645. See E.I. article Rawāfiḍ.

1646. See E.I. article Zindīk, and Lewis, B. Studia Islamica, vol. 1, 1953. Further, see also my Raniri and the Wujūdiyyah of 17th Century Aceh, J.M.B.R.I.S., Monograph 4915, Appendix II.

1647. For this argument see al-Ash'arī, pp. 20-32.

together with the seven [Attributes]. But the Speech of God that is conveyed by Gabriel to the Prophet Muḥammad, the Messenger of God ( God bless [32] him and give him peace!); that is written on pages, this can be said to be created, for the judgment concerning it is that it has become separated, from the point of view of expression, from the Essence. In its real sense, God alone knows best! God Most Exalted says:

Innamā gawlunā li shay'in idhā  
aradnā an naqūla lahu kun fa yakūn.<sup>1648</sup>

that is:

Verily Our command to a thing is, when  
 We desire it, to say to it 'Be thou!' -  
 and it becomes.

This [Command] too is an Eternal Speech conveyed not by tongue and voice, but by allusion. If it is conveyed by tongue and voice, then it can be said to be created. Since God the Glorious and Exalted is Most Pure, so is His Speech Most Pure from tongue and voice!

(15) Fa'lan - The sixth is 'Hearing', with His  
Existence endures.

That is to say, [He is] Hearing, for if He is without Hearing then He is deaf. But He hears with

---

1648. Qur'an 16:40.

the ears of symbolical expression, for God the Glorious and Exalted has no ears like the ears of creatures. That which He hears 'there' is the 'voice' [or 'sound'] of the Potentialities of the Known that are ever existing in His Knowledge. For this reason He is called: (He is) 'Hearing' and 'Knowing',<sup>1649</sup> for Hearing and Knowing are eternal, together with the Essence. Although it is said that: 'God hears him who praises Him', that is only an expression, and it does not refer to hearing with ears like the ears of creatures. God Most Exalted says:

Wa ātākum min kulli mā sa'altumūhu.<sup>1650</sup>

that is:

We give you all that which you ask.

According to the People of the Path, this asking is the 'asking' of the Pure Potentialities, and not asking in [our] present state of being. Hence God the Glorious and Exalted hears the known, which is co-existent with Him, with the ears [33] of allegory. The known, likewise, 'ask' symbolically, and 'giving'

1649. Qur'ān, 2:137; 5:76; 6:13, 116; 8:61; 10:65; 12:34; 21:4; 26:220; 29:5,60; 41:36; 44:6.

1650. Qur'ān, 14:34;

to the known is also symbolical. If this is not the case, then [His] Hearing is not eternal, and if [His] Hearing is not eternal, then [logically He is] imperfect.

- (16) Fa'lam - The seventh is 'Seeing' the permitted and forbidden.

That is to say [He is] 'Seeing', for if He is not 'Seeing' then He is blind. God the Glorious and Exalted is eternally seeing Himself and the forms of the known. The permitted and the forbidden in the known are [seen by Him as] existing. But He sees not with eyes like the eyes of creatures; He sees with the eyes of allegory and symbolic expression. Whosoever believes that God the Glorious and Exalted sees with eyes like the eyes of creatures, he is an unbeliever - may God preserve us from such! As God the Glorious and Exalted is Most Pure from all the [qualities of] creatures, His Sight is also Most Pure. The primordial Speech in His Knowledge is eternal; the known to Him are never separate from His Knowledge. When the known to Him are never separate from His Knowledge, He is then ever seeing [them] with an Eternal Vision. If the known within His Knowledge are not existing, the Name Knower cannot be applied

to Him, [and hence] His Seeing too will be void.  
 Since God the Glorious and Exalted is Eternal together  
 with His seven Attributes, His Seeing can never be  
 void for He is called: (He is) Hearing and Seeing.<sup>1651</sup>  
 Furthermore God the Glorious and Exalted says:

Wa'llāhu binā ta'malūna baṣīr.<sup>1652</sup>

that is:

God is seeing in whatever they do -  
 for [His] seven Attributes are [34] Eternal; and  
 not that there is Living without Knowledge; or Knowledge  
 without Will; or Will without Power; or Power without  
 Speech; or Speech without Hearing; or Hearing without  
 Sight; or one is prior and one is recent - such is  
 not the case. Whosoever believes in this manner,  
 then he is in error.

(17) Fa'lam - The existence of these seven  
Attributes is Eternal

That is to say, [God,] with the seven Attributes  
 already mentioned in the beginning of this book, these  
 are Eternal. As to the other Attributes, they appear

1651. Qur'ān, 42:11. The close relationship between  
 Knowledge, Hearing and Sight is interpreted  
 according to Ibnu'l-'Arabi's interpretation.  
 See Affifi, pp. 43-44.

1652. Qur'ān, 2:265; 3:152; 8:72; 57:4; 60:3; 64:2.

at the instance of the Command: Be! (and it becomes); such as Creator and Provider, Giver of Life and Giver of Death. Attributes such as these are many beyond description and mention. The allusion to the Command; Be! (and it becomes) is that this is God's first Command to the Potentialities of the Known. Everything, with one 'Be thou!' comes into being, complete and perfect. Should He lessen or increase [their perfection] then [His Knowledge] is logically imperfect; that is to say, [it were as though] He has no perfect knowledge of His own Wisdom, for God the Glorious and Exalted is not like Man, who, having completed the making of a thing, would refashion it if it were not perfect.<sup>1653</sup> This is not so with God the Glorious and Exalted; with one ['Be] thou!' He causes a thing to be, [and it comes into being,] perfect beyond reproof. Those things that come 'under' the sway of the Creative Word 'Be thou!' (and it becomes) are, from the point of view of expression, created; and those things that are 'above' the Creative Word 'Be thou!' (and it becomes) are called by the People of the Path Predispositions of the Divine Essence.

---

1653. Cf. Ibn Rushd, Tahāfut al-Tahāfut, p. 88.



Such is, for example, the case of the spirit: it is neither uncreated [35] nor created, though indeed the Prophet (may God bless him and give him peace!) says in the Tradition:

"Khuliqa'l-rūhu qabla'l-jasadi bi alfayn."

that is:

"The spirit is made manifest<sup>1654</sup> two thousand years before the body."

The People of the Path say that the spirit that is the Command of God (amr Allāh) has not yet come under the sway of the Creative Word 'Be thou!' (and it becomes). As God Most Exalted says:

Innamā amruhu idhā arāda shay'an  
an yaqūla lahu kun fa yakūn.<sup>1655</sup>

that is:

Verily His Command, when He wills a thing, is to say to it 'Be thou!' - and it becomes.

According to the People of the Path [those things that are] above the Command 'Be thou!' (and it becomes),

1654. Hanzah's rendering of khuliqa here is not literal. This is deliberately done as the root word khalaga is one of the important key words in his cosmology. For an explanation of this, see above, pp. 147-148.

1655. Qur'an 36:82.

when [they are] above the Command 'Be thou!' (and it becomes), are neither uncreated nor created. As God, Glorious and Exalted says:

Wa yas'lūnaka 'ani'l-rūḥi quli'l-rūḥu  
min amri rabbī wanā ūtītum mina'l-'ilmi  
illā qalīlan.<sup>1656</sup>

that is:

[And] they ask thee (Muḥammad) about the spirit. Say (O Muḥammad): The spirit is of the command of my Lord, and you are given nought of knowledge but a little ( - how then can you know about the spirit?).

For this reason the People of the Path say that [it] is neither uncreated nor created, for [it] is of the Command of God, Glorious and Most Exalted. The Doctors of Theology and the People of the Path agree that the World together with all its parts is created - that it is new [i.e. produced], for it comes into outward manifestation by virtue of the Creative Word 'Be thou!' (and it becomes). It must not be said that the World is eternal.

---

1656. Qur'ān 17:85.

(18) Fa'lam - Of the Universal PotentialitiesHe is Omniscient.

That is to say, by Potentialities [is meant] His Predispositions that are ever residing in His All-Embracing Knowledge. The Potentialities are the Predispositions [36] that for ever abide in the Knowledge of God Most Exalted. According to the People of the Path, the Potentialities never 'move' [from their original 'position' in the Divine Knowledge], and are not moved by God the Glorious and Most Exalted.<sup>1657</sup> That which for ever abide [in the Divine Knowledge] are the Predispositions of the Essence Glorious and Most Exalted - and They are ever abiding in His Knowledge for, according to an analogy of the People of the Path, Knowledge pursues the Known. It is likened to a vast Ocean - it is the Waves that come and go, appear and subside. But according to another analogy, without the Ocean the Waves will not appear. According to this analogy the Waves follow the Ocean, that is, the Known follow Knowledge. According to the Doctors of Theology, the Known follow Knowledge for, to the Doctors of Theology, the Pure

---

1657. Cf. Jāmī, Lawā'ih, p. 47.

Potentialities do not count [as already existing in the Divine Knowledge]. Whatever the Knower desires appears in the form of that which He desires. According to the People of the Path, the Pure Potentialities exist in His Knowledge. As God Most Exalted says:

Wa mā minnā illā lahu maqāmun ma'lūm.<sup>1658</sup>

that is:

[And there is none] of us but has a known place. Further, the People of the Path say that the Potentialities are the Predispositions of the Essence and are not yet 'separate' from the Essence. They are, according to this analogy, ever dwelling in the Essence. In reality [they are] indeed identical with the Essence, as Shaykh Muḥyī'l-Dīn ibnu'l-'Arabī (God be well pleased with him!) says:

"Kunnā ḥurūfan 'āliyātin lam nu[n]qal  
Muta'alliqātin bi'l-dāri 'alā'l-qulal ...

that is:

"We were Lofty Letters unmoved,  
Attached to our Abode in the Mountain Peak ...  
Kuntu anā [anta] fihi wa nahnu anta wa  
anta huwa ...

---

1658. Qur'ān 37:164.

that is:

I was you within it (that is, within the Mountain [37] Peak), and we all were you, and you were He ...

Fa'l-kullu fī huwa huwa fa's'al 'an man  
waṣal."

that is:

Everything/<sup>is</sup>in 'He is He' ask of those in  
union."

What Shaykh Muḥyī'l-Dīn ibnu'l-'Arabī says is an allusion to the Pure Potentialities. The analogy is likened to a tree within its seed always existing together with the seed, and it has not moved [from the seed], or is/<sup>moved</sup>[from it], for it is not yet 'separate' from the seed. When it moves from its position wishing to come out, it is something that has shifted from its place and is referred to as being moved from its place. [Similarly, in the case of the Pure Potentialities, when They move, They are moved from Their original position], and His Knowledge and His Will and His Speech and His Hearing and His Sight all move together - forever and ever. To the Doctors of Theology, the things known and their Potentialities are something new [i.e. temporal events, produced] and they move [from their original place], and are

created in a fashion somewhat similar to [the act of] a carpenter wishing to build a house. He plans according to the potentialities of the things known to him [in his knowledge].<sup>1659</sup> He then builds the house. The house is a thing created, the form of the house in his mind is also a thing created: both of them are something new [i.e. temporal events, produced]. The People of the Path say that if this were true, the Eternity of God the Glorious and Most Exalted is void of His Knowledge. It were as though He plans to create the believer and the unbeliever, the righteous and the sinful, on the 'spur of the moment'. If this be the case, then though Eternal, His Eternity is void of His Knowledge, and this means that He is ignorant; though King, yet He is without His Armies and this means that He is weak; and even though He has Knowledge, yet He is without Ideas (i.e. Potentialities), and this means that He is dull-witted;<sup>1660</sup> though Just, He is yet unjust. [38]

---

1659. Cf. Ibn Rushd, Tahāfut al-Tahāfut, pp. 77-78; 90; 98-100; and Notes, pp. 58 (78.1.); 64 (90.1.)

1660. The word I have translated as 'dull-witted' here is segan (See above, note 1002 ). Segan seems to me to be almost identical with nāgis.

If He plans and wills on the 'spur of the moment', it means that He is ignorant; if He possesses no Bounty, and on the 'spur of the moment' only wishes to produce it, then it means that He is poor; if He has Knowledge [but] does not create, then He is hesitant; if He does not already have within Him [i.e. as Potentialities in His Knowledge] the hypocrite and the unbeliever, and He causes one to become an unbeliever, and having caused one to become an unbeliever He then casts him into hell, then He is unjust. God the Glorious and Most Exalted is not like that. If such qualities are present in Him, then His Nature is deficient. Whosoever holds such belief is in error. According to an analogy of the People of the Path the things known to God are eternal, for the Pure Potentialities are indeed the Predispositions of His Essence and they all are Descriptions of none but Him. The Divine Beauty includes Predispositions of all that which is good, and the Divine Majesty includes Predispositions of all that which is evil. But in reality all is good, for all is identical with Him and are His Predispositions.<sup>1661</sup> The analogy

---

1661. Cf. Mathnawī, IV, 65.





nature of land, He creates the land - that is to say, He creates all these things with His Wisdom and according to the Law of the Eternal Potentialities. Therefore it is fitting that He should have Names such as: wa huwa'l-'azīzu'l-ḥakīm<sup>1663</sup> - He is the Mighty, the Wise. If He changes the respective natures of His creation which already exist [as Potentialities in His Knowledge], He is then not Wise - to subject to caprice [His own] creation which is preexisting [in His Knowledge] - for that which is preexisting [in His Knowledge] is, according to its nature, already perfect. If [His creation is] not complete, or not perfect, then He should improve it, [and this means that] the 'Be thou!' He has been saying since has not yet been perfect and that He wishes to alter it only now. Such [action] is not [ascribable to] perfect Wisdom. For this reason the [potentially] good is assigned to good and the [potentially] evil is assigned to evil. Should He cause the whole World to be created believing without causing some to be created unbelieving, then He is lacking [in Wisdom]; should He create all to be unbeliever without creating

---

1663. Qur'ān, 14:4.

also believer, then He is lacking [in Wisdom]; should He create Heaven without also creating Hell, then He is lacking [in Wisdom and Power]; and should He create Hell without also creating Heaven, [then He is lacking in Wisdom].<sup>1664</sup> Hence he brings forth with perfection everything to the World from the Potentialities of the things known to Him without causing any change [in their original natures] as His Names are: wa huwa'l-'azīzu'l-ḥakīm<sup>1665</sup> - He is the Mighty, the Wise.

(20) Fa'lam - He is called 'Most Compassionate' and 'Most Merciful'.

That is to say, by virtue of His Attributes already mentioned, [40] He is called (Bismi'Llāhi) al-Raḥmān, al-Raḥīm. An interpretation of this according to the Law (sharī'at) is that Bismi'Llāh means: In the Name of God. Al-Raḥmān means: the Compassionate (in this World). Al-Raḥīm [means: the] Ever Merciful (in the Hereafter). An interpretation according to the Truth (ḥaqīqat) is that (Bismi) Allāh is the Name of the Essence, the sun

1664. Cf. Mathnawī, I, 3201.

1665. Qur'ān, 14:4.

of all Names as already mentioned before.<sup>1666</sup> Al-  
Rahmān is [the Name] by which He first bestows His  
 Mercy upon the World - that is, that He creates all,  
 As God Most Exalted says:

Wasi'ta kulla shay'in rahmatan wa 'ilman.<sup>1667</sup>

that is:

[O my Lord] Thou embracest all things in  
 Mercy" and Knowledge.

Hence Rahmān is the Lord of Mercy and bestows existence  
 upon the World together with all its parts. Since  
 He gives existence to the World together with all  
 its parts He is called Rahmān. The believer and the  
 unbeliever, Heaven and Hell, the permitted and the  
 forbidden, good and evil - [all] derive their existence  
 from the Mercy of the Compassionate One. Hence He is  
 called Compassionate. Rahīm is particularized  
 exclusively only in all that which is good: in the  
 Prophets, Saints, the righteous and all believers.  
 [In Its particularization Rahīm] does not mingle  
 [with all that which is evil], whereas Rahmān mingles,  
 in Its particularization, [with all in general, the

---

1666. See above, pp. 22-23 of the text.

1667. Qur'ān 40:7.

good as well as the evil]. This is why He is called  
(Bismi'LLāh) al-Rahmān, al-Rahīm.

(21) Fa'lam - Knowledge is the Reality of Muḥammad  
the Prophet.<sup>1668</sup>

When to the Field's Centre [that Reality]  
is made manifest,  
Love that was imprisoned is made manifest;  
There [the Lover and the Beloved] gaze at  
Each Other

With passion and desire unassauged.

Two bows<sup>1669</sup> - one Enclosure;  
Between Them a Barrier [41] spreads.<sup>1670</sup>  
One should envisage in this

The analogy of steel and the sword's blade.<sup>1671</sup>

That is to say, the Knowledge that sees the things  
known is the Reality of Muḥammad (may God bless him  
and give him peace!). Between the Knower and the  
Known - that is when the Light of Muḥammad (may God  
bless him and give him peace!) first 'separates' from  
the Divine Essence. According to one expression It

---

1668. See above, pp. 153-154.

1669. See Qur'ān 53:9; also 2016, pp. 65-68.

1670. See Qur'ān 55:20; also 2016, pp. 65-68.

1671. See above, p.415 , note 1015.

is called the Relational Spirit; and according to another It is called the Universal Intellect; and according to another It is called Light; and according to another It is called the Most Exalted Pen; and according to another It is called Tablet. Hence the Messenger of God (may God bless him and give him peace!) says:

"Awwal mā khalāqa'Llāhu ta'ālā'l-rūh  
awwal mā khalāqa'Llāhu ta'ālā'l-nūr  
awwal mā khalāqa'Llāhu ta'ālā'l-'aql  
awwal mā khalāqa'Llāhu ta'ālā'l-qalam."

that is:

["In the beginning God created the Spirit;  
 In the beginning God created the Light;  
 In the beginning God created the Intellect;  
 In the beginning God created the Pen."] <sup>1672</sup>

The reason why the Prophet (may God bless him and give him peace!) says that all these are prior [to all other creations is this:] that because Knowledge is living, It is called Spirit; because by Knowledge the things known are manifest, It is called Light; because Knowledge patterns the Forms of the things known, It is called Intellect; because in Knowledge

---

1672. The translation in square brackets is not found in the manuscript. Cf. Insānu'l-Kāmil II, pp. 8-9; 27 foll.

is inscribed the Forms of the things known, It is called Tablet; because Knowledge becomes Letters of the things known, It is called Pen.<sup>1673</sup> This is the reason why the Messenger of God (may God bless him and give him peace!) says:

"Awwal mā khalaqa'Llāhu ta'ālā'l-rūḥ."

["In the beginning God created the Spirit"]

and

"Awwal mā khalaqa'Llāhu ta'ālā'l-nūr ..."

["In the beginning God created the Light ..."] -

for it is because of the Spirit and the Light [42] that the things known exist. As God Most Exalted says [in the Holy Tradition]:

Law lāka lanā khalaqtu'l-aflāka.

that is:

But for thee I would not have created the seven celestial bodies and the seven terrestrial bodies (and I created all from the Light of Muḥammad).

Without the Light of Muḥammad the World together with all its parts would not have existed. Furthermore, God Most Exalted says [in the Holy Tradition]:

Khalaqtu'l-kulla li ajlika wa khalaqtuka  
li ajlī.

---

1673. See above, p. 24.

that is:

I created Creation for thy sake, Thee I create for My sake (that is to say, Creation came into being from the Light of Muḥammad; that Light came into being from the Divine Essence).

But for that Knowledge, God the Glorious and Most Exalted would not have been outwardly manifest [and] without the Knower [the Light of] Muḥammad would not have been outwardly manifest. As the Messenger of God (may God bless him and give him peace!) says:

"Kuntu nabiyyan wa Ādama bayna'l-nā'i wa'l-  
ṭīn."

that is:

"I was a prophet whilst Adam was yet between water and clay."

This Tradition is an allusion to water,<sup>1674</sup> for Adam and the entire Creation came into being from that Light. The Light of that Knowledge is the Known. Further, the Messenger of God (may God bless him and give him peace!) says:

"Ādanu abū'l-bashari wa anā abū'l-arwāḥi."

that is:

---

1674. See text, pp. 57-58, below; and para. (22) immediately following. Cf. Insānu'l-Kāmil II, p. 28: The First Intellect is likened to the sun, Universal Intellect to water irradiated by sunbeams, and ordinary intellect to the light reflected from the water upon a wall.

"Adam is the father of all men and I  
am the father of all spirits" (that is,  
what is said by the Prophet (may God  
bless him and give him peace!) as:

"Awwal mā khalāqa 'Llāhu ta'ālā 'l-rūḥ" -

"In the beginning God created the Spirit ..."  
is that the spirit is Muḥammad (may God  
bless him and give him peace!)

[Further, the Prophet (may God bless him and give  
him peace!) says:]<sup>1675</sup>

"Anā mina 'Llāhi wa 'l-mu'minūna minnī."

that is:

"I am from God, and all the Faithful [43]  
are from me."

Further, the Prophet (may God bless him and give him  
peace!) says:

"Anā min nūri 'Llāhi wa 'l- / <sup>mu'minūna</sup> min nūrī."

that is:

"I am from God's Light and all the Faithful  
are from my Light."

From these sayings are derived [our] view that 'Know-  
ledge is the Reality of Muḥammad [the Prophet]'.  

---

1675. The words in square brackets are not found in  
the text.



(22) Fa'lam - Pursuing<sup>1676</sup> the Known with His  
Omniscience.

That is to say, [Knowledge] gives Light to the Known. Without Knowledge, the Known cannot come forth from the Pure Potentialities [i.e. become actualized as external existence]. This is why it is said that [Knowledge] pursues the Known. Take the sea as an example; without it the waves will not appear. In like manner the forms of the things known appear out of Knowledge. This is why according to the Law, the Known follows<sup>1677</sup> Knowledge, for without Knowledge the things known will not be visible [to God]. According to one analogy, they all derive their origin from that One Light. As the Lan'at says:

1676. The Malay word used here is menurutkan, and I translate this as 'pursuing' here because Ḥanzah means by it 'to follow in the active sense'. This translation is supported by the interpretation. In fact, Ḥanzah also uses menurutkan to translate the Arabic murīd: willing, see above, p. 36 of the text.

1677. In this case, although menurutkan is also used, the meaning intended is clearly and simply 'to follow passively', 'to be dependent upon that which is followed', as the text indicates.

Al-'aynu wāhidatun wa'l-hukum mukhtalifun  
Wa dhāka sirran li ahli'l-'ilmi yankashifun.<sup>1678</sup>

that is:

The essence is one, the ways are many;  
 And this secret is revealed to the people  
 of Knowledge.

It is as it were clay: the clay is fashioned into many objects, such as water vessels and cooking pots, but [all these objects] derive their essential origin from clay. No matter how varied all these vessels take their form and description, they all derive their origin from clay. In such wise the World [44], though in form multiple, derives its origin from that Light.

(23) Fa'lan - Our Lord is the Possessor of  
Perfection.

That is to say, [He is] Perfect in every way. If there is something lacking in Him, then He is not called Perfect. If He creates the believer and does not create the unbeliever; or He creates the righteous

---

1678. See Ibrāhīm ibn Shahriyār (Fahkr al-Dīn) called Mulla 'Irāqī, Kulliyyāt, Persian text, ed. with annotation by Sa'id Nafisi, Tihrān, 1335/1956, p. 341, the 9th Lan'at. Hereafter and already cited as Lana'at. See also Muntahi, p. 123.

and does not create the sinful; or He creates Heaven and does not create Hell; or He creates good and does not create evil - [He] is then not Perfect.

This is why according to the Law:

Khayrihi wa sharrihi mina'Llāhi ta'ālā.

that is:

Good and evil are from God Most Exalted.

Whosoever does not have faith in this is an unbeliever - may God preserve us from such! God Most Exalted says:

Qul kullun min 'indi'Llāh.<sup>1679</sup>

that is:

Say (O Muḥammad): Everything is from God Most Exalted.

As God Most Exalted says:

Wa'Llāhu khalaqakum wa nā ta'malūn.<sup>1680</sup>

[that is:]

And God created you and what you make.

Further God Most Exalted says:

Wa lā ḥawla wa lā quwwata illā bi'Llāhi'l-'aliyyi'l-'aẓim.<sup>1681</sup>

1679. Qur'ān 4:78.

1680. Qur'ān 37:96.

1681. Qur'ān 18:40.

[that is]

There is no Majesty<sup>1682</sup> and there is no  
 Might save in God, the Glorious the Great.

As the Prophet (may God bless him and give him peace!)  
 says:

"Lā tataharraḳa dharratun illā bi idhni'llāh."

that is:

"Not one single atom moves except by God's  
 permission."

According to the Law, although good and evil are  
 from God, yet God Most Exalted wills [and approves]  
 only good, and does not will [45] and approve evil.  
 The meaning of these words is most recondite, and it  
 cannot be conceived by the People of the Path, for  
 since Divine Majesty is His Attribute and Divine  
 Beauty is His Attribute, how can He not will and  
 approve His Attributes? But if we consider this in  
 respect of the Pure Potentialities, then it is  
 possible [to grasp the idea], for both of them [i.e.  
 Divine Majesty and Divine Beauty] are present [to Him]  
there. Although He causes both of them to come

---

1682. The Malay translation of hawl here is very  
 literal: mengeliling! But mengeliling, meaning  
 'encircling' does indeed convey the sense of  
 all-encircling might that Ḥanzah wants to express.

forth there, He wills and approves only good, and He does not will and approve evil. But this is an eternal question!

(24) Fa'lan - Within His Knowledge never vanishing.

That is to say, His Knowledge is never 'separate' from That which He Knows. If [His Knowledge] is separate from That which He Knows, then He is not Perfect, for the things known reflect the quality of greatness in the Knower. If the Knower is devoid of the Known, then the greatness and sovereignty of the Knower is destroyed, for the things known reflect the greatness and sovereignty of the Knower. According to one point of view the things known are new [i.e. produced, temporal events] as they are derived from Knowledge; and Knowledge is derived from [His Attribute of] Life; and Life is derived from the Essence; [the Essence] is 'prior' [in point of logic] to all else. The judgment concerning the things known, then, is that they are new [i.e. produced events]. However, [between the People of the Path and the Doctors of Theology] there is disagreement concerning freedom of choice, which according to the Law refers to freedom of choice of the creatures, [that is, according to the Law,] that the creatures are given by God freedom

of choice. If he does good he will achieve Heaven; if he does evil he will acquire Hell - both through his own freedom of choice. The People of the Path say that if this were so, then [the doctrine that] khayrihi wa sharihi mina'LLāhi Ta'ālā - good and evil are from God Most Exalted - is destroyed. According to us the creatures have no freedom of choice. Since they possess no being whatever, they accordingly possess no freedom of choice. As God Most Exalted says:

Wa law shā'a'LLāhu laja'alakum ummatan  
[46] wāhidatan wa lākin yudillu nan yashā'u  
wa yahdī nan yashā'u ... <sup>1683</sup>

that is:

And if God please, He would make you  
 a single nation, but He leaves in error  
 whom He pleases and guides whom He pleases ...

Since the creatures possess no being how can they have freedom of choice? Listen to our analogy. Take the example of an ironsmith. He has with him a piece of iron, a heritage from his ancestors. The potentiality of the iron is that it is suitable

for fashioning into a keris.<sup>1684</sup> He perceives with his knowledge that the iron is suitable for fashioning into a keris, and so he forges it into a keris. Having forged it into a keris, he then uses it. After a while he stabs a person with the keris. [The act] proceeds from the wielder of the keris, and not from the keris. From the beginning to the end [of the event] the act proceeds from the wielder of the keris. The lord of the keris in fact acts in accordance with the potentialities of the keris (just as a person is caused by Him to be an unbeliever according to his eternal potentiality, so the act of God the Glorious and Most Exalted works in conformity with that potentiality). To that extent only can we attribute freedom of choice to the creature, for the potentialities of the creatures abide in His Knowledge - that is, they abide in God's Knowledge, never vanishing.

(25) Fa'lam - In the 'Most Compassionate' is the sun of Divine Majesty.

That is to say, Rahmān, [i.e. the Compassionate One] Who is the Lord of Mercy mentioned

---

1684. A Malay dagger.

before<sup>1685</sup> when giving existence to the World together with all its parts is not 'separate' from the Divine Perfection. As God Most Exalted says:

Al-Raḥmān  
'Allama'l-Qur'ān  
Khalaqa'l-insān  
'Allamahu'l-bayān.<sup>1686</sup>

that is:

The Compassionate One  
 Who taught [47] the Qur'ān (God's  
 Eternal Speech through symbolic expression).  
 He created man (by His Eternal Mercy),  
 Taught him all that which is evident.

There is also a Saying of the Prophet (may God bless him and give him peace!):

"Lā tasubbū'l-riyāḥa innahu min  
nafasi'l-Raḥmān."

that is:

"Do not revile the wind; verily it is of  
 the Breath of the Compassionate One."

The allusion referred to in this [saying] may have only few indications, but the meanings are many. One meaning is that it [i.e. the wind] has many

1685. See below, p. 40 of the text.

1686. Qur'ān 55:1-4.



beneficial qualities. Further, the Prophet (may God bless him and give him peace!) says:

"Inna'llāha khalāqa ādama 'alā  
ṣūratī'l-Raḥ mān."

that is:

"Verily God created Adam in the image  
of the Compassionate One."

God the Glorious, Most Exalted is particularized in the Form of the Compassionate One because Raḥmān is not 'separate' from the Name of God Most Exalted (that is, Raḥmān is the Being of the World). According to one analogy, Adam is also a World; according to the Law he is the microcosm, according to the Truth he is the macrocosm. As God Most Exalted says:

Al-Raḥmānu 'alā'l-'arshi' stawā.<sup>1687</sup>

that is:

The Compassionate One is established  
on the Throne (of Power).

Whosoever does not ponder over this Qur'ānic verse is [immersed in] infidelity, for therein are many hidden indications. According to the People of the Path, [the verse refers] to the Reality of all creatures

---

1687. Qur'ān 20:5.

- that is, [the Reality of all creatures] is established on the Throne, although in fact the particularization of location is not applicable to God Most Exalted, even if such a particularization is made. Hence Majesty is attributed to Him because the sum of all existence is derived from His Eternal Mercy. [48]

(26) Fa'lam - And upon all Beauty the 'Most Merciful' holds sway.

That is to say, Rahīm is Divine Mercy particularized in all aspects of Beauty, for Beauty is the Attribute of all that is good, [and It is particularized] especially in Prophets, Saints, the Righteous, the Lovers and the Gnostics - and many more examples impossible to mention. All these are derived from Divine Beauty. As for the saying of God Most Exalted:

Fa subhāna'l-ladhī biyadihi malakūtu  
Kulli shay'in wa ilayhi turja'un.<sup>1688</sup>

that is:

So glory be to Him in Whose hand is the Reality<sup>1689</sup> of all things! And to Him you will be returned.

and the saying of God Most Exalted:

1688. Qur'an 36:83.

1689. Hanzah interprets malakūtu literally: kingdom, to mean the ḥaqīqat: reality, of all things.

... Khalaqtu biyadayya.<sup>1690</sup>

that is:

... I created [with] both my hands.

[by both His hands] is meant Power and Will, and not hands like the hands of the creature. According to one expression by His two hands is meant Beauty and Majesty; Beauty is likened to the right [hand] and Majesty is likened to the left [hand]. All that is good comes into being from the right [hand; all] that is evil comes into being from the left [hand]. It must not be believed that God Most Exalted has hands, or has a right and a left, for He is far most pure above having hands and having a right and a left. Divine Beauty is from the Attributes of the All-Merciful, but It is not 'separate' from the Eternal, Compassionate One.

(27) Fa'lam - Our Lord is He Who is called Exalted.

That is to say, [by Most High is meant] lofty beyond calculation, beyond temporal measure, for His highest Name is 'He'. The reason why 'He' is said to be Most High is because [He] is the Symbolic Name of the Essence. The Essence, although [49] It can

be conceived in terms of symbolical expression is, in Its Innermost Nature, beyond knowledge, for It cannot be conceived. Although It is One, there is no oneness [to Its Oneness], and although It is Single, there is no singleness [to Its Singleness]. We predicate of It Attributes, Essence, and Names merely as symbolical expressions.

(28) Fa'lan - With all His Attributes forever  
abiding.

That is to say, He is ever at one with His Attributes, forever and ever, without being 'separate' from [His] Attributes. In the same manner that 'before' He was never 'separate' from His Attributes, so 'after' [He] will never be 'separate' from His Attributes. 'Before' or 'after', or one was [with Him] and one is not with Him, or one Attribute was there 'before' and is gone 'after', or 'before' [one Attribute] was not [with Him] and 'after' [It] is with Him - all these belong to [the category of] imperfection.<sup>1691</sup> This is the meaning of ['With all His Attributes] forever enduring'.

---

1691. 'Before' and 'After' here refer to the states of the Essence conceived as indeterminate and determinate respectively, They may also refer to "pre-creation" and "post-creation".

(29) Fa'lam - Upon the Universe entire His  
effects take form.

That is to say, upon the entire Universe His Effects flow, like the waters of the river flowing without cessation, without end. As God Most Exalted says:

Kulla yawmin huwa fī shā'nin.<sup>1692</sup>

that is:

Every day He is in some state (of Activity). The People of the Path say that by 'day' [is meant] 'the twinkling of an eye',<sup>1693</sup> for there is no such a thing as 'day' with respect to God. Further God Most Exalted says:

Allāhu nūru'l-sanāwāti wa'l-arḍi  
mathalu nūrihi ...<sup>1694</sup>

that is:

God is the Light of the heavens and the earth.  
 The similitude of His Light ...

The People of the Path say that this world is His Manifestation, for God the Glorious and Exalted, His Essence, His Attributes, [His Names,] His Acts

1692. Qur'ān 55:29.

1693. See Qur'ān 54:50.

1694. Qur'ān 24:35.

and His Effects are continuously manifest [50].

For this reason Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddīq (may God be well pleased with him!) says:

"Mā ra'aytu shay'an illā wa ra'aytu'Llāha qablahu."

that is:

"I see nothing except that I see God before it."

'Umar (may God be well pleased with him!) says:

"Mā ra'aytu shay'an illā wa ra'aytu'Llāha ba'dahu."

[that is:]

"I see nothing except that I see God after it."

'Uthmān (may God be well pleased with him!) says:

"Mā ra'aytu shay'an illā wa ra'aytu'Llāha ma'ahu."

that is:

"I see nothing except that I see God with it."

'Alī (may God be well pleased with him!) says:

"Mā ra'aytu shay'an illā wa ra'aytu'Llāha  
fīhi."

that is:

"I see nothing except that I see God in it."

These four were uppermost in their gnosis, for God

Most Exalted says:

Fa aynamā tuwallū fa thamma wajhu'Llāh.<sup>1695</sup>

that is:

Wheresoever you turn there is [the Face of  
God] (meaning: His Essence).

By face [is not meant the face of the creatures;]

that is, the Essence of God Most Exalted is without  
a face - it is His

---

1695. Qur'ān 2:115.

Essence that embraces all. As God Most Exalted says in the Book of Psalms:

Anā'l-mawjūdu fa'tlubnī tajidnī  
fa' in taṭluba siwā'ī lan tijidnī.<sup>1696</sup>

that is:

"I am the Existent One, seek Me and you will find Me;  
 If you seek other than Me, you will not find Me.

This is His Effects upon the entire Universe.

(30) Fa'lan - From six directions, for this  
reason, He is Alone.

That is to say, He is not restricted to the six directions. It is said that He is free, [because] if it is said that He is above, He is also below, if it is said that He is below, He is also above; if it is said that He is on the right, He is also on the left; if it is said that He is on the left, He is also on the right; if it [51] is said that He is in front, He is also behind; if it is said that He is behind, He is also in front, for indeed God Most Exalted says:

---

1696. I have not been able to trace this.





Most Exalted being free from spatial categories.  
 This analogy, though [seemingly] not much, contains  
 much meaning. But God alone knows best!

(31) Fa'lan - The Light of His Effects will never  
die out.

That is to say, the Light of His Imprints will  
 never die out. Since God, Glorious and Most Exalted  
 is called [Outwardly Manifest], how can His Outward  
 Manifestation die out [i.e. cease to be], seeing that  
 He is forever not 'separate' from His Attributes?  
 On the Day of Resurrection, although His Outward  
 Manifestation will cease to be, [as far as the present  
 Theatre of Manifestation is concerned], His Outward  
 Manifestation is nevertheless concealed in His Inward  
 Hiddenness, and His Inward Hiddenness is concealed  
 in His Outward Manifestation, for He it is Who is  
 called [52] the First, He it is Who is called the Last;  
 He it is Who is called the Outwardly Manifest, and  
 He it is Who is called the Inwardly Hidden; and this  
 is so because the Effects of His Outward Manifestation  
 in His Inward Hiddenness do not die out, the Effects  
 of His Inward Hiddenness in His Outward Manifestation  
 do not die out; [the Effects of His Firstness in  
 His Lastness do not die out,] the Effects of His



This is the meaning of 'Giving existence to the entire Universe'.<sup>1700</sup>

(33) Fa'lan - Creating creation day and night.

That is to say, it is His Effects that are called 'existence', for [They] become the existence of the creatures. The analogy is, as it were, earth; without rain how can plants grow? The earth is likened to God's Knowledge, rain is existence, the plants are the creatures. The earth is in itself earth, and the rain is in itself water [53]. When they commingle, the plants begin to grow. The plants that grow out of earth and water are determined by the Law of Potentiality: some grow becoming bitter, some sweet, some tart; some grow becoming green, some red, some white, some black. Colours and all taste [come into being] according to the Law of the Pure Potentialities. The water is in itself water, the earth is in itself earth. The plants grow out of earth and water, but their forms and colours [come into being] in accordance with their potentialities. As God Most Exalted says:

Yusqā bi mā'in wāhidin wa nufaḍḍilu  
ba'ḍahā 'alā ba'ḍin fī'l-ukulī.<sup>1701</sup>

---

<sup>1700</sup>. See above, p. 260.

<sup>1701</sup>. Qur'an 13:4.

that is:

... they are watered with one water;  
and We make some of them to excell  
others (in taste) in food.

This analogy is applied to the World: originating from existence there come forth day and night, the heavens and the earth, the Throne and the Footstool, Heaven and Hell, the believer and the unbeliever, good and evil - [all] by virtue of their respective potentialities. The Essence of God is Most Pure. The creatures are many and have contraries because His Attributes are many, [His Names are many,] His Acts are many, His Effects are many, and the potentialities of all creatures are in His Attributes. Works that are good come from the Attributes of Divine Beauty, works that are evil come from the [Attributes of] Divine Majesty. The origin of Divine Majesty and Divine Beauty is from Being; the origin of Being [54] is from the Essence. In reality all [come to be] because of Him; other than He, this World has no existence whatever for He is One, without partner.<sup>1702</sup> This is the meaning of ['Creating]

---

1702. Qur'ān 6:163.

creation day and night'.

(34) Fa'lam - Forever and ever it will never  
cease.

That is to say, God's Plenitude and Self-Sufficiency will never cease [to be reflected] in the things known, [from their archetypal state] to this world; from this world to the hereafter; from the hereafter to Eternity. The dwellers of Paradise will never cease to be, perpetually; the inhabitants of Hell too [will never cease to be,] perpetually. As God Most Exalted says:

Jaza'uhum 'inda rabbihim jannātu 'adnin  
tajri min taḥtiḥā'l-anhāru khālīdīna fīhā  
abadan.<sup>1703</sup>

that is:

(Those who believe,) their reward is with  
their Lord:  
Gardens of perpetuity<sup>1704</sup> beneath which  
rivers flow, abiding therein forever.

God Most Exalted says further:

---

1703. Qur'ān 98:8.

1704. Hamzah has for jannātu 'adnin a loose translation:  
tempatnya shurga: i.e. their Abode is Paradise.

Inna'l-ladhīna kafarū wa ḡalamū lam  
yakunī'llāhu liyaghfirahum wa lā  
liyahdiyahum ṭarīqan illā ṭarīqa jahannama  
khālidīna fīhā abadan.<sup>1705</sup>

that is:

Verily those who disbelieve and act unjustly,  
 God will never forgive them, nor guide  
 them to a path.

Except the path of hell, to abide in it  
 forever.

This is the meaning of 'Forever and ever it will never  
 cease.'

(35) Fa'lam - Our Lord is like a Fathomless Ocean.

That is to say, God's Essence is likened to a  
 Deep Ocean, for the Innermost Essence cannot enter  
 into conception. It is only Its Predispositions that  
 are likened to this Fathomless Ocean. Hence the  
 Prophet (may God bless him and give him peace!) says:

"Subḥānaka mā 'arafnā ka ḥaqqa ma'rifatika."

that is:

Glory be to [55] Thee, we do not know Thee  
 with true knowledge of Thee!"

(that is, the Innermost Essence cannot be  
 known).

---

1705. Qur'ān 4:168-169.

For this reason [the Innermost Essence] is likened to an Ocean that is Boundless and Fathomless. If It has limits and has depth, or has a beginning and an end, then it is something created; but with respect to God, Glorious and Most Exalted, such things are not among His Attributes.

(36) Fa'lam - Whose waves are rolling in every direction.

That is to say, [its waves are rolling] in every direction. That which we perceive, whether outwardly or inwardly, all disappear - they are as waves. The Ocean is not 'separate' from its waves, and the waves too are not 'separate' from the ocean. In like manner God, Glorious and Most Exalted is not 'separate' from the World. But [He] is neither 'in' the World nor 'outside' it; neither 'above' nor 'below' it; neither to the 'right' nor to the 'left' of it; neither in 'front' of nor 'behind' it; neither 'separate' from nor 'joined' to it; neither 'near' to nor 'far' from it. As the Lam'at says:

"Daryā kuhan chū barzand mawjū naw  
Mawjish khwānand [u] dar haqīqat daryāst ..."<sup>1706</sup>

---

1706. Lama'āt, Lam'at III, p. 332.



that is:

"The sea is always the same, when it heaves,  
then it becomes waves.

People say "waves," but in reality it is  
the sea ...."

for sea and waves are not 'separate'.

The Lam'at says further:

"Khalawtu bi man ahwā fa lam yaku ghayrunā  
Wa law kāna ghayrī lam yasiḥḥ wujūduhā."<sup>1707</sup>

that is:

"I went in seclusion with [56] my beloved  
and there is none but us;

[And if there is other than me, then her  
existence is inadmissible ....]"

The Lam'at says:

"Raḡqu'l-zujāju wa rāqati'l-khamru  
Fa tashābahā fa tashākuk'l-amru  
Fa ka'annamā khamrun wa lā qadahu  
Wa ka'annamā qadahun wa lā khamru."<sup>1708</sup>

that is:

The glass is fine and the wine is clear,  
Their resemblance is indistinguishable;  
As if it were wine without a cup,

1707. Lam'āt, Lam'at XII, p. 342.

1708. Lama'āt, Lam'at V, p. 335.

And as if it were a cup without wine.<sup>1709</sup>

This is the meaning of 'Whose waves are rolling in every direction'.

(37) Fa'lam - Ocean and Waves are both intimate.

That is to say, the ocean and the waves are both in intimate companionship, such as, for example, slave and Lord, lover and Beloved. As God Most Exalted says:

Inna'l-ladhina yubāyi'ūnaka innamā  
yubāyi'ūna'Llāha ...

that is:

1709. Cp. Junayd's famous saying: "Lawnu'l-mā'i  
lawnu ina'ihī" - "The colour of the water is the colour of the vessel containing it."

Also Shāh Ni'matu'Llāh:

Know that the Named is one and the Names  
a hundred thousand,

That Being is one, but its aspects are a  
hundred thousand.

Its Form is the Glass, and its Meaning  
the Wine,

Although both are one substance in your  
eyes.

Perceive in two one unit and two units;

Search it out well for I have told you a  
good bit.

(Literary history of Persia, III, p. 472).

Verily those who swear allegiance<sup>1710</sup> to  
thee they do but swear allegiance to God ...

Yadu'LLāhi fawqa aydihim.<sup>1711</sup>

that is:

The hand of God is above their hands.

God Most Exalted says further:

Falam taqtulūhum wa lākinna'LLāha  
qatalahum wa mā ramayta idh ramayta  
wa lākinna'LLāha ramā.<sup>1712</sup>

that is:

So [you] slew them not, but God slew them,  
and thou smotest not (with thine arrow O  
Muhammad) [when thou didst smite (the enemy)],  
but God smote him.

God Most Exalted says further:

1710. Ḥamzah has, for 'swear allegiance', berjabat tangan: clasp (their) hands. In the Sufi Orders it is part of the practise for the disciple to take the bay'ah from his Spiritual Guide, after a certain period of training and study, and this takes the form of the clasping of the hand of the Shaykh by the murīd as an oath of allegiance to him. The practise has its origin in the practise of the Prophet as revealed in this Qur'anic verse. See for bay'ah E.I. article Bai'. Cf. the continuation of this verse quoted by Ḥamzah.

1711. Qur'an 48:10.

1712. Qur'an 8:17.

Wa huwa ma'akum aynamā kuntum.<sup>1713</sup>

that is:

He is with you wherever you are.

God Most Exalted says further:

Wa nahnu aqrabu ilayhi min ḥabli'l-warīd.<sup>1714</sup>

that is:

And We are nearer to him than his neck veins.

God Most Exalted says further [in the Holy Tradition]:

Al-insānu sirrī wa anā sirruhu.

that is:

[57] Man is My secret and I am his Secret.

For this reason the Prophet (may God bless him and give him peace!) says:

"Man 'arafa nafsahu faqad 'arafa rabbahu."

that is:

"Whosoever knows his Self knows his Lord" - for he and his Lord are not 'separate'. In the same manner as the sea and the waves are not 'separate', so [the Lord and His slave are not 'separate']. This is the meaning of 'the 'Ocean and Waves are both intimate'.

1713. Qur'ān 57:4.

1714. Qur'ān 50:16.

- (38) Fa'lam - At last to its depths the Waves  
will sink.

That is to say, the waves subside into the Ocean. The waves come from the ocean, and their return, too, is to the ocean. This is the meaning of [the text]: irji'ī ilā aṣlihi - return thou to thy origin - as said by God Most Exalted:

... Irji'ī ilā rabbiki rāḍiyatan marḍiyyah.<sup>1715</sup>

that is:

... return [thou] to thy Lord well pleased,  
 well pleasing.

The Lovers understand 'return' to mean that when the lover sees his self no more, he 'returns' to the depths of the ocean and 'becomes' the ocean. If he still sees his self, then he is still not returning and he is not yet 'drowned'. In the opinion of Lovers [the state of still seeing their selves] is called "polytheism". This is the meaning of 'At last to its depths the Waves will sink'.

- (39) Fa 'lam - The Ocean is Knower, its currents  
the Known.

That is to say, the ocean already mentioned above

---

1715. Qur'an 89:28.

is allegorically likened to the Knower in order that the analogy of the Knower and the Known may be grasped by the seeker. Since what is called 'ocean' is [in fact] water, when the ocean heaves it is called 'currents'; when [the water vapours] rise and gather in the atmosphere they are called 'clouds'; when [the clouds burst and] fall in drops from the atmosphere they are called 'rain'; when [the rains] flow on the earth [58] they are called 'rivers'; when [the rivers] return to the ocean they are the ocean. The currents are likened to the Known because currents come from the ocean, but they are not distinct from the ocean. In like manner the Knower is not 'separate' from the Known, and the Known not 'separate' from the Knower. If Knower is without Known, then logically He is not Knower, [and it follows, therefore, that] He cannot create. Forms and colours come from what is formless and colourless. That which has no form and no colour is the Being of all forms and colours. That which has no form and no colour is the inwardly hidden; that which has form and colour is the outwardly manifest. This is the meaning of 'The Ocean is Knower, its currents the Known.

- (40) Fa'lam - Its condition is Qāsim, its waves  
are Maqsūm.

That is to say, [the meaning] of Qāsim is One Who Divides; Maqsūm are the ones divided. Since God Most Exalted bestows existence upon the Universe together with all its parts, [He] is called One Who Apportions. The World in its entirety is like the waves; its name is the Apportioned, for the waves [appear] out of the existential modes of the ocean. The Existential Modes of God Glorious and Most Exalted are called that of One Who Apportions, the existential modes of the entire Universe [are called] that of the Apportioned. The ocean is likened to the Divine Essence; the existential modes of the ocean are like the Existential Modes of the Divine Essence; the currents are like the existential modes of the World; the waves are like the forms of the World. According to this analogy, the ocean, the water, the waves, the forms of the waves, the colours of the waves, the names of the waves are all one. This is the meaning of 'Its condition is Qāsim, its waves are Maqsūm.'

- (41) Fa'lam - Its tempest is 'governing', its  
dispositions are 'governed'.

That is to say [59] its tempest is an analogy

referring to [His Command] 'Be!' to His Manifestations, and His Attributes, and His Names, and His Acts, and His Effects, and His Knowledge, and His Known, and His Hearing, and His Sight, and His Will, and His Power, and His Speech, and His Irresistability, and His Omnipotence, and His Strength in giving succour and His Might in rendering humble, and His Compassion, and His Infinite Mercy, and His Munificence. One He causes to believe; one He causes to disbelieve; one He causes to be rich; one He causes to be poor; one He allows always to transgress; one He allows always to do good; one He allows always to do evil; one He causes to enter Heaven; one He causes to enter Hell; one He allows to do many devotional acts and then causes him to enter Heaven; [one He allows to commit many sins and then He causes him to enter Hell]; one from the believers He causes to disbelieve; one from the unbelievers He causes to believe. This is the meaning of ['Its tempest is 'governing'] its dispositions are 'governed'.<sup>1716</sup>

---

1716. For paras (40) and (41) above see the interpretation above, pp. 270-273.



(42) Fa'lam - Upon the entire Universe it is  
these that are featured.

That is to say, upon the entire Universe His Predispositions are featured. From its beginning to its end, from its inner concealment to its external manifestation - [all these] are but His Predispositions. His Predispositions are governed by His Tempest [i.e. His Creative Command,] for the entire World is His Predispositions. The meaning of His "Predispositions" is His "Existential Modes". Everything is forever His Predispositions, dynamic,<sup>1717</sup> as God Most Exalted says:

Kullh yawmin huwa fī shā'n.<sup>1718</sup>

[that is:]

Every day He is in some sate [of Activity]. All forms are His Forms, all colours His Colours, all sounds His Sounds for He is One, without partner (wahdahu lā sharīka lahu).<sup>1719</sup> If [60] it is said that there is an 'other' apart from Him, then that would be polytheism and darkness. For this reason all the Lovers who have perfect gnosis say:

---

1717. The text reads literally: "rotating [and] moving", conveying dynamism.

1718. Qur'ān 55:29.

1719. Qur'ān 6:163.

"I see my Lord with the Eye [of my Lord]<sup>1720</sup>  
 Shaykh Mas'ūd<sup>1721</sup> (God's Mercy be upon him!) says:

"I have always been an unbeliever!"<sup>1722</sup>

Sayyid Nasīmī says:

"Innī anā'LLāhu."

that is:

"Verily I am God!"

Shaykh Junayd Baghdādī (God's Mercy be upon him!) says:

"Laysa fī jubbati siwā'LLāh."

that is:

"There is nothing in my cloak save God!"

The Sultān of the Gnostics Bā Yazīd Bisṭānī (God's  
 Mercy be upon him!) says:

"subḥānī mā a'ḡama shā'nī."

that is:

"Glory be to me, how great is my state!"

There are many more Shaykhs - impossible to mention  
 them all - who say [such things]. They all say such  
 things because their gnosis is perfect. We who are

1720. Cf. Sharāb, p. 10 and notes 604, 607. Also  
Muntahī, p. 120.

1721. Mas'ūd-i-Sa'dī Salmān could be meant here.  
 Cf. Literary history of Persia, II, pp. 324-326.

1722. This is a well-known Ṣufī denial of self. To  
 believe implies affirmation of duality of believer  
 and believed.

without gnosis must not say such things - we must not imitate [their utterances] to the point that the pundits would declare infidelity upon us - [and they declare such charges] in order that all those who are ignorant, who have no gnosis, will not say such things, for gnosis is most recondite. Whosoever has not yet attained to perfect gnosis and love such as those [Shaykhs], if they say such things as they [i.e. the Shaykhs] say, he is an unbeliever. This is the meaning of 'Upon the entire Universe, it is these that are featured'.

(43) Fa'lam - If you really know [the meaning of] existence.

That is to say, 'Existence' which is referred to from the beginning of this book right to its end. That Existence must be known through gnosis, for that Existence is not our existence. Because of our ignorance we imagine [that Existence] to be our existence. It is for this reason that [61] the People of the Path say:

Wujūduka dhanbun lā yuqāsu

bihi dhanbun [ākharu].<sup>1723</sup>

that is:

Your existence is a sin with which  
no other sin can be compared -

for to the People of the Path his illusionary existence is 'secret polytheism'; when he says "your existence" [it were as though] he [to whom existence is predicated] is self-subsistent, and this is indeed secret polytheism: [by this is meant that] if he [affirms that he really] exists, then he [considers himself to ] possess existence. This is the meaning of 'If you really know [the meaning] of existence'.

(44) Fa'lam - It is where you effect true vision.

That is to say, by vision is meant "to see".<sup>1724</sup>

The existence of this World is but illusory, and you must not cast your sight upon illusory existence. You must see only the Existence that always is, for the existence of the creatures is derived from His

1723. From a verse quoted by Junayd:

'Idhā gultu mā adhnabtu qālat mujībātān  
ḥayātuka dhanbun la yuḡasu bihi dhanbun ākharu.'

See Kashf al-Maḥjūb, p. 297. See also Tadhkirat al-Awliya', p. 102. Note 186 above. In this wujūd is synonymous with ḥayāt and this is significant in Ḥamzah's use of the term here.

1724. Pandang, see above, note 667.

Existence. Seeing that the existence of the creatures is derived from His Existence, our existence is His Existence. As the Prophet (may God bless him and give him peace!) says:

"Allāhumma arinī'l-ashyā'a kamā hiya."

that is:

"O my Lord, reveal to my sight all things as they are."

Now the Messenger of God (may God bless him and give him peace!) knows of [the existence of] all things, but [he] wishes further to know of the reality of their existence. As [the existence of] things and [the existence of] the self are identical, when you are able to know [the existence of] the self [you will be able to know the reality of the self]. As God Most Exalted says:

Wa idhā sa'alaka 'ibādī 'annī fa'innī qarīb.<sup>1725</sup>

that is:

And when My servants [ask thee] concerning Me surely I am nigh.

But of His nearness, that must be understood. Further God Most Exalted says:

---

1725. Qur'ān 2:186.

Wa'LLāhu bi kulli shay'in muḥīṭ.<sup>1726</sup>

that is:

God surely encompasses all things

Further Shaykh Junayd (may God's mercy be upon him!)  
says:

"Lawnu'l-mā'i lawnu [62] inā'ihī."<sup>1727</sup>

that is:

"The colour of the water is the colour of  
the vessel containing it."

All these expressions and symbolic allusions must  
be understood in order that gnosis of God Most Exalted  
may be achieved. When you have achieved the gnosis  
of God Most Exalted, then you will be able to see  
the Original and True Existence, [that is, Existence]  
that always is, not illusory existence. This is the  
meaning of 'It is where you effect true vision'.

(45) Fa'lam - Cast off your form from all  
restrictions.

That is to say, the meaning of guyūd is 'res-  
trictions'. All forms that can be seen and apprehended  
by the intellect and gnosis are restrictions. Since

1726. Qur'ān 41:54.

1727. Cf. Lana'āt, Lam'at V, p. 334.

the Essence of God is Absolute, It is not to be 'found' in our forms; and the forms of the World in its entirety, the outwardly manifest and inwardly hidden, are 'other' than the Unique Essence. That is Absolute. When we cast away all restrictions with our vision and in our conception, then only can we be 'united' with the Absolute, meaning: the Being Who is Most Pure, beyond form.<sup>1728</sup> One interpretation of 'restrictions' is that it means worldly wealth and greatness and wife and children. That is to say, 'if you are wealthy do not let your heart cling to worldly wealth and wife and children, as God Most Exalted says:

... Likay lā ta'saw 'alā mā fātakum  
wa lā tafrahū bi mā atākum.<sup>1729</sup>

that is:

... [in order that] you may not grieve for what has escaped you, nor be exultant at what He has given you.

When you are suffering a loss, do not grieve on account of it; when you enjoy abundance, do not rejoice on account of it, even if it should be great, you must

---

1728. See above, p. 282.

1729. Qur'ān 57:23.

not rejoice on account of it; and should it be insignificant, you must not [63] grieve on account of it; should God bestow upon you health and well-being, do not rejoice in it; should God inflict upon you sickness, do not grieve - all these are but restrictions. When you are far from restrictions, then you will be 'united' with the Absolute. This is the meaning of ['Cast off your form from all] restrictions'.

(46) Fa'lam - In order that you may abide in your Self.

That is to say, the meaning of qu'ūd is to abide (in the Self ). This means that you must not seek [God] further than within your Self, for God Most Exalted says:

Wa fī anfusikum a fa lā tubsirūn.<sup>1730</sup>

that is:

And in your Self - do you not see?

Furthermore the Prophet (may God bless him and give him peace!) says:

"Man 'arafa nafsahu fa qad 'arafa rabbahu."

that is:

"Whosoever knows his Self knows his Lord."

---

1730. Qur'ān 51:21.



When one's Lord is thus known, then one will be able to be indifferent to all else; whether being clothed [or naked], it is the same to him; whether being rich or poor, it is the same to him; whether being great or insignificant, it is the same to him; whether being praised or scorned, it is the same to him; he does not desire heaven nor does he fear hell.

As for the poor who begs for food, according to the Prescribed Law that is lawful inasmuch as it is sufficient to give him strength for a day or two. But if he begs [for food to last him] for the morrow and the day after that, then that is 'polytheism', for [in doing so] he desires to preserve his self.<sup>1731</sup> If he behaves in this manner, then he is not yet extinct from his self. All such actions of his are restrictions. As God Most Exalted says:

Fa tawakkalū in kuntum mu'minīn.<sup>1732</sup>

that is:

Surrender yourselves to God, if ye be [64]  
faithful.

However, should sustenance come by itself, that is, what is bestowed upon him by God Most Exalted, then

1731. See above, pp. 57 of the text, para. (38); and 61 para. (43).

1732. Qur'ān 5:23.

this should be eaten. If [sustenance] does not come, do not seek it nor beg from creatures. To the Lovers, one should not even ask of God, so that then only can one be released from restrictions. As the Lam'at says:

"Al-faqīru lā yahtāju ilā'Llāh."<sup>1733</sup>

that is:

"The poor does not stand in need of God." [If he stands in need of God], then he is still in the state of duality [i.e. of slave and Lord]; but if he does not stand in need [of God] then he is able to become one [with God]. As regards [the matter of] going about naked, the Doctors of Theology and the People of the Path agree in saying that it is unlawful as the private parts are exposed. Being clothed modestly and cloaked and trousered and being equipped with a beggar's bowl, and sandalled and having cultivation - these according to the Prescribed Law are permissible, and according to the People of the Path are also permissible as they are not restrictions. But to the Lovers all these are veils and restrictions upon the Self. Matters that refer to these things are matters that do not realize (meniyyatkan) whatever

---

1733. Lama'at, Lam'at XX, p. 352.

God desires, as one's desires are all of them veils and restrictions. However, the prescribed prayers and fasting, and eating of what is lawful and refraining from what is unlawful - all these are not restrictions, because these are in accordance with God's desire and not with our desire; that is to say, because these are God's Commandments. But whosoever is conscious of cold and warmth, and being well fed and hungry, and being naked and clothed - if he leaves off the prescribed prayers and fasting, if he constantly eats of what is unlawful, the judgment is that he is disobedient [i.e. sinful]. Such a person [65] will not be able to become a saint. However, if he is passionate in his love [of God] and is intoxicated and effaced - he is not conscious of his self - and he leaves off the prescribed prayers and fasting, no blame is upon him, for the judgment concerning such a case is that he is in a state of constant prayer. But if he is not yet intoxicated and effaced - still conscious of his self - and he leaves off the prescribed prayers and fasting, then his doings are veils [concealing the right path], and they are restrictions, and sinful. [He] cannot abide within his Self!

(47) Fa'lām - Upon God's Existence you must  
subsist.

That is to say, upon God's Existence only must you cast your vision with perfect gnosis. Do not be heedless of prayer and fasting, and walking and standing and sitting and reclining, God Most Exalted says this:

Wa'dhkur rabbaka fī nafsika taḍarru'an  
wa khīfatan wa dūna'l-jahri mina'l-qawli  
bi'l-ghuduwwi wa'l-āṣālī wa lā takun  
mina'l-ghāfilīn.<sup>1734</sup>

that is:

And mention [i.e. remember] thy Lord within thyself humbly and fearing, and in a voice not loud, in the morning and the evening, and be thou not of the heedless (that is to say, do not be heedless of all your behaviour, as God Most Exalted says: Wa huwa ma'akum aynamā kuntum<sup>1735</sup> - that is: And He is with you wherever you may be).

Of those who have not yet become perfect and have not yet achieved true gnosis, it is better for them that eat and drink and sleep be lessened, conversation must be lessened, sitting [66] in congregations must

1734. Qur'ān 7:205.

1735. Qur'ān 57:4.



cast away. When your name and your form are cast away, then you will be able to be 'united' with the Possessor of the Name and the Possessor of the Form. When you are 'united' with the Possessor of the Name and the Possessor of the Form, then you will be able to be 'united' with Being. When you are 'united' with Being, then you will be able to be 'united' with the Essence. When you are 'united',<sup>1736</sup> with the Essence, name and form are both cast off.

(49) Fa'lam - Annihilate your consciousness from Lordship [67] and slavehood.

That is to say, annihilate your self from [consciousness in] the worshipper and the Worshipped. If the worshipper and the Worshipped still exist [in your consciousness] then you are still in [the state of] duality and have not yet become one [with God]. As the People of the Path say:

'Man 'abada'l-isma dūna'l-na'nā faqad kafara ...

that is:

'Whosoever worships the name without the meaning, then he has become an infidel ...

---

1736. The word bertemu: to meet (active sense) actually translates the Arabic waṣil.

Wa man 'abada'l-na'nā dūna'l-isma fahuwa  
mushrikun ...

that is:

And whosoever worships the meaning without  
 the name, then he is a polytheist ...

Wa man 'abada'l-isma wa'l-ma'nā  
fahuwa munāfiqun ...

that is:

And whosoever worships the name and the  
 meaning, then he is a hypocrite ...

Wa man taraka'l-isma wa'l-ma'nā fahuwa  
mu'minum ḥaqqan.'

that is:

And whosoever casts away the name and the  
 meaning, then he is a true believer.'

Extinction is, from the point of view of expression,  
 to annihilate all that which is 'other' than God.

If a person is extinct and yet is conscious of his  
 own extinction, he is not yet extinct, for extinction  
 is, from the point of view of expression, [to be  
 extinct from] that which is 'other' than God.<sup>1737</sup>

If one is not yet extinct from that which is 'other'  
 than God, one has not yet [arrived at] extinction.

---

1737. Cf. Mishkāt al-Anwār, pp. 57-58.

When one is extinct from that which is 'other' than God, then assuredly the worshipper and the Worshipped are annihilated from his consciousness - that is to say, he becomes one [with God] - he becomes non-existent<sup>1738</sup> - he is entirely annihilated. One expression is that 'extinction' is 'polytheism' with respect to God Most Exalted, for the lover has no existence. Seeing that he has no existence, he is then [perpetually in] extinction, for in reality He alone is, without any 'other'. As the Prophet (may God bless him and give him peace!) says:

"'Araftu rabbī bi rabbī."

that is:

"I know my Lord through [68] my Lord."

Further the Lam'at says:

"Lā yarā' Llāha ghayra' Llāh."<sup>1739</sup>

that is:

"None sees God but God."

The Lam'at says:

Mā 'arafa' Llāha ghayra' Llāh."<sup>1740</sup>

that is:

1738. I.e. tiada. See above, pp. 287-288.

1739. Lama'at, Lam'at IV, p. 333.

1740. Lama'at, loc.cit.



"None knows God but God."

The Lam'at says:

"Ra'aytu rabbī bi 'ayni rabbī."<sup>1741</sup>

That is:

"I see my Lord with the Eye of my Lord."<sup>1742</sup>

When he no longer sees that which is other than God,  
he is then, according to this expression, extinct.  
[These words] are most recondite. It is desired  
that they be understood.

(50) Fa'lam - In order that you may achieve the  
Act that is Final.

That is to say, when you are extinct, then you  
achieve the act that always is. As Uways al-Qaranī<sup>1743</sup>  
says in the Persian language:

"Ānrā ki fanā shewa faqrā[īn] ast ...

that is:

"They who are extinct in the manner of  
poverty ...

"Nah kashf [u] yaqīn nah mar'rifat nah  
dīn ast ...

1741. Lama'āt, Lam'at VI, p. 335.

1742. i.e. "I see my Lord with the Eye [i.e. Essence]  
of my Lord." There is a play of meaning on  
the word 'ayn.

1743. For Uways see Tadhkiratu'l-Awliyā' II, pp. 15 foll.

that is:

Are without insight, and certainty, without gnosis and without religion ...

Raft ū zi miyān hamīn khudā mānd khudā

that is:

They are annihilated in the midst of this state [i.e. God] - only God remains ...

Al-faqrū idhā tamma huwa' Llāh īn ast.<sup>1744</sup>

that is:

When poverty is perfect (i.e. their gnosis is accomplished) it is indeed God."

Here is another saying of the Prophet (may God bless him and give him peace!):

"Al-faqrū fakhri wa bihi aftakhiru".

that is:

"Poverty is my pride and in it I take pride."

According to the Prescribed Law, poverty means 'not possessing' [worldly possessions]. According to the People of the Path poverty refers to the People of Gnosis. When such a one is perfect in his gnosis - no longer seeing his self - he is called 'poor'.

This is the meaning of ['In order that you may achieve] the Act that is Final'.

---

1744. See above, pp. 83; 373-375.

(51) Fa'lam - If you are yet not firm as a stone.<sup>1745</sup>

[69] That is to say, not to move; whether it be outwardly or inwardly, not to move. When you are firm as a stone, then you are 'united' from the point of view of expression, but in reality you are always united. If outwardly it [i.e. the stone] does not praise God, inwardly it praises God, for to the People of the Path, all things possess spirit and intellect and gnosis. If things have no gnosis, how can they praise God? - for such is the word of God in the Qur'ān:

Tusabbiḥu lahu'l-samāwātu['l-sab'u] wa'l-  
arḍu wa man fī hinna ...<sup>1746</sup>

that is:

The seven heavens and the earth  
and those in them declare His glory ...

Wa 'in min shay'in illā yusabbiḥu biḥamdihi  
wa lākin lā tafqahūna tasbīḥahum.<sup>1747</sup>

that is:

---

1745. This seems to refer to a passage in Qur'ān 17:50: Qul kūnū ḥijāratān wa ḥadīdan. But see further Qur'ān 17:44; 22:18.

1746. Qur'ān 17:44.

1747. Loc. cit.

And there is not a single thing but glorifies Him with His praise, but you do not understand their glorification.

Further God Most Exalted says:

'Alam tara anna' Llāha yasjudu lahu man  
fi'l-samāwāti wa man fi'l-ardi wa'l-shamsu  
wa'l-qamaru wa'l-nujūmu wa'l-jibālu  
wa'l-shajaru wa'l-dawwābbu wa kathīrun  
mina'l-nās.<sup>1748</sup>

that is:

Seest thou not to God makes submission  
 whosoever is in the earth, and the sun and  
 the moon and the stars, and the mountains  
 and the trees, and the animals and many  
 of the people?

All things glorify and praise and make submission to God. When we are firm as a stone, then all our members make submission to God, as is [70] demonstrated in the Qur'ān.

(52) Fa'lam - Duality is still your lot: Slave  
and Lord.

That is to say, do not worship light; such as

---

1748. Qur'ān 22:18.

the dew,<sup>1749</sup> and the sun and the moon and the stars; and [do not worship images] such as idols;<sup>1750</sup> and do not dwell in the station of the crown of the head, or between the eyebrows, or on the tip of the nose, or in the [physical] heart.<sup>1751</sup> All these are veils that conceal His Essence. The People of the Path constantly surrender themselves to their Lord. They consent wholeheartedly to whatever their Lord's desire may be, whether it be sickness or poverty or any other thing as the case may be - to all such things they willingly give their consent. From the point of view of the Truth, if there is still lover, then the Beloved is still required; if there is still seeker, the Sought is still required; if there is

1749. Dew - embun. Probably mestika embun: petrified dew, is meant here; i.e. a talisman purporting to be made of petrified dew, which in reality is a small globe of very limpid glass. Supernatural and miraculous powers are attributed to it such as, for example, the power to bring the dead to life. See Wilkinson, articles embun and mestika.

1750. Rupa budak - literally: the figure of a child. Probably the word budak (child) refers to small figures kept in houses or roadside 'niches' or 'chapels' such as is common in Hindu-Buddhist practice.

1751. The reference here is to yogistic practice.

still worshipper, the Worshipped is still required; if there is still thought,<sup>1752</sup> the Object thought is yet required; if there is still vision, the Object visualized is still required. All these and one's [individual] existence still imply duality not yet become unity. When you have passed away and become firm as a stone, then you are united - that is, one - as when you were in [the state of] 'I was a hidden treasure', or as a bubble in the water before it became bubble. According to this expression it is 'union'. But from the point of view of reality, the water's bubble and the water are not two [entities].

(53) Fa'lam - When you are no longer conscious of gold and coin.<sup>1753</sup>

That is to say, the analogy of gold refers to the Lord and coin refers to the slave, for to outward perception gold is other than coin and their names

1752. Chita: thought, concentration, feeling, will. See Wilkinson.

1753. The word I have translated as coin here is matu, which is a variant of mutu. It means measure of the purity of gold, which invariably refers to the gold coin, or at any rate to currency, since the purity of gold is measured in terms of currency. Hanzah himself means this. See Sharab, p. 14, para. (33), where gold is compared with the Ashrafi coin.

are not the same. But gold is not separate from coin [and coin] is not separate from gold. When the coin no longer sees itself, surely only gold remains. When gold [71] is seen, the coin disappears to outward perception. When the coin disappears, it is unconscious of 'its self' and 'it' is unconscious of gold. Similarly in the case of one who is annihilated - he no longer knows [of his own annihilation]. This expression is most recondite; discourse upon it slowly and do not be hasty. As Shaykh Muḥyī'l-Dīn ibnu'l-'Arabī (may God be well pleased with him!) says:

"Al-na'rifatu hijābun bayna'l[-ārif wa'l-] na'rūf."

the meaning is:

"Gnosis is a veil between [the knower and] the known."

Shaykh Muḥyī'l-Dīn says further:

"Law lā'l-naḥabbatu la'stamarra'l-wiṣāl."

that is:

"Had it not been for love, indeed union would endure" (for love is a veil between the [lover and the] Beloved).

These words are merely a symbolic allusion referring to extinction from gold and coin. When you are extinct

from gold and coin, then you are able to become united - that is, one.

(54) Fa'lam - Then indeed you can become one.

That is to say, when the coin is extinct from gold and coin, then the coin and gold become one. If the coin still knows itself: "that I know", then it cannot yet become one. Like the moth plunging into fire, if it still knows itself: "that I have become fire", then it is not yet united with fire. When it unites with fire it becomes fire. When it becomes fire, it will forget fire and it will forget its self.<sup>1754</sup> As Shaykh Sa'dī (God's mercy be upon him!) says:

"Āy mugh saḥar 'ishq zi parwānah [72]  
beyāmūz ...

---

1754. Hanzah is here referring to 'Attār's famous story of the moths when illustrating his elucidation of the Seventh Valley - the Valley of Extinction - in his Manṭiqu'1-Tayr (See C.S. Nott's English translation from the French of Garcin de Tassy, The conference of the birds, London, 1961, p. 125). The moths were tormented by a desire to unite with the candle. One set off and, having seen the candle, reported what he saw. Then another went and touched the flame with the tip of his wings. Finally a third went and plunged himself into the flame and became one with the flame. These three degrees of knowledge correspond with 'ilmu'1-yaqīn, 'aynu'1-yaqīn and ḥaqqu'1-yaqīn respectively. Sa'dī's verse which Hanzah quotes immediately after also refers to this story of the moths.



that is:

"O bird of dawn! to love the dawn go and  
learn from the moth ...

Kān sūkhtrā jān shud wa āwāz neyāmad ...

that is:

That is burnt to spirit without a sound ...

In mudda'yyān dar ṭalabsh bi khabar ānand ...

that is:

They who claim to seek it have no knowledge  
of it ...

Kānrā kih khabar shud khabarshbān zi  
neyāmad."<sup>1755</sup>

that is:

---

1755. Muṣliḥ ibn 'Abdi'LLāh (Musharrifu'l-Dīn) called Sa'dī Shīrāzī, Gulistān, with marginal notes by Muḥammad Hādī 'Alī (pp. 465-6 missing), Persian text, [Lucknow? n.d.], p. 8. The verse was first translated by E.B. Eastwick, Gulistān of Sa'dī, Hertford, 1852, p. 6:

O bird of morn! love of the moth be taught;  
Consumed it dies nor utters e'en a cry!  
Pretended searchers! of this true love naught  
Know ye, - who knows tell not their mystery.

R.A. Nicholson, in his Translations of Eastern poetry and prose, Cambridge, 1922, p. 158, translated the same verse thus:

O nightingale, learn of the moth to love,  
That shrivels in the flame without a sigh.  
They know not Thee, whom they pretend it of,  
Who knows indeed, knows naught eternally.

Who has knowledge of it, his knowledge  
is ever naughted.

It is the same with respect to the coin; when it is annihilated in gold, it knows naught of gold, and similarly, of coin too it knows naught. This is the meaning of 'Then indeed you can become one'.

(55) Fa'lam - If you are yet not extinct from  
hundreds and thousands.

That is to say, the forms of all creatures are referred to as hundreds and thousands. [If] you are not yet [extinct from hundreds and thousands, you will not yet] be united with Him - [that is] to be extinct. Although all are in fact His Predispositions, yet if His Predispositions are not yet extinct from your vision, you will not yet be united with the Essence. When you are extinct from His Effects and His Acts and His Names and His Attributes, then you will be united with the Essence, for His Effects are a veil concealing His Acts; His Acts are a veil concealing His Names; His Names are a veil concealing His Attributes; His Attributes are a veil concealing the Essence. All these are His Predispositions. When you are extinct from His Predispositions, you will be united with the Essence. The Original [Being]

is the Essence - That is One; Its Predispositions are many: hundreds and thousands. When you are extinct from hundreds and thousands, you will be united with Him. As the People of the Path say:

'Hijābu'l-dhāti bi'l-ṣifāt [73]  
ḥijābu'l-ṣifāti bi'l-asmā'  
ḥijābu'l-asmā'i bi'l-af'āl  
ḥijābu'l-af'ālī bi'l-āthār.'

that is:

'The Attributes are a veil concealing the  
 Essence;  
 The Names are a veil concealing the  
 Attributes;  
 The Acts are a veil concealing the Names;  
 The Effects are a veil concealing the Acts.'

One meaning of extinction is disentanglement;<sup>1756</sup>  
 disentanglement from hundreds and thousands, and wife  
 and children, and wealth and power,<sup>1757</sup> and companions  
 and beloved, and fine apparel and greatness, and the  
 desire to become Shaykh and saint, and the love of  
 hypocrisy, and the wonder at hundreds and thousands -  
 [when you are such, then] can your existence be effaced.  
 The desired meaning is that then only can one achieve

---

1756. Tinggal is tajrīd. See Sharāb, p. 25.

1757. Kekayaan = power. See above, note 570.

union with one's Lord.

(56) Fa'lan - You will never be able to annihilate  
[your existence].

That is to say, if you are not yet extinct from hundreds and thousands, how can your existence be annihilated? - for the expression 'annihilated' means extinction from the entire world and greatness and wife and children. Since even [to] his very self he should be extinct, the more so [to] the world and greatness and wife and children. But these expressions do enjoin the quest for them [i.e. the world, etc.], and do not enjoin their denial. Even though one has wife and children one should be constantly in the state of extinction. As for the Adepts, they are perpetually in extinction. He who is extinct is not [one who is in a state of] madness, or who goes about naked, or who does not eat, or does not sleep, or does not perform the major ritual [ablution],<sup>1758</sup> or goes about in rags, or refuses to perform prayers. If such [manner of behaviour] is followed, then it is a veil [concealing God]. The meaning of extinction [to him who is extinct is this: whether to eat or

---

1758. See E.I., art. Djanaba.

not to eat [74] it is the same to him; to be naked or to be clothed is the same to him; heaven and hell is the same to him; although he performs acts of devotion yet he does not desire heaven, nor is afraid of hell, that is to say, [he submits with] utter submission - as God Most Exalted says:

Inna'l-dīna 'inda'Llāhi'l-islām.<sup>1759</sup>

that is:

The religion with God is Islām ([that is:] to submit oneself).

Since his self is not his Self, it is incumbent that he surrender his self to the Possessor of Self so that he may be extinct from his self.

(57) Fa'lam - Make yourself extinct from the gross and the subtle.

That is to say, [make yourself] extinct from body and spirit; another meaning: from good and evil; another meaning: from both worlds; another meaning: from belief and unbelief; another meaning: from the outward and the inward. All these must be made extinct [from yourself] in order that you may be united with the Essence of God, for the Essence is not to be

---

1759. Qur'ān 3:18.

found in all these. When you are annihilated and are extinct from the gross and the subtle, then you will be able to unite with the Essence, for the Essence is Most Pure from the gross and the subtle. [The gross and the subtle] are not pure. Things which are not pure are creatures. If all creatures are not yet extinct [from your vision], the Creator cannot be seen [in your vision]. As the Messenger of God (may God bless him and give him peace!) says:

"Ḥijābu'llāhi sab'īna alfan mina'l-nūri  
wa sab'īna alfan mina'l-zulunāt."

that is:

"Veils concealing God, Glorious and Exalted, are seventy thousand out of light [75] and seventy thousand [out of] darkness."<sup>1760</sup>

These are the veils that are in the gross and the subtle.

(58) Fa'lan - In order that whatever you say  
becomes permissible.

That is to say, as Shaykh Junayd Baghdādī (God's

---

1760. For the 'Veils' Tradition and an exposition of the symbolism of the seventy thousand veils, see al-Ghazzālī's Mishkāṭ al-Anwār, tr. W.H.T. Gardner, Ashraf, Lahore, 1952, pp. 76ff. and 157-175.

mercy be upon him!) says:

"Laysa fī jubbatī siwā' Llāh"<sup>1761</sup>

[and] as Shaykh Bā Yazīd says:

"Subḥānī nā a'ḥana sha'nī"<sup>1762</sup>

or as Maṣṣūr Ḥallāj says:

"Anā'l-Ḥaqq"<sup>1763</sup>

for their gnosis was perfect. They see not the gross and the subtle, but only the Unique Essence. What they utter is permissible. As for us, if we have not yet attained to perfect gnosis such as their gnosis, or have not yet become extinct from the gross and the subtle, we must not utter such utterances [for assuredly] our observance of the Law will then be in error, for the path of the Law - though devious<sup>1764</sup> - is most pure. However, the path of the Truth, though direct, has many dangers. We must not leave off prayer and we must not abandon the Law, for the Law and the Truth are one and the same. Those who

1761. I.e.: "There is nothing in my cloak other than God!"

1762. I.e.: "Glory be to me, how great is my condition!"

1763. I.e.: "I am the Creative Truth!"

1764. See above, note 1254.

are<sup>1765</sup> not yet intoxicated, or not yet effaced,  
or whom ecstasy from God has not yet possessed, if  
they leave off prayer and fasting and eat what is  
unlawful, are deviators [from the Law] and are sinful.

(59) Fa'lam - Ḥamzah Fansūrī, though he is  
insignificant.

That is to say [76], though insignificant, yet  
he is most certain [in what he says]; not indulging  
in vain talk, even if<sup>1766</sup> he is feeble in all his  
acts, such as performing devotions, and religious  
exercises, and seclusion, and practising frugality,  
and abnegation of the world; or he is feeble in  
his knowledge and gnosis. As God Most Exalted says:

Wa mā ūtītum mina'l-'ilmi illā qalīlan.<sup>1767</sup>

that is:

I give you aught of knowledge but a little.  
How can he know God with perfect gnosis? Even in  
the case of the Messenger of God (may God bless him  
and give him peace!) he says:

1765. Barangsiapa can be translated as: Whosoever  
is ..., but here I use the plural form to  
qualify mereka at the end of the sentence.

1766. Sungguh pun = walaupun. See text and note 1259.

1767. Qur'an 17:85.



"Subhānaka mā 'arafnāka ḥaqqa ma'rifatika."

that is:

"Glory be to Thee! we know Thee not with true gnosis" -

what more with us, how can gnosis which excels his come upon us? However, to the extent that our capacities permit, which God through His Grace bestows upon us, we will strive to seek and to conceive, by means of super-illumination, knowledge of His Effects and His Acts and His Names and His Attributes. According to another meaning, [Ḥamzah] is insignificant because he possesses no existence. Since he possesses no existence, he is then devoid of attributes and acts. This is being insignificant.

(60) Fa'lam - His Reality is close to the Noble Essence.

That is to say, even though he is insignificant, his Reality is not separate from the Noble Essence, for it is that Essence that is the Author<sup>1768</sup> of [his] motion and tranquility, of [his] sitting and standing, of [his] sleep and wakefulness, of [his] halting and walking; it is He that causes Ḥamzah to

---

1768. Yang Empunya corresponds to the Arabic ṣāhib: possessor, lord, author, etc.

move so that he can move. Had He not caused him to move, Ḥamzah cannot move, [77] for Ḥamzah is but a shadow. Had the Possessor of the shadow not caused him to move, how can Ḥamzah move? Another analogy is the similitude of the chess [pieces]. The wood originates from one tree. Then it is carved into many pieces and is called "king" and "minister"<sup>1769</sup> and "elephant"<sup>1770</sup> and "steed"<sup>1771</sup> and "fortress"<sup>1772</sup> and "pawn" - only in name they exist, not in reality. But they are close to the person who carves them and who plays with them, for the hand of that person is perpetually in contact with the chess [pieces], and the chess pieces do not move except with the movement of the player. This is the meaning of 'His reality is close to the Noble Essence'.

---

1769. I.e.: queen in the European game of chess.

1770. I.e.: bishop.

1771. I.e.: knight.

1772. The persian word tīr is used here, basically meaning 'arrow'. It also means power or strength and could be conceived therefore as a fortress which in our modern game of chess is the castle or rook. I do not think tīr is a mistake for tayr, to refer to the fabulous giant bird known as the Roc; i.e. the rook (from Persian: rūkh).

- (61) Fa'lam - Though but a bubble whose form is gross.

That is to say, by habab is meant a bubble; its form is gross, but because it has its origin in water it is in fact subtle. When it emerges on the surface it becomes gross, for from the point of view of metaphorical expression, [bubble] is distinct from water - that is, water is subtle, bubble is gross. From the point of view of reality, [bubble] is not distinct from water. For this reason it is said that the bubble is gross: because it has a form and a name other than water. But in reality it has no form and it has no existence, and its having a name is simply imaginary, not real, for it is perpetually effaced in water. As to his power and his will and his hearing and his sight [78] and his intelligence and his gnosis that we see in him, [in reality] these are not from him, [but - in the same manner of the bubble -] from the water. This is the meaning of 'Though but a bubble whose form is gross.'

- (62) Fa'lam - His union is constant in the Sea of the Subtle.

That is to say, by latīf is meant the subtle;

the bubble is constantly in the state of union with water, for water is subtle and the bubble gross. When the bubble bursts, it returns to water. For this reason it is said that the bubble is in the state of union with water. According to one expression of the People of the Path, there is no such thing as 'union'; though union is expressed, [it is only] metaphorically so. From the point of view of reality, a state is not called 'union' if it exists between a thing and its dispositions. [Such a state is] not 'union'. Union is expressed metaphorically so that seekers of knowledge may grasp [the meaning intended]; were it not for metaphorical expressions it would be impossible to describe and understand and know it. After you have fulfilled the necessary requirements, it is incumbent upon you to understand and know it [i.e. union], and after that it is incumbent upon you to perform the works required by the Law. Beware that you must not stray outside the enclosure of the Law, for [the Law is like] the outer covering, the Truth [is like] the brain; without the outer covering the brain is destroyed. The illustration is like a coconut with its husk and its shell and its flesh and its oil. The Law is like its husk; the Way

is like its shell; the Truth is like its flesh; Gnosis is like its oil. By virtue of these four the coconut is complete in all respects. If one of them is lacking in it, then it is no longer whole; even if it is planted, without its husk, [79] it will never grow and will ultimately be destroyed.<sup>1773</sup>

In such wise must the seeker after God Most Glorious and Exalted not be separated from the Law and the Way and the Truth and Gnosis so that he be perfect. If he is separated from the Law, he goes astray. Even if he should fly in the air, or walk on water, or eat fire - it is nothing but fraudulent magic, and his path is erroneous. He is not a saint, for in his case his 'miracles' are not miracles - they are called guile; that is to say, the art of persuasion originating from Satan, or from the genie, or from magic, or the wrath of God, Most Exalted, which descends upon him in order that by his 'miracles' he may be led to self-deception, thinking that he is united with God Most Exalted. According to the Doctors of Theology the miracles of the saints who practise the Law are from the grace of God Most Exalted;

---

1773. Compare Shabistari, p. 36 and note 3.

they are called mu'jizāt when worked by prophets, karāmāt when worked by saints. Both kinds of miracles are not imperfections, nor are they a veil [unto God]. However, to the People of Gnosis and to Lovers miracles are a veil and they are restrictions [unto God] - they are called 'menstruation in man' (ḥayḍ al-rijāl),<sup>1774</sup> for miracles have many dangers and few people escape. The science of the path is the science of the Prophet Muḥammad the Messenger of God (may God bless him and give him peace!). Whosoever practises the science of the path and is in error in his works with respect to the works of the Prophet Muḥammad the Messenger of God (may God bless him and give him peace!), he has gone astray - he is not of the People of the Path. But if his gnosis is perfect - for gnosis is [gnosis] of his Lord: that person being intoxicated and effaced, no longer conscious of the Law [80] and the Way and the Truth and Gnosis - then no

---

1774. Literally this means 'menstruation in the male'. The allusion here is clear enough. In the same manner as husbands regard wives who are in a state of menstruation as impure and avoid sexual union during that period, so God regards miracles as 'impure' and avoid mystical union with men who perform them. Hence on this analogy miracles are 'menstruation'.

blame is upon him [if he errs]. [To him] everything is God's Command, for that person is like the Sulṭān's slave who is [detained] within a fenced enclosure; whatever he does the Sulṭān will not be displeased at him. Asfor those people who practise the Law and the Way and the Truth and Gnosis in the manner the Prophet Muḥammad the Messenger of God (may God bless him and give him peace!) had done, they are like a minister who constantly carries out the King's command. Though distant from the King, he is yet [much] greater [in rank] than the person in the fenced enclosure, for the minister is the vicegerent of the King and holds the King's office. If we see in him outwardly no miracles, inwardly he has miracles. We must not think that the Law is insignificant, for God Most Exalted is called both the Outwardly Manifest and the Inwardly Hidden. His Outward Manifestation is His Law; his Inward Hiddenness is His Truth. To the generality of the people there is a distinction between the Law and the Truth. To the People of Gnosis, the Law and the Truth are identical. The Law is protected in the Truth, the Truth is embodied in the Law. When you are at one with the Law, you are at one with the Way; when you are at one with

the Way, you are at one [with] the Truth; when you are at one [with] the Truth, you are at one with Gnosis. But God knows best! The book is completed.

And may God praise  
His most excellent creation, Muḥammad,  
And his Followers  
And Companions all!  
Praise be to God,  
The Lord of the Worlds.

This book, the Secrets of the Gnostics on an exposition of the Science of the Path and of Divine Unity,<sup>1775</sup> is completed in good order. Amen!

---

1775. The full title of the Asrār.



CHAPTER XI.

The Drink of Lovers

by

Ḥamzah Fanṣūrī

[Leiden text no 2016]

[Preface]

[1] In the Name of God, the Infinitely Good,<sup>1776</sup> the Ever Merciful.

Praise be to God

The Lord of the Worlds,

And ample recompense be

Upon those who are God-fearing;

And salutations and blessings be

Upon His Messenger Muḥammad,

And upon his House

And Companions all.

(1) Know that this insignificant one, this poor one, Ḥamzah Fanṣūrī, wishes to make known [to you] in the Malay language - God willing - the way to God the Glorious and Most Exalted, and the gnosis of God in order that all servants of God who do not understand

---

1776. The metaphysical meaning is here given in translating al-Rahmān, but 'the Compassionate' is equally acceptable. See Schuon, op. cit. p. 61 and note.

Arabic and Persian may discourse upon it.

(2) This book is called Sharābu'l-'Āshiqīn, that is: The Drink of Lovers. Whosoever wishes to quaff the drink of those who are enamoured [of God] may consult this book in order that he may achieve [the Object of his desire], for herein are the utterances of lovers [of God]. However, [in this book the discourse] is summarised, and not given at length.

(3) The gnosis of God is extremely recondite. Without a teacher<sup>1777</sup> who is perfect and a disciple who is wise, gnosis of God can never be apprehended as it is the secret of the Prophet (may God bless him and give him peace!). Nevertheless we must strive as far as our powers permit [to attain to gnosis], for as the Messenger of God (may God bless him and give him peace!) says:

"Man ṭalaba shay'an jiddan wajada"

that is:

"Whosoever seeks a thing with the utmost endeavour will find it."

The Messenger of God (may God bless him and give him peace!) says further:

---

1777. Ḥamzah translates Shaykh or Pīr (spiritual guide) as guru. Cf. text.

"Ṭalabul-'ilma farīdatun 'alā kulli muslimin wa muslimatin."

that is:

"The quest for knowledge is incumbent upon every Muslim, male and female."

The Messenger of God (may God bless him and give him peace!) says further:

"Uṭlubu'l-'ilma wa law kāna bi'l-ṣīn"

that is:

"Seek knowledge even if it be in China."

And God the Exalted says:

Wa mā khalaqtu'l-jinna wa'l-insa illā liya'budūn.<sup>1778</sup> [2]

that is:

I have not created the jinn and men except in order that they worship Me (i.e. know<sup>1779</sup> Me).

And God the Exalted says further in the Holy Tradition:

1778. Qur'ān 51:56.

1779. By 'know' here Ḥamzah means Gnosis (mengenal).

Kuntu kanzan makhfiyyan fa aḥbābtu an  
u'rafa fa khalāqtu'l-khalqa li u'rafa.<sup>1780</sup>

that is:

I was a hidden treasure and I desired to be known, so I created creation in order to be known.

- (4) For this reason the People of the Path say that to know God - as far as our powers permit - is as incumbent upon us as it is to worship Him. We must not fall short [of our religious duty], and we must not pursue worldly power and wealth in excess of what is necessary to maintain our physical strength during the day and night, and [we must not] let wife and children distract us beyond measure, nor must we eat and sleep like beasts, for man is to God [a] most lofty [creature].<sup>1781</sup> Whosoever possesses gnosis and performs many devotional acts, that person is to God [a] lofty [creature]; but whosoever possesses no gnosis and does not perform devotional acts, that

---

1780. This Holy Tradition is well known among Sūfīs. See, for example, the Dīvāni Shamsi-Tabrīz, tr. by R.A. Nicholson, Cambridge, 1898, pp. 207-208.

1781. Cf. an English translation of eight sections of al-Ghazzālī's Kīmīyā-i-Sa'adat by C. Field, London, 1910, pp. 19-47. Hereafter cited as Kīmīyā-i-Sa'adat.

person is an incomplete [Muslim]. As God says:

Lahum qulūbun lā yafqahūna bihā  
wa lahum a'yunum lā yubṣirūna bihā  
wa lahum ādhānun lā yasma'ūna bihā  
ulā'ika kā'l-an'āmi bal hum adallu  
ulā'ika humu'l-ghāfilūn.<sup>1782</sup>

that is:

They have hearts wherewith they understand not; and they have eyes wherewith they see not; and they have ears wherewith they hear not. They are as cattle; nay, they are more astray. These are the heedless ones (towards their Lord).

- (5) We must not be heedless of this Qur'ānic verse, and must not think that only the unbelievers are the heedless ones. Hence we must perform [our devotional acts] faithfully and we must seek [to attain] gnosis from a teacher who is perfect in [his observance of] the Law and the Way, and [who is accomplished in his knowledge of] the Truth; [3] for the Law is like a fence, the Way is like a house, the Truth is like the content of the house; if the house is not fenced its consequence will be that people will steal the content of the House. The meaning is, with respect

---

1782. Qur'ān 7:179.

to [the journey towards] God, that if [the journey] is not undertaken in conjunction with the Law, [we] will be confused by the devil. As God the Exalted says:

A lam a'had ilaykum yā banī Ādama  
an lā ta'budu'l-shayṭāna innahu lakum  
'aduwwu'l-mubīn.<sup>1783</sup>

that is:

Did I not charge you, O children of Ādam, that you serve not the devil? Surely he is your open enemy.

- (6) Thus it is necessary for us to fence ourselves so that we may not be confused by the devil. Whosoever fences himself with the fence of the Law, he cannot be confused by the devil. But he who strays outside the enclosure of the Law must assuredly be confused by the devil. Whosoever thinks that the Law is insignificant, or scorns it, he becomes an unbeliever - God preserve us from such! - for the Law is not distinct from the Way, the Way is not distinct from the Truth, and the Truth is not distinct from Gnosis. The analogy is that of a ship; the Law is its keel, the Way its planks, the Truth its mer-

---

1783. Ibid., 36:60.

chandise, Gnosis its gain. When the keel is cast away, the ship will surely sink, its merchandise will perish, and so will its capital investment, and this is a loss. But God knows best!

Bābu'l-awwal fī bayān a'māli'l-sharī'at.

Chapter one

On an exposition of the Works of the Law.

(7) Know that that which is called the Law is [composed of] the sayings of the Prophet (may God bless him and give him peace!) enjoining us to do good and forbidding us to do evil.<sup>1784</sup> As the Prophet (may God bless him and give him peace!) says:

"Al-sharī'atu aqwālī."

that is:

"The Law is my sayings."

The words of the Prophet (may God bless him and give him peace!) are in reality from God, [and the proof of this is] the same as the Qur'ānic proof that the Qur'ān is not [a compilation] of utterances coming from his own heart's desire. As God the Exalted says:

Wa mā yantiqu 'anī'l-hawā in  
huwa illā waḥyun [4] yūḥā.<sup>1785</sup>

that is:

Nor does he (the Prophet - may God bless him and give him peace!) speak out of desire

---

1784. Cf. Qur'ān 9:71.

1785. Ibid. 53:3-4.



It is naught but revelation that is revealed -

- (8) The Prophet (may God bless him and give him peace!) says that God the Glorious and Exalted is one and not two; that there is none like Him; that [He] has no equal, nor partner; that there is no genus, nor form that can be compared with Him; that [He] is without dimension, nor is [He] subject to dimensions and that [He] has neither a place to be in, nor is there a place in which [He] is - as God the Exalted says:

Laysa kamithlihi shay'un.<sup>1786</sup>

that is:

There is none like unto Him.

God the Exalted says further:

Subhāna[hu wa ta'ālā]<sup>1787</sup> ammā yaṣifūn.<sup>1788</sup>

that is:

Glory be to God, exalted is He above what they ascribe (to Him).

- (9) The Law in particular relates firstly to the confession of the faith, [secondly] to the prescribed prayers, [thirdly] to the tithe, [fourthly] to the

1786. Qur'ān 42:11.

1787. 2016 has Subhāna'Llāh.

1788. Ibid., 6:101; 23:92.

prescribed fasting, [fifthly] if one is amply provided, to the performance of the pilgrimage. All these five [pillars of faith] are the Law of the Prophet (may God bless him and give him peace!). The Law [in general] relates to three things: that which He approves; that which He enjoins; the acts of the Prophet (may God bless him and give him peace!). Another injunction [of the Law] is that we must have faith in the Prophet (may God bless him and give him peace!), in that he is the Messenger of God the Exalted. Whatever he said is true, whatever he did is right.

(10) Whosoever believes that the words of the Messenger of God (may God bless him and give him peace!) are false, or that his acts are not right, he is an unbeliever - God preserve us from such! - for God the Exalted created the Prophet (may God bless him and give him peace!) making him excel [His] other creatures. As he excels all creatures his acts must assuredly be right and his words true. Whosoever loves God must follow the manner of acting of the Prophet (may God bless him and give him peace!) in order that his love and gnosis may be perfect, for

he<sup>1789</sup> was perfect in his love and in his observance of the science of the Way. Whosoever does not follow his acts is deficient [in his faith] [5] and is gone astray [from the right path], for the Law, the Way and the Truth are the adornment of the Prophet. If we neglect any one of the three, then [we are] incomplete [in our faith]. If the Truth is pursued not in conjunction with the Law, then we shall perish. Whosoever performs the prescribed prayers and the prescribed fasting, and eats of what is lawful and refrains from what is unlawful, and who speaks the truth and is not consumed with greed, and who is not envious and does not drink intoxicants, and who does not slander people and shuns backbiting, and who does not commit adultery, and who is not immersed in vice, and who is not hypocritical and arrogant - and many more such as these- he clothes himself in [the garment of] the Law. As this is the manner of acting of Muḥammad the Messenger of God (may God bless him and give him peace!), we must follow [his example] in order that we may be accomplished in the Way, for the Way is none other than the Law.

---

1789. I.e. the Prophet.

(11) As God the Exalted says:

Qul in kuntun tuḥibbūna' Llāha  
fa'l-ttābi' ūnī yuḥbibkumu' Llāh.<sup>1790</sup>

that is:

Say (O Muḥammad): If you love Allāh  
 follow me: (in order that) Allāh will  
 love you.

God the Exalted says further:

Mā ātākumu'l-rasūlu fa khudhūhu  
wa mā nahākun 'anhu fa'l-ntahū.<sup>1791</sup>

that is:

[And] whatever the Messenger gives you,  
 accept it, and whatever he forbids you,  
 abstain therefrom.

Shamsu Tabrīz says:<sup>1792</sup>

"Sharī'at rā muqaddam dāram aknūn  
Ḥaqīqat az sharī'at nīst birūn ..."

that is:

"I put the Law before me now,  
 As the Truth and the Law are not distinct ..."

1790. Qur'ān, 3:29.

1791. Ibid., 59:7.

1792. For Shamsu Tabrīz, see Dīvāni Shamsi Tabrīz,  
 op. cit., Introduction. Also Browne, Literary  
history of Persia, vol. II, pp. 515-525. I am  
 unable to trace these couplets in the Dīvān.

"Kasī kū dar shari'at rāsikh āyad  
Ḥaqīqat rāh bar way khūd gushāyad."<sup>1793</sup>

that is:

"Whosoever is perfect in his observance  
of the Law,  
The Truth, revealing itself, will  
assuredly come to him."

The Law covers many things, [and, such being the  
case,] how can all of them be [adequately] mentioned?  
In this book only its salient points are [6] summa-  
rized. Whosoever loves God, he must also seek [to  
know] God through the intelligence. God alone knows  
best!

---

1793. Cp. Hujwiri:

"The Law without the Truth is ostentation,  
and the Truth without the Law is hypocrisy.  
Their mutual relation may be compared to  
that of the body and spirit: when the spirit  
departs from the body, the living body  
becomes a corpse, and the spirit vanishes  
like wind. The Muslim profession of faith  
includes both: the words, 'There is no  
god but Allāh' are the Truth, and the words,  
'Muhammad is the Apostle of Allāh,' are  
the Law; and anyone who denies the Truth  
is an infidel, and any one who rejects the  
Law is a heretic."

Quoted in the Mystics of Islam, London, 1963,  
by R.A. Nicholson, pp. 92-93. See Kashfu'l-  
Mahjūb, pp. 383-384.

Bābu'l-thānī fī bayān a'mali'l-tarīqat

Chapter Two

On an exposition of the Works of the Way.

(12) Know that the Way is none other than the Truth, for the Way is the starting point of the Truth [just as the Law is the starting point of the Way]. As the Messenger of God (may God bless him and give him peace!) says:

"Al-tarīqatu af'ālī"

that is:

"The Way is my acts."

The starting point in [the observance of] the Way is repentance such as sincere repentance of past sins, for God the Exalted says:

Yā ayyuha'l-ladhīna āmanu tūbū ilā'Allāhi  
tawbatan naṣūhan.<sup>1794</sup>

that is:

O you who believe, turn to Allāh with sincere repentance (that is after having repented [we] must not return [to commit the same sins again]).

God the Exalted says further:

---

1794. Qur'ān, 66:8.

Inna'LLāha yuḥibbu't-tawwābīna  
wa yuḥibbu'l-mutaṭahhirīn.<sup>1795</sup>

that is:

Surely Allāh loves those who turn  
 much to Him, and He loves those  
 who purify themselves.

(13) [The Way] also [entails] renunciation of the  
 world. By this is meant that we must not hoard worldly  
 wealth more than what is necessary to maintain us in  
 food and clothing, for the Messenger of God (may God  
 bless him and give him peace!) says:

"Tarku'l-dunyā ra'su kulli 'ibādatin  
ḥubbu'l-dunyā ra'su kulli khaṭi'atin."

that is:

"Renunciation of the world is the fount of  
 all devotion, love of the world is the fount  
 of all sin."

The Messenger of God (may God bless him and give him  
 peace!) says further:

"Kun fī'l-dunyā ka'annaka gharībun  
aw 'ābiru sabilin wa 'udda nafsaka  
min aṣḥābi'l-qubūr."

that is:

---

1795. Ibid., 2:222.

"Consider yourself in this world as though you were a stranger, or one who is passing a stage in his travels, and count yourself from amongst the occupants of the grave."

The Messenger of God (may God bless him and give him peace!) says further:

"Man tawakkala 'alā'Ilāhi kafā."<sup>1796</sup>

that is:

"Whosoever trusts in God has met all requirements."

By 'trust' is meant having no doubt in the [help of Him Who is] trusted, as God the Exalted says:

Fa tawakkalū in kuntum mu'minīn.<sup>1797</sup>

that is:

Trust [7] (in God) if ye be believers.

(14) [The Way] also [entails] a sincere quest for God, companionship of gnostics, obedience to God's commandments, abhorrence of all that is forbidden by God, [the performance of] the customary (sunnah)

---

1796. Ibid., 33:3; 48; 4:80.

1797. Ibid., 5:23.



prayers,<sup>1798</sup> the fixed (rawātib) prayers,<sup>1799</sup> the night prayers (taḥajjud),<sup>1800</sup> the forenoon (ḍuḥā) prayers<sup>1801</sup> and the supererogatory (nawāfil) prayers,<sup>1802</sup> [each] as our powers permit; the constant glorification and remembrance of God and the reading of the Qur'ān; fasting on the days of the white nights<sup>1803</sup> - that is on the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth day of each month - and on Mondays, Thursdays and the day of 'Āshūrā,<sup>1804</sup> and in the months of Rajab,<sup>1805</sup> Sha'bān<sup>1806</sup> and Dhū'l-Ḥijjah;<sup>1807</sup> the lessening of eat and drink [generally], and of converse with people and sleep, the withdrawal from people's company and contentment with oneself.

(15) All these acts are of the Way and are not distinct from the Truth. You must not think that the Way is insignificant, for the Way is the adornment of the Prophet (may God bless him and give him peace!).

---

1798, 1799, 1800, 1801, 1802, 1803. See Ghazzālī's work on worship in Calverley, E.E., Worship in Islam, (Cairo), London 1957, consult index respectively. Also the articles ṣalāt and ṣawn in the E.I.

1804. 10th Muḥarran, see E.I.

1805. 27th Rajab, the Mi'rāj, see E.I.

1806. E.I., article ṣawn.

1807. Loc. cit.

Whosoever goes astray from the Law and the Way, he is an unbeliever -- God preserve us from such! However, whosoever affirms that the Law and the Way are the right path, but fails to observe their performance, he is not an unbeliever, but rather due to his failure to observe their performance -- he is one who is disobedient.

- (16) Regarding begging for food, according to the Law, if one has enough [food] to sustain one during the morning and evening and, in spite of that, one goes begging, then that is unlawful, for the Prophet (may God bless him and give him peace!) says:

"Man sa'āla wa 'indahū nā yughnīhi fa innamā yastakthiru minā'l-nāri qālū yā rasūlu'llāhi wa nā yughnīhi qāla qadru nā yaghdīhi wa ya'shīhi."

that is:

"Whosoever begs whilst he has with him sufficient provision increases the fires of Hell." (The Companions) asked: 'How much is sufficient provision?' The Prophet answered: 'As much as what you can afford for morning and evening.'

- (17) According to the Way, if one [is weakened to the extent that one] is unable to stand during the prescribed prayers, then it is permissible to beg for

food - but even in this case one must not take more than what is sufficient [8] for only one meal. If one obtains more than what is sufficient for one meal, one must not keep the food, but must give it away to the poor. However, according to the Truth, we must not, under any circumstances, beg for food, for our sustenance (daily bread) is written on the Guarded Tablet and is already apportioned [each according to his lot]: those whose portion is abundance will have plenty, those whose portion is meagre will have little - [in each case] neither more nor less.

- (18) Furthermore another point is that God is cognisant of our hunger and thirst, this being the case why should we complain to others? Another point is that it were as though we consent only to being well fed and not to being hungry, [and this is ungratefulness on our part] - hence God the Exalted says:

Man lam yarda biqadā'ī wa lam yaṣhir 'alā  
balā'ī wa lam yashkur 'alā ni'matī fa'l-  
yakhruj min taḥti samā'ī fa'l-yaṭlub rabban  
siwā'ī.<sup>1808</sup>

that is:

---

1808. See above, note 1339.

Whosoever is not content with My decrees,  
and is not patient in My trials,  
and sends not praise for My bounties,  
then let him get out from under My skies  
and seek a Lord other than Me!

(19) For this reason the People of the Truth forbid begging. According to the People of the Truth, if one's trust in God is complete, and one's consent [to God's decrees] wholehearted, viewing one's fate as being [already written] on the Guarded Tablet, if one dies of hunger, then one would have died a martyr. The details of the Way of Muhammad the Messenger of God (may God bless him and give him peace!) are many, and it is impossible to write on all of them. But God knows best!

Bābu'l-thālith fī bayān a'māli'l-haqīqat.

Chapter Three

On an exposition of the Works of the Truth.

- (20) Know that the path of Truth is the final path [trodden by] Muḥammad the Messenger of God (may God bless him and give him peace!). As the Ḥadīth [says]:

"Al-sharī'atu aqwālī  
wa'l-tarīqatu af'ālī  
wa'l-haqīqatu aḥwālī."

that is:

"The Law is my sayings,  
the Way is my acts,  
the Truth is my states."

All these three are practised by the Prophet. [9] whosoever adorns himself with these three, then he is [a] perfect [man].

- (21) The first [step] in the works of the People of the Truth is to endeavour to achieve gnosis. If one fails to attain to gnosis then one cannot practise the Truth, for the Truth is the result of gnosis.

If one has gnosis, one can practise the Truth.

- (22) The People of the Truth are of two groups. The first group marry and have children, houses and cultivation; but their hearts are not preoccupied

with their cultivation, their wives and children, and their houses. When their hearts are not pre-occupied with all these, then to them these [worldly necessities] are not veils [obstructing the Truth from their view]. Even though they have wives and children, houses and cultivation, should their wives and children die, they would not be grieved by their loss; should their houses and cultivation go up in flames, they would not be unhappy; should God bestow upon them the kingdoms of Solomon and Alexander, they would not rejoice; for lowliness and loftiness are to them the same, wealth and poverty are to them the same, illness and health are to them the same - they no longer see their selves, only God the Glorious and Exalted alone is seen by them, for to the People of the Truth the being of the world is God's Being; everything is indeed from Him.

(23) The other group of the People of the Truth constantly worship God and are consumed with love of God and gnosis of God in His Essential Unity; and [they constantly] know their Self and annihilate their selves, and affirm the oneness of their Self [with God], and converse with their Self, and are annihilated in their Self, and subsist in their Self,

and they abhor the outward manifestation of their Self, and love the inward hiddenness of their Self, and scorn their selves, and praise their Self; if they eat, they eat with their Self; if they sit, they sit with their Self; if they sleep, they sleep [10] with their Self; if they wake, they wake with their Self; if they walk, they walk with their Self - they never forget their Self, for as the Messenger of God (may God bless him and give him peace!) says:

"Man 'arafa nafsahu faqad 'arafa rabbahu."

that is:

"Whosoever knows his Self knows his Lord."

(24) Another point is that when they cast their vision 'outside' their selves, whatever they see, it is their Self that they see; whatever they contemplate, it is their Self that they contemplate; for to the People of the Truth the world and their Self are one and the same, and not two or three. When the world in its entirety and their Self are one and the same, whatever they see, it is surely their Self that they see. As the Messenger of God (may God bless him and give him peace!) says:

"Ra'aytu rabbī bi 'ayni rabbī"<sup>1809</sup>

That is:

"I see my Lord with the Eye of (the Mercy of) my Lord."

The Lam'at says:

"Lā yarā'Llāha ghayra'Llāh."<sup>1810</sup>

that is:

"None sees God but God."

The Messenger of God (may God bless him and give him peace!) says:

"Ra'aytu rabbī bi rabbī."

that is:

"I see God through God."

(25) The Prophet (may God bless him and give him peace!) says such things because the world together with all its parts has no [real] existence. When the world has no [real] existence it possesses no power and nor act of its own. If they [i.e. the People of the Truth] are beaten or reviled at by people, they see only [that these are] God's Acts and not the acts of people. In regard to themselves, therefore, whatever they grasp, it is their Self that they grasp, for

1809. Cf. Lama'āt, Lam'at VI, p. 335.

1810. Lama'āt, Lam'at IV, p. 333.



as God the Exalted says:

Fa aynamā tuwallū fa thamma wajhu'LLāhi.<sup>1811</sup>

that is:

Wheresoever ye turn there is the face<sup>1812</sup>  
of God.

(26) For this reason the People of the Truth say that all creatures are none other than our Self; all human beings are our brothers. Belief and unbelief, the beloved and the foe, the venomous and the clean, [11] Heaven and Hell, wrath and mercy, good and evil, wealth and poverty, praise and scorn, being well-fed and hungry, insignificance and greatness, death and life, illness and health, right and wrong - all [these] are the same to them, for the meaning of: wheresoever ye turn there is the Face of God has become extremely clear to them. Whosoever comprehends the meaning of wheresoever ye turn there is the Face of God has achieved completeness [in his gnosis], and whatever he sees, the 'Face of God' will be That which he sees. But God knows best!

1811. Qur'ān, 2:115.

1812. Face is the literal translation of wajh.  
Ḥamzah uses the word ada to translate wajh.  
The important concept of ada has already been  
discussed in Chapter V.

Bāb'l-rābi' fī bayān ma'rifati'Llāhi Ta'ālā.

Chapter Four

On an exposition of the Gnosis of God Most Exalted.

(27) Know that the Prophet (may God bless him and give him peace!) says:

"Al-ma'rifatu sirrī."

that is:

"Gnosis is my secret."

The Messenger of God (may God bless him and give him peace!) says further:

"Lā taṣiḥḥu'l-ṣalātu illā bi'l-ma'rifah."

that is:

"Prayer is not valid except with knowledge."

Know that all the Prophets, Saints, Philosophers and Scholastic Theologians are all in concerted agreement saying that God is One, and not two; Eternal and not new;<sup>1813</sup> Creator and not creation; formless and colourless; Subsisting and not perishing; [He is] not separate from [a thing] nor joined to [a thing]; [He is] not severed from [a thing] nor intermingled [with a thing]; there is no similitude [that can be

---

1813. Muḥdath, i.e. something produced, hence 'new'.

applied to Him], there is no like nor rival nor partner [unto Him]; there is no location [applicable to Him], He is not subject to time and He is without [beginning or] end - Pure is He from such expressions!

(28) All the People of the Path, Scholastic Theologians and Doctors of Theology are in agreement [on these points], but the People of the Path exceed [what they affirm] by further asserting that He is boundless and limitless [i.e. Infinite]. By boundless and limitless is meant that neither 'above' nor 'below' can be applied to Him; neither 'right' [12] nor 'left' can be applied to Him; neither 'front nor 'behind' can be applied to Him - that is to say, He is a Being Who is without six directions. [His Infinity] is like an ocean of vast expanse, like one tiny fruit [i.e. round object]. For this reason the People of the Path say that God the Glorious and Exalted is Self Sufficient in His Eternal Plenitude (ṣamad)<sup>1814</sup> - All-Embracing. As God Most Exalted says:

---

1814. Ṣamad also means, as an epithet of God, Lord, Eternal, Everlasting. But the root word ṣamada conveys also the meaning: to close, plug, stopper. Hence Ḥamzah uses the Malay word pejal.

Innahu bi kulli shay'in muḥīṭ.<sup>1815</sup>

that is:

Verily He embraces all things.

- (29) The Doctors of Theology say that [by All-Embracing] is meant His Knowledge only that is All-Embracing. But the People of the Path say that both His Essence and His Knowledge is All-Embracing, as He is not separate from His Knowledge, for God the Glorious and Exalted is not like a human being, who can be separated from his knowledge.
- (30) Furthermore, God the Glorious and Exalted is, in virtue of His Essence and His Knowledge, near to us, but as to the nature of His nearness, it is too recondite for people to comprehend. There are four meanings applicable to nearness: the first is nearness with respect to time; the second is nearness with respect to place; the third is nearness with respect to attributes (or qualities); the fourth is nearness with respect to God Most Exalted. But [as mentioned before] nearness with respect to God is extremely difficult to comprehend. The nature of nearness with respect to time is, as people say:

---

1815. Qur'ān 41:54.

'The period of Muḥammad (may God bless him and give him peace!) is nearer to us than the period of Jesus (peace be upon him!)). The nature of nearness with respect to place is, as people say: 'The moon is nearer to us than the Pleiades.' The nature of nearness with respect to attributes (or qualities) is, as people say: 'Bā Yazīd (God be well pleased with him!) is nearer to the Messenger of God (may God bless him and give him peace!) than 'Utbah and Shaybah (curses be upon them!))'; even though Bā Yazīd [13] is further [from the Prophet with respect to time] than 'Utbah and Shaybah, for Bā Yazīd is nearer the Prophet in virtue of his qualities. But the nearness of God to the world together with all its parts is not similar [to these], even though it is true that God Most Exalted says:

Wa huwa ma'akum aynamā kuntum.<sup>1816</sup>

that is:

He is with you wherever you are.

God the Exalted says further:

Wa nahnu aqrabu ilayhi min ḥabli'l-warīd.<sup>1817</sup>

---

1816. Ibid., 57:4.

1817. Ibid., 50:16.

that is:

And We are nearer to him than his neck veins.

God the Exalted says further:

Wa fī anfusikum a fa lā tubṣirūn.<sup>1818</sup>

that is:

[And] in your selves - do you not see?

(31) For this reason the People of the Path say that nearness to God applies equally to Prophets, Saints and the Pious [as well as] to Polytheists, Unbelievers and the Disobedient. He is near to all creatures, but His nearness is conferred exclusively upon the People of Gnosis and upon His Adorer;<sup>1819</sup> that is, whosoever possesses gnosis and performs much devotional service he is 'near' to God; whosoever possesses no gnosis and commits sins, he is 'far' from God, [he is] not near - far, like the example given before.<sup>1820</sup> But expression is difficult here, only the People of Revelation comprehend what has been said.

(32) Question (should someone ask): "If the Essence of Allāh is all-pervasive and immanent in all things,

1818. Ibid., 51:21.

1819. I.e. Worshipper. See above p. 168 and note 439.

1820. Cf. above pp. 12-13 of the text.

can it be said that It is also immanent in impure and foul things?" Then answer: "In the same way as [the sun's] light is all-pervasive and sheds itself over the impure and the foul, the good and the evil, over the Kabah and the idol-worshipper's Temple - over everything; without itself being affected by the impurity and the foulness, the goodness and the evilness of the things it pervades; from the Ka'bah [14] it does not gain goodness, from the Temple it does not acquire evil; so it is even more with respect to God the Glorious and Exalted, Who is the Purest of the pure. How can the impure and the foul affect Him?" Comprehend this well.<sup>1821</sup>

(33) Question: "If you say that the Essence of God pervades all creatures, who experiences the tortures of Hell and who experiences the delights of Paradise?" Answer: "Just as in the case of gold and the Ashrafi coin; if the coin is burnt, the coin alone is burnt away, not the gold."<sup>1822</sup> Even though gold and coin

1821. Cf. Jāmī, Lawā'ih, p. 36, also above, p. 37.

1822. "Throw pure gold into the fire; If it contains no alloy, what is there to burn?" - Shabistari.

Cf. F. Lederer's Secret Rose Garden, op. cit. p. 42. Also see Lama'at, Lam'at X, p. 340.

are not separate from one another, no matter; if they are refashioned a hundred or a thousand times, yet when they are burnt the coin alone is burnt [and annihilated], the gold remains subsistent; how, then, can it be burnt and annihilated? - for the coin is like the creatures, gold is the Creator; only the creatures are burnt and annihilated." These words are extremely recondite. Whosoever does not grasp the meaning intended, we must [elucidate further and] expound [for him] the saying of 'Alī ibni Abī Ṭālib (may God honour his countenance!):

"Mā ra'aytu shay'an illā wa ra'aytu'Llāha fīhi."

that is:

"There is nothing that I see except that I see God within it."

And the Messenger of God (may God bless him and give him peace!) says:

"Man naẓara ilā shay'in wa lam yara'Llāha fīhi fahuwa bāṭilun."

that is:

"Whosoever sees a thing and does not see God within it is vain."

(34) For this reason the People of the Path say that the Essence of God embraces all creation. The Doctors



of Theology, the People of the Path, the Scholastic Theologians and the Philosophers are all in agreement in asserting that none may reach the Innermost Essence of God the Glorious and Exalted. However, it is possible to draw analogies concerning It according to our powers [of comprehension]. But God knows best!

Bābu'1-khāmis fī bayān tajalliyāti dhati

['1-]bārī Ta'ālā.

Chapter Five

On an exposition of the Manifestation of

the Pure Essence of God Most Exalted.

(35) Know that the Innermost Essence of the Truth, Glorious and Exalted is called by [15] the People of the Path 'indeterminacy.' It is called indeterminacy because our intelligence and skill in verbal exposition, knowledge and gnosis, are unable to reach It. Let alone our knowledge and gnosis, even the Prophets and the Saints are struck with awe of It. Hence the Prophet (God bless him and give him peace!) says:

"Subhānaka nā 'arafnāka ḥaqqa na'rifatika."

that is:

"Glory be to Thee! we cannot really know Thee."

And the Prophet (God bless him and give him peace!) says further:

"Tafakkarū fī khalqī'Llāhi wa  
lā tafakkarū fī dhāti'Llāh."

that is:

"Contemplate upon God's creation,  
and not upon God's Essence."

This is why the People of the Path call this [Essence] indeterminate, meaning: non-manifest.

(36) The first [stage of] determinacy is fourfold: Knowledge, Being, Sight and Light. All these four are called the 'first determination', for by virtue of Knowledge, the Knower and the Known become manifest; by virtue of Being, That which causes to be and That which becomes are manifest; by virtue of Sight, the Seer and the Seen are manifest; by virtue of Light, the Illuminator and the Illuminated are manifest. All these - the Knower and the Known, the First and the Last, the Outwardly Manifest and Inwardly Hidden - acquire their Names in [the stage of] the first determination.

(37) The Known is called by the People of the Path the Fixed Essences. Some call it the Cognitive Forms, some the Reality of Things, and others call It the Relational Spirit. All these are the 'second determination.'

The human spirit, the animal spirit and the vegetal spirit are the 'third determination.'

(38) The 'fourth' and 'fifth' determinations are

determinations ad infinitum, encompassing the realm of physical things in its entirety, comprising the whole Universe and all created things [therein].

(39) Determinations never cease to occur and are without limit; but Knowledge, Being, Sight and Light [16] are never separate from them all, for without these four, the Possessor of these determinations would find Self-Determination impossible. This is why the People of the Path say that the being of the entire Universe is the Being of God. The world's being, though perceived as existing nevertheless does not possess existence, for it derives its existence from the Determinate Being. Our lack of awareness makes us believe that the world has being.

(40) The first determination may be called [both] Transcendent One (aḥad) or Immanent One (wāḥid). When we regard the Essence by Itself it is called Transcendent One, but when we regard the Essence together with all Its Attributes and Names then It is called Immanent One for the Transcendent One is the Immanent One [insofar as It] sustains the Universe from its beginning to its end.

(41) The first determination is likened by the People of the Path to an ocean. When the ocean heaves it is

called 'waves' - that is, when the Knower gazes upon Himself, the Known comes forth from Him. When the ocean blows forth it is called vapours - that is, individual spirits together with the Relational Spirit form in all the Fixed Essences. When the vapours gather in the sky they are called clouds - that is, the Potentialities of Things gathered in the Fixed Essences ready to burst forth. When the clouds burst into drops from the sky it is called rain - that is the Relational Spirit together with the Fixed Essences come forth at the command of the Creative Word "Be!" (and it becomes) taking a variety of forms. When the rain falls on the earth it is called water flowing in rivers - that is, when the Relational Spirit, the Original Potentialities and the Fixed Essences "flow" under [the command of] the Creative Word "Be!" (and it becomes) they are called "rivers" When the rivers flow back to the ocean, they become ocean [once again], but that Ocean is Most Pure. Although the Waves ebb [17] and flow the Ocean does not shrink or grow vaster,<sup>1823</sup> for It is the Purest of the pure.

---

1823. Cp. Lawā'ih, p. 43.

(42) As God the Exalted says:

Kullu shay'in hālikun illā wajhahu.<sup>1824</sup>

that is:

Everything perishes except His Face.

That is to say, His Being (Existence), That forever 'is', that which is other than It forever 'is' not, for to the People of the Path it is only that which 'is' that becomes existing; that which is 'is' not cannot become existing. By this is meant that God the Glorious and Exalted is Necessary Being, Self-Subsistent, and does not depend for His Existence upon any other. Possible Being is dependent [for its existence] upon It [i.e. Necessary Being]. Since Possible Being is dependent [for its existence] upon It, it does not exist in reality. The Doctors of Theology say that the World is brought forth into existence by Him from non-existence; after He has brought it forth into existence He then causes its non-existence.<sup>1825</sup> The People of the Path say that if this were so then God the Exalted is capricious, or limited [in power]. To us, that which is non-

---

1824. Qur'ān, 28:88.

1825. Cf. Tahāfut al-Tahāfut, pp. 77-78 foll., and 153.

existent can never become existent; [conversely]  
 that which exists will never cease to exist.<sup>1826</sup>  
 It is only that existence which is formal [i.e. material] that is annihilated, the ideal [i.e. non-material] is not annihilated. Just as one who is dead; his outward manifestation perishes, but his inward hiddenness does not perish, for as God Most Exalted says:

Wa lā taqūlu līnan yuqṭalū fi sabīli'Llāhi  
amwātun bal aḥyā'un wa lākin lā tash'urūn.<sup>1827</sup>

that is:

And speak not of those who are slain  
 in Allāh's way as dead. Nay, they are  
 alive, but you perceive not.

(43) Similarly, it is the same with regard to everything; their origin is from God, their return is to God - and not [that their origin is] from non-existence returning to non-existence! As God the Exalted says:

Innamā anruhu idhā arada shay'an an  
yaqūla lahu kun fa yakūn.<sup>1828</sup>

---

1826. Cf. Asrār, p. 16. It is clear that the 'non-existence' meant by the Doctors of Theology here is identical with 'nothing'.

1827. Qur'an, 2:154.

1828. Ibid., 36:82.

that is:

Verily His command, when He intends anything, is to say to it "Be thou!" - and it becomes.

According to the People of the Path the meaning conveyed in [the word] lahu (i.e. to it) presupposes existence of the thing referred to, hence God Most Exalted says lahu to it. If [18] the thing is non-existent God will not say lahu to it. Another point is that the People of the Path say that God Most Exalted is Eternal and Knowing; and since He is Knowing, it follows that the Known in His Knowledge must be existent. That which He creates 'before' or 'after',<sup>1829</sup> which we see, all come from the Known. This being the case, the [logical] judgment is that He causes a thing's existence from existence, and not that He causes its existence from non-existence, for what we call 'existence' is the being of His Predispositions. As God the Exalted says:

Kullu yawnin huwa fī shānin.<sup>1830</sup>

that is:

Every moment He is in some state.

1829. See above, note 1691.

1830. Ibid., 55:29.



(44) O Seeker!, the Existential Mode of God the Glorious and Exalted is like that of an Infinite Ocean; the Universe together with all its parts within this Ocean is like a tiny bubble. And what is a mere man within that bubble? - nothing!, that is, it is none other than as God Most Exalted says:

Kullu man 'alayhā fānin  
wa yabqā wajhu rabbika  
dhū'l-jalāli wa'l-ikrāmi.<sup>1831</sup>

that is:

Every one on it passes away -  
 And there endures forever the Face<sup>1832</sup>  
 of thy Lord, the Lord of Glory and Honour.

(45) O Seeker!, this world is like a wave, God's Existential Mode is the Ocean, though waves and Ocean are distinct, yet in reality the waves are not distinct from the ocean. It is as God Most Exalted says:

Khalāqa Ādama 'alā ṣūratihī.<sup>1833</sup>

that is:

He created Ādam in His Image.

According to the Doctors of Theology the meaning

1831. Ibid., 55:26-27.

1832. Ḥanzah translates wajh as Dhāt (Essence).

1833. In the Holy Tradition.

underlying the words 'his image' is that God created Ādam in Ādam's image. However, according to the People of the Path [the meaning underlying those words is that] God created Ādam in the Image of the Creator. But this Tradition is most recondite and the pundits are unable to give a [satisfactory] interpretation of it. The Messenger of God (may God bless him and give him peace!) says:

"Inna' Llāhu [19] Ta'ālā khalāqa Ādama  
'alā ṣūratī'l-raḥmāni."

that is:

"God created Ādam in the Image of  
the Merciful" - 1834

for the Merciful is like the ocean and Ādam a bubble [in Its waves]. The Messenger of God (may God bless him and give him peace!) says:

"Man 'arafa nafsahu fa qad 'arafa rabbahu."

that is:

"Whosoever knows his Self knows his Lord."

This Tradition is also an allusion to the analogy of the ocean and the bubble. Whosoever comprehends the

---

1834. Cf. Mishkāṭ al-Anwār (in Gairdner's translation), pp. 85, 115, 134-36; Kinīyā-i-Sa'ādāt, pp. 31-38.

meaning of this expression comprehends the Manifestations of the Essence of the Truth, Glorious and Exalted. Discourses on the Manifestations [of God] are many and impossible to set on paper. All that which has been said in this book is merely a summary. Whosoever loves God must seek [Him] also through devotional service. But God alone knows best!

Bābu'l-sādis fī bayān šifāti['Ilāhi]

Subhānahu wa Ta'alā.

Chapter Six

On an exposition of the Attributes of  
God the Glorious and Exalted.

(46) Know that the Attributes of God that are eternally together with Him are seven: the first is Life, the second Knowledge, the third Will, the fourth Power, the fifth Speech, the sixth Hearing, the seventh Sight. God is eternally together with all these seven Attributes.<sup>1835</sup> If these seven Attributes are not [eternally] together, then He is deficient, for to the People of the Path the Attributes are the Very Essence. For example, Life: it is the Essence that, [by virtue of Life] is called Living; Knowledge: it is the Essence that, by virtue of Knowledge, is called Knowing; Will: it is the Essence that, by virtue of Will, is called Willing. Similarly with all the Attributes ad infinitum. The Doctors of Theology say that the Attributes are neither the Very Essence nor other than the Essence,

---

1835. Cf. Asrār, pp. 19, 23-24.

as the Inān al-Ghazzālī (God be well pleased with him!) says:

"Sifatu'Llāhi laysat 'ayna'l-dhāti  
wa lā ghayra siwāhu dhā'l-infiṣāli."<sup>1836</sup>

that is:

"The Attributes of God are neither the Very  
Essence

Nor [20] other than He endowed with separation."

(47) The Attributes of the Truth Most Glorious and  
Exalted are Perfect. Under this [Divine Perfection]  
come Divine Majesty and Divine Beauty, for the  
manifestation of the entire Universe comes under  
Divine Majesty and Divine Beauty. All that which  
is good comes from the Attributes of Beauty, all

1837. In a n.s. in the British Museum, Arabic Catalogue  
No. DCCCLXXXI (unnumbered and not entered in the  
list), Harley Or. 5490, the verse appears in  
full (pp. 354v.-355r.) as part of a complete  
work, with commentaries in Persian. There  
the verse reads:

Şifātu'Llāhi laysat 'ayna dhātin  
Wa la ghayran siwahu dha infiṣāl  
Şifatu'l-dhāti wa'l-af'ali turran  
Qadinatun nasunatu'l-zawal.

The Attributes of God are neither Very  
Essence

Nor an other than He endowed with separation.  
The Attributes of the Essence and of the Acts-  
all of them -  
Are eternal, preserved from evanescence.

that which is evil comes from the Attributes of Majesty; unbelief is from Majesty, belief is from Beauty; Heaven is from Beauty, Hell is from Majesty; wrath is from Majesty, mercy is from Beauty.<sup>1838</sup>

(48) The Essence is All-Pervasive; It pervades Majesty [the evil] as well as Beauty [the good], for Majesty and Beauty are Its Attributes. There are occasions when Beauty is transformed into Majesty, and [conversely] Majesty transformed into Beauty. The Devil was first from Beauty but he was later transformed into Majesty.<sup>1839</sup> It is these Attributes that change. The Essence Glorious and Exalted is exempt from change; as water becomes waves, it is the waves that change, water remains unchanged, forever clear and pure, formless and colourless. All forms and colours come from His Majesty and His Beauty.

(49) The People of the Path question the Doctors of Theology: "God creates the believer and He also creates the unbeliever; why does He not create them all to be the same? To the believer He bestows faith

---

1838. Cf. Asrār, pp. 38-40, 44-45.

1839. See Mathnawī, Book II, pp. 356-357. Also Nicholson's The idea of personality in Sūfism, op. cit. pp. 31-33.

and knowledge of Himself, to the unbeliever He gives infidelity and polytheism; after having given then faith and infidelity He then grants Heaven to the believer and Hell to the unbeliever - to both everlasting [reward and punishment]. Since He is called Just, [how is it admissible that He does this?"].

The Doctors of Theology say: "[He does so] because He does whatever He desires." The People of the Path say: "If He does whatever He desires, then He is unjust, for He could have willed that the unbelievers become believers, and yet He causes them to be unbelievers and having caused them to be unbelievers [21] He then casts them into everlasting Hell without any mercy - how then can He be called Just?".

(50) The Doctors of Theology say: "The analogy is like one who owns many goats; some are slaughtered by him, then skinned, then boiled, then roasted and pierced with skewers. It is he who owns them, and they are not the possession of other people. If they are other people's possession, and they are slaughtered by him, then he is unjust; but if he slaughters his own possession he is not unjust." The People of the Path say: "Now listen to our explanation. The Essence of God is Eternal; the Potentialities of all

the creatures in His Knowledge are also eternal. Whatever God the Glorious and Exalted creates He creates in conformity with the [nature of] the Potentialities. Since the Potentialities of all believers come from [His Attributes of] Divine Beauty, the Potentialities of all unbelievers come from [the Attributes of] Divine Majesty - for Beauty represents the Gracious One, and Majesty represents the Irresistible One - hence God the Glorious and Exalted brings forth by His Acts from the Gracious One, the strengthened [in faith]; from the Irresistible One, the submissive [to deviation from what is right]. Since His Names are One Who gives Strength and One Who Subdues, He causes them to enter [Heaven and] Hell according to the Law of their Potentialities, for Heaven is from the Gracious One, Hell from the Irresistible One; God returns each to his own place of origin.<sup>1840</sup>

- (51) As regards man and angels and the jinn whom God commands to perform acts of devotion, although they perform acts of devotion, yet the grace is from Him; the power of volitive movement is from Him;

---

1840. Cf. Lawā'ih, pp. 44-45.



the strength is from Him and love is from Him. Since He sees that their Potentialities are from belief, and from the Names Gracious One and One Who gives Strength, He commands them to perform acts of devotion. After they have performed acts of devotion He then causes them to enter Heaven. As for those who are unbelievers, He grants them the power to commit sins, to oppose belief; and He puts hatred in their hearts so that they may not have faith. Since He sees that their Potentialities are from the Names [22] Irresistible One and One Who Subdues He commands them to commit acts of sin, and He then causes them to enter Hell. This is what is meant by Just, and this is not injustice, for He does not change their respective destiny.

(52) The Messenger of God (may God bless him and give him peace!) says rightly:

"La tataharraka dharratun illā hi  
idhni'Llāh."

that is:

"Not one single atom moves except  
by God's permission."

And the Messenger of God (may God bless him and give him peace!) says:

"Khayrihi wa sharrihi mina' Llāhi Ta'ālā."

that is:

"Its good and its evil are from God."

Though everything is from Him, yet [it comes to pass] in accordance with the nature of the Potentialities of the Known within His Knowledge, for the Potentialities of the Known are the many and variegated Predispositions of His Essence. But His Essence is not many - It is pure from all Predisposition and conception." The Doctors of Theology say: "If this is so then Will and Power are useless, as things come to be by virtue of the Law of their Potentialities, and not by virtue of Will and Power." The People of the Path say: "Will and Power are ever-present - their existence is eternal - but His Will and Power work in accordance with the Potentialities of the Known, for the Potentialities of the Known are His Predispositions. If He changes then then His Greatness perishes, for His Greatness is His Perfection - and this cannot be altered. If He changes [His Greatness] then His Perfection perishes.

(53) The analogy is likened to a person with a beautiful face. He makes alterations upon his beauty by virtue of his will and power; that is, he perfects

his eyebrows, or straightens his nose, or levels his lips - all this he does in accordance with wisdom. If [this is done] without wisdom his perfection is destroyed. Another analogy is like the king who is complete in power. He can effect changes in his power; he can transform the elephant into a horse, or the horse into an elephant; or he can transform the goat into a dog, or the dog into a goat. [23] But he refuses to effect changes in his power [in the manner described], since if he effects such changes his perfection is destroyed. It were as though what already is is not yet perfect - and only just now that he wills to bring forth his perfection and power. Comprehend this well!"

(54) It is incumbent upon us to have faith in [the existence of] His Predispositions, Attributes, Acts, and allusions referring to Him such as Heaven and Hell, the torment in the grave the tortures of Hell and Reckoning on the Day of Resurrection. Although all these possess no real existence, it is incumbent upon us to have faith in their reality. Whosoever deviates from belief in these, his place is with Majesty and the Irresistible One, and he will reap the punishments, and he becomes an unbeliever - God

preserve us from such! But whosoever has faith in these, he is a believer and his place is with Beauty and the Gracious One and the One Who gives Strength. But God knows best!

Bāb'l-sābi' fī bayāni'l-'Ishq wa'l-Shukr.

Chapter Seven

On an exposition of Love and Gratitude

(55) Know that Love ranks highest among all the noble ranks,<sup>1841</sup> for Love cannot be achieved by personal endeavour except through the grace of God the Exalted.<sup>1842</sup> The sign appertaining to those who love is the fearlessness of death. If one fears death then one is not in love, for death is the desire of those who love. As the Messenger of God (may God bless him and give him peace!) says:

"Man māta mina'l-'ishqi faqad māta shahīdan."

that is:

"Whosoever dies of excessive love has died  
a martyr's death."

The Messenger of God (may God bless him and give him peace!) says:

1841. Cp. Abū Sa'īd ibn Abī'l-Khayr:

"In search of martyrdom the Ghāzīs go  
To fight Faith's battles: do they then  
not know

That martyred lovers higher rank, as slain  
by hand of Friend, and not by hand of Foe?"

(Literary history of Persia, vol. II, p. 264, (5).

1842. Cf. Hujwiri, Kashf al-Manjūb, pp. 304-313.

"Man 'ashiqa wa 'ūshiqa fa māta mina'l-Ishqi fa qad māta shahīdan."

that is:

"Whosoever loves passionately and truly and dies of that love, verily he has died a martyr's death."

And the People of the Path say:

"Al-'ishqu 'aduwwu'l-'aqli".

that is:

"Love is the foe of Reason" <sup>1843</sup>

because reason desires life, love desires death;  
[24] reason desires the hoarding of wealth, love desires the casting away of wealth; reason desires to become king and minister, love desires to become poor; reason desires physical well-being, love desires infirmity; reason desires worldly loftiness, love desires lowliness; reason desires being well fed, love desires hunger; reason desires a high position, love desires a low position - this is the reason why the People of the Path say: 'Love is the foe of Reason.' As in the case of a person who wishes to do battle with a hundred men, reason cautions him: Do

---

1843. Reason here means discursive knowledge; it does not refer to the intellect.

not fight them, you are one and they are many, how can you fight them?; but Love will urge him: You must not fear anyone! As God the Exalted says:

Idhā jā'a ajaluhum lā yasta'khirūna  
sā'atan wa lā yastaqdimūn.<sup>1844</sup>

that is:

And when their term comes, they cannot remain behind the least while, nor can they precede (it).

(56) The reason why they [i.e. the lovers of God] desire death is because the Messenger of God (may God bless him and give him peace) says:

"Al-mawtu jisru'l-ḥabībi ilā ḥabībīn."

that is:

"Death is the bridge that unites the lover with the Beloved."

And the Messenger of God (may God bless him and give him peace!) says further:

"Mūtū qabla an tamūtū."

that is:

"Die before you die."

Furthermore God the Exalted says:

---

1844. Qur'ān, 7:34.

Qul in kānat lakumu'l-dāru'l-ākhiratu  
'inda' Llāhi khāliṣatan min dūni'l-nāsi  
fa tamannū'l-mawta in kuntum ṣādiqīn.<sup>1845</sup>

that is:

Say (O Muḥammad): If the abode of the Hereafter with Allāh is specially for you to the exclusion of the people, then request death if you are truthful.

- (57) The meaning of [seeking] death is not committing suicide with weapon or poison; [25] the meaning of death here is to surrender one's self absolutely to God through tajrīd and tafrīd. Tajrīd and tafrīd mean 'disentanglement' and 'isolation' respectively - that is, disentanglement from home, wealth and companionship with kings and ministers; and isolation from the company of men. Tajrīd is disentanglement from self and tafrīd is isolation with God - that is, the negation of self and the affirmation of God. This is indeed the reality [underlying the meaning] of [the words]: 'There is no god but God, One, without partner,'<sup>1846</sup> for by 'partner' to God the Glorious and Exalted is precisely meant one's self. When one

---

1845. Ibid., 2:94.

1846. Qur'an 6:163.



is disentangled from self, one is isolated, and after being isolated one attains to love and intoxication. The lover who has attained isolation from self is not afraid of tigers (one who is under the sway of reason is afraid of tigers), elephants, snakes and the fire (only one who is swayed by reason is afraid of all these). This is why the People of the Path say: 'Reason is the foe of Love.'

(58) One who is enamoured of God does not fear Hell, nor hopes for Paradise. God alone is his sole desire.<sup>1847</sup> If one possesses such qualities one is then truly enamoured of God. But if one does not possess such qualities, one is still merely enamoured of rice and not God! One who is enamoured of God is not conscious of his self, how can such a one be conscious of wealth and food?

(59) As for those who could not contain the secret of their love and are wont to burst forth - like the Mawlānā of Rūm who exclaimed:

---

1847. Cp. Rabi'ah al-'Adawiyyah and 'Abdu'l-Lāh Anṣārī, in Nicholson, R.A., Mystics of Islām, London, 1963, Chapter IV.

As Ḥafiz would say:

For him pure Love is only known  
Who leaves both worlds for God alone.

"Man khudā am! Man khudā am!  
Man khudā am!"

that is:

"I am God! I am God! I am God!" -  
 such exclamations or utterances are provoked by  
 intoxication and not by their hearts' desire. Simi-  
 larly, it is the same in the case of Shaykh [26]  
 Maṣṣūr al-Ḥallāj who uttered: "I am the Truth!"  
 We must not imitate their utterances for we are not  
 in the state of being overwhelmed (by love) [maghlūhu'l-  
 ḥāl]. But if we are truly enamoured and intoxicated -  
 not being able any more to contain our secrets -  
 whatever we say of such utterances will not be sinful.  
 Comprehend this well!

(60) This book of seven chapters is composed by  
 Darwīsh Ḥamzah [Faṣṣūrī]<sup>1848</sup> as an Adornment for  
 Lovers in order that servants of God may not find  
 difficulty in seeking knowledge, for in this book  
 is elucidated<sup>1849</sup> excellent knowledge and works.

(61) There is nothing amiss [in the book]. But  
 whosoever transcribes [or makes copies of] this book,

---

1848. Darwīsh, Persian for an ascetic Ṣūfī - one who  
 goes begging from door to door.

1849. Literally: mentioned.

let him verify them twice or thrice, so that the letters and the sentences may not exceed or fall short [of my intentions]. Should they exceed or fall short, then the meanings perish.

God knows best!

Finis

The date of completion of copying this book falls on the forenoon of Tuesday the 9th of Rajab in the Year of the Flight of the Prophet (may God bless him and give him peace!) One Thousand One Hundred and Sixteen. God knows best!<sup>1850</sup>

---

1850. This is the note of the copyist, who completed copying the Sharāb on the forenoon (ḍuḥā) of 6th November 1704, this being the equivalent Christian date of the Muslim one given above. For the conversion of Muslim and Christian dates consult G.S.P. Freeman-Grenville's useful book The Muslim and Christian calendars, Oxford University Press, London, 1963.



"I see no thing except that I see God within  
it."

The Prophet (may God bless him and give him peace!)  
says:

"Man 'arafa nafsahu fa qad 'arafa rabbahu."

that is:

"He who knows his self knows his Lord."

- (2) The meaning of knowing his Lord and knowing his self is this: the Self of the Hidden Treasure is [none other than] his self, and every thing is in God's Knowledge. Like the seed and the tree; the tree in that one seed, although not seen, yet exists within the seed. Shaykh Jun[ay]d (may God be well pleased with him!) says:

"Kāna'Llāhu wa lam yakun ma'ahu shay'un  
[Huwa']l-āna kamā kāna."

that is:

"God was, and there was not with Him any  
thing, [He] is now as He was then."

This is the reason why 'Alī (may God be well pleased  
with him!) says:

"Mā ra'aytu shay'an illā wa ra'aytu'Llāha  
fīhi."

- (3) But do not see [in this expression something]  
analogous to wet cloth and water for the cloth is

distinct from the water [saturating it]. God Most Glorious and Exalted is pure from such similitude! But if [the relationship is] likened to that of the sea and its waves, it is permissible - as the verse says:

"Fa'l-baḥru baḥrun 'alā mā kāna fī qidami  
inna'l-ḥawāditha amwājun wa anḥāru  
lā yaḥjibannaka as[h]kālun tushākiluhā  
'an man tashakkala fīhā fahiya astāru."

that is:

"The sea is the sea, as it was before,  
 The 'new'<sup>1851</sup> are waves and rivers;  
 Let not forms that resemble them veil thee, [112]  
 For the shapes they form are but veils."

But [the waves] exist together with the eternal sea.

As the hemistich [says]:

[Daryā kuhan chū bar zand mawjī nū  
Mawjish khwānand u dar ḥaqīqat daryāst]<sup>1852</sup>

[that is:]

The sea is eternal; when it heaves  
 It is called 'waves' - but in reality  
 they are the sea. -

for sea and waves are one. As God Most Exalted says:

1851. I.e. events; produced; creation.

1852. See text note 1460.

Wa'LLāhu bikulli shay'in muḥīṭ.<sup>1853</sup>

that is:

God embraces every thing.

The Messenger of God (may God bless him and give him peace!) says:

"Anā mina'LLāhi wa'l-'ālamu minnī."

that is:

I am from God; the world is from me."

Like the sun and its light and its heat; their names are three, their reality is one. It is as the symbolic allusion of the Messenger of God (may God bless him and give him peace!):

"Man 'arafa nafsahu fa qad 'arafa rabbahu."

that is:

"Whosoever knows his self knows his Lord."

(4) His self, although it has acquired name and form, in its reality has no form and name. It is just as the reflection in the mirror; it has form and name, [but it has no reality]. As the Prophet (may God bless him and give him peace!) says:

"Al-mu'minu mir'ātu'l-mu'min."

that is:

---

1853. Qur'ān 41:54.

"The Faithful is a mirror unto the faithful."

The meaning [of Faithful here] refers to God's Name Mu'min.<sup>1854</sup> Hence His slave from among the elect is also called Mu'min. Such being the case, he is together with his Lord, for the slave is not separate from his Lord and the Lord is not separate from His slave.

(5) As God Most Exalted says:

Wa huwa ma'akum aynamā kuntum.<sup>1855</sup>

that is:

He is with you wherever you may be.

And [113] further God Most Exalted says:

Thalāthatin illā huwa rābi'uhum wa lā  
khamsatin illā huwa sādīsuhum wa lā  
adnā min dhālika wa lā akthara illā  
huwa ma'ahum.<sup>1856</sup>

that is:

[There is no secret counsel between] three but He is the fourth of them, nor between five but He is the sixth of them, nor between less than that nor more but He is with them wheresoever they are.

As God says:

---

1854. Cf. Qur'ān 59:23.

1855. Qur'an 57:4.

1856. Qur'an 58:7.



Wa nahnu aqrabu ilayhi min ḥabli'l-warīd.<sup>1857</sup>

that is:

We are nearer to him than his neck veins.

- (6) Harken, O Seeker! - He is with you<sup>1858</sup> [means that He is] neither outside nor inside nor above nor below nor to the left nor to the right - [He is free] from six directions. As God Most Exalted says:

Wa huwa'l-awwahu wa'l-ākhiru wa'l-ẓāhiru  
wa'l-bāṭinu.<sup>1859</sup>

that is:

He is the First and the Last and the  
Outwardly Manifest and the Inwardly Hidden.

Further, it is like the analogy of a tree - an orange tree or any other tree. Its leaves are different,<sup>1860</sup> its branches are different, its flowers are different its fruits are different, its roots are different. In reality all these are none other than the orange. Though its names and forms and colours are variegated, [its] reality is one. Such being the case, it is most desired that all gnostics know God Most Exalted

1857. Qur'ān 50:15.

1858. I.e. Wa huwa ma'akum ... (Qur'ān 57:4).

1859. Qur'ān 57:3.

1860. I.e. leaves, branches, flowers, fruits, roots are each of them different in their outward appearances from the other.



that is:

Wheresoever you may turn there is the  
Essence of God.

The analogy is like milk and butter; their names are two, but their reality is one. In the final analysis the milk disappears [when it is] churned - the butter alone remains.

- (8) There is no such thing as transformation,<sup>1863</sup> as the Messenger of God (God bless him and give him peace!) says:

"Man 'arafa nafsahu bi'l-fanā'i fa qad  
'arafa rabbahu bi'l-baqā'i."

that is:

"Whosoever knows his self through  
extinction he then knows his Lord through  
subsistence in Him (and he is one with  
his Lord)."

It is just as knowing [the relation between] the spirit and the body; [the spirit] neither pervades the body nor is within the body nor outside the body.

1863. Sekali sekali tiada bertukar. This conveys the meaning that the creature does not undergo a transformation to Creator - there is no transformation of nature. Man as such is Man and God is God; only when Man realizes his true self through gnosis, he then knows that he is one with God.

Such is the case with God; [he is] neither upon the Universe nor within the Universe nor outside the Universe. The analogy is like unto the gem of a ring and its brilliance; its brilliance is neither within the gem nor outside the gem.

(9) Hence 'Alī (may God be well pleased with him!) says:

"Mā ra'aytu shay'an illā wa ra'aytu'Llāha fīhi."

that is:

"I see nothing but that [115] I see God within it."

Manṣūr Ḥallāj too, from excessive love, utters:

"Anā'l-Ḥaqq!"

that is:

"I am the Truth!"

Bā Yazīd too utters in the same vein:

"Subḥānī mā a'ẓama shā'nī!"

that is:

"Glory be to me - how great is my glory!"

Shaykh Junayd Baghdādī also utters:

"Laysa fī jubbatī siwā'Llāh!"

that is:

"There is none in my cloak other than God!"

Sayyid Nasīnī<sup>1864</sup> also utters:

"Innī anā' Llāh!"

that is:

"Verily I am God!"

Mas'ūdī also utters in Persian:

"Anchih hamān dhāt būd  
bāz hamān dhāt shūd."

that is:

"God's Essence Eternal is my essence now."<sup>1865</sup>

And the Mawlānā of Rūm says:

"When the world was not, I was;  
When Ādam was not, I was;  
When nothing was yet existent, I was,  
loving my own eternity."<sup>1866</sup>

1864. See text note 1480.

1865. The literal translation of Mas'ūdī's words is this:  
"That which was the Very Essence, has now again  
become the Very Essence."

1866. The text omits the Persian verse, and I have  
not been able to obtain it from the Javanese  
text as the text is obscure. I have not been  
able to trace the original Persian, but most  
probably the verse in question is the same one  
rendered by Halland Davis:

"I was on that day when the Names were not,  
Nor any sign of existence endowed with name,  
By me Names and Named were brought to view  
On the day when there was not "I" and "We!"  
(The Persian mystics, Jalālu'd-Dīn Rūmī, London,  
1907, p. 52).

And the Sultān of the Lovers, Shaykh 'Alī Abu'l-Wafā,<sup>1867</sup> says:

"Kullu'l-wujūdi wujūduhu lā tushrikanna  
bihi'l-milāh  
Fa idhā nazarta lahu bihi fa'sjud hunāka  
fa lā junāh

that is:

"Every being is His Being; do not make a partner between Him and the beautiful. If you see Him through Him, then prostrate yourself there and no sin will be upon you."<sup>1868</sup>

The Gulshan says:

"O Musulman! if you only knew what idols are, You would assuredly know that the true path is to worship idols. If the Polytheist only knew his idols truly,

1867. A disciple of 'Umar ibnu'l-Fāriḍ, the renowned Arab mystic poet. See Brockelmann, C., Geschichte der Arabischen Litteratur, Leiden, 1898-1942, GAL II, 120, and S II, p. 149(11).

1868. I.e. 'If you see Him in the beautiful through His Sight then you may prostrate yourself before the beautiful one and no sin will be upon you for doing so.'

How would he [116] become erroneous in his religion?<sup>1869</sup>

- (10) For this reason Shaykh 'Aynu'l-Qudāt,<sup>1870</sup> worshipping a dog, says: "Hādhā rabbī" - that is: "This is my Lord!" - for he does not see the dog, it is only his Lord that he sees. It is just as a person looking into a mirror; only the face reflected therein is seen by him, the mirror vanishes from his sight, for the World [, like the mirror] to his sight is like unto a reflection, it possesses form, but has no reality. The attribute related of the Truth Most Exalted is not the attribute related of ourselves because we see [Him] with a veiled seeing. As the Messenger of God (may God bless him and give him peace!) says: "Man 'arafa nafsahu fa qad 'arafa rabbahu," - and this is to be understood as a symbolic allusion. In reality He is the One Who is Known, and He is the One Who knows.

1869. See Shabistari, p. 84:

If the Musulman but knew what is faith,  
He would see that faith is idol-worship.  
If the polytheist only knew what idols are,  
How would he be wrong in his religion?

The Persian text is on p. 51, lines 5-6.

1870. GAL. S I, pp. 674-675(18): 'Aynu'l-Qudāt al-Hamadani.

(11) As the Messenger of God (may God bless him and give him peace!) says:

"Man 'arafa'Llāha ṭāla lisānu[hu]."

that is:

"Whosoever knows God his tongue becomes drawn out."<sup>1871</sup>

At first one begins by understanding "whosoever knows his self"; after attaining to "knows his Lord," then there is only His Self [and one is not there at all].

The Prophet of God also said:

"Man 'arafa'Llāha kalla lisanu[hu]."

that is:

"Whosoever knows God, his tongue becomes exhausted" (meaning: speech becomes impossible).

(12) Similarly, what Shaykh Muḥyī'l-Dīn 'Arabī (may God sanctify his secret!) says is an allusion to "whosoever knows his self knows his Lord." Verse

"Al-ḥaqqu 'aynu'l-khalqi in kunta dhā 'ayni  
wa'l-khalqu 'aynu'l-ḥaqqi in kunta dhā 'aqli  
wa in kunta dhā 'aynin wa 'aqlin fi mā tarā  
fa huwa 'aynu shay'in wāḥadin fīhi illā  
bi'l-shakli."

[117] that is, the real meaning of what Muḥyī'l-Dīn

---

1871. I.e. exhausted in its attempt to describe.



says refers to the being of His slave:

"If you have eyes, the creatures (slaves)  
are God's manifestation;  
If you have intelligence, everything you  
see is God's Being.  
[And if you have eyes and intelligence in  
what you see,  
Then He is the Being of one thing in Him,  
with the exception of forms].<sup>1872</sup>

As God Most Exalted says:

Wa huwa ma'akum aynamā kuntum.<sup>1873</sup>

that is:

And He is with you wherever you may be.

Further, the saying of Shaykh Muḥyī'l-Dīn ibn 'Arabī -  
Verse:

"Kunnā ḥurūf[an] 'āliyātin lam nu[n]qal  
Muta'alliqatin bi'l-dāri 'alā'l-qulal.  
Kuntu anā [anta] fīhi wa nahnu anta [wa  
anta] huwa

1872. Ḥanzah here is not translating the verse, but interpreting it. Literally the verse means:  
The Truth is the Being of Creation - if you have eyes [to see];  
And Creation is the Being of the Truth - if you have intelligence [to perceive].  
And if you have eyes and intelligence in what you see,  
Then [you will see that] He is the Being of one thing in Him with the exception of forms.

1873. Qur'an 57:4.

Fa'l-kullu fī huwa huwa fa' s'al 'an man  
waṣal."

that is:

"We were Lofty Letters unmoved  
 Attached to our Abode in the Mountain Peak  
 I was You within It, and We were You, and  
 You were He  
 Everything is in 'He is He' - ask of those  
 in union."<sup>1874</sup>

(13) O Seeker! - to know [the meaning of] "whosoever knows his self ..." is not to know the heart and lungs, and it is not to know the limbs. The meaning of "whosoever knows his self ..." is this: that his being and the Being of his Lord is one and the same. As Shaykh [Junayd] Baghdādī [dī] (God's mercy be upon him!) says:

"Lawnu'l-mā'i lawnu inā'ihī."<sup>1875</sup>

that is:

"The colour of the water is the colour of  
 the vessel containing it."

And it is as the verse in the Lam'at:

"Laqad baṭanta fa lam taḥhar li dhī baṣari  
Wa kayfa yudraku man bi'l-'ayni mustatiru."<sup>1876</sup>

1874. Cp. Shabistari, pp. 29-32; 45-47.

1875. Cf. Lama'at, p. 334.

1876. Lama'at, Lam'at XIII, p. 343.

that is:

"Thou art hidden and art not manifest to  
those possessed of sight,  
And how can He Who is veiled by His Being  
[118] be seen?"

Further Shaykh Muḥyī'l-Dīn says:

"In ruḥtu biṭalabihi lam yanqadi safarī  
In ji'tu [ilā] ḥaḍrihi wahishta fi ḥaḍrī  
Lā anā [a]rāhu wa lā yanfakku min baṣarī  
Wa fī ḍamīrī wa lā yalqāhu fī 'umrī."

that is:

"If I go seeking Him my journey would  
not end,  
If I approach His Presence, He escapes  
me;  
I see Him not, and yet He is never out  
of my sight  
And He is in my self, and yet my sight  
meets Him not in my life."

For this reason Shaykh Jun[ay]d (God's mercy be upon  
him!) says:

"Wujūduka dhanbun lā yuqāsu bihi dhanbun  
[ākharu]."<sup>1877</sup>

that is:

"Thy existence is a sin with which no sin  
can be compared."

---

1877. Cf. Kashf al-Maḥjūb, p. 297.

(14) When you [still think that you] are one being and the Truth Most Exalted is another being, then it follows that you are a "partner unto Him," for the Truth Most Exalted is "waḥdahu lā sharīka lahu"<sup>1878</sup> - meaning: "there is no partner unto Him" and this means that there is no other Being than That of the Truth Most Exalted, like the analogy of the sea and its waves. As God Most Exalted says:

Fa aynamā tuwallū fa thamma wajhu'llāh.<sup>1879</sup>

that is:

[Wheresoever ye turn your face there is]  
the Essence of God.

And Mawlānā 'Abdu'l-Raḥmān Jāmī (God's mercy be upon him!) says: Verse:

"Ham sāyah u ham nishīn u ham rāhu hamah ūst  
[Dar dalaq gadā u[dar]atlas shāhi hamah ūst]<sup>1880</sup>  
Dar anchuman farq nihān khānah u jam'[hamah  
ūst]  
Bi'llāhi hamah ūst thumma bi'llāhi hamah  
ūst."<sup>1881</sup>

that is:

---

1878. Qur'ān 6:163.

1879. Qur'ān 2:109.

1880. Not in the text, see text, p. 118, and note# 1508.

1881. Lawā'ih, p. 25. The Persian text is missing.

"In neighbour, friend and travelling companion  
 - all is He,  
 In the veils of beggars and in the robes of  
 kings - all is He [119],  
 In union and in separation, in the cell of  
 seclusion and in the house of congregation -  
 all is He,  
 By God all is He, by God all indeed is  
 He!"<sup>1882</sup>

(15) The analogy is like a seed within which is a tree complete. At first there is only that one seed, but after the tree had grown out of it, the seed vanishes - only the tree is seen. [The tree grows] having different colours and is [productive of] varying tastes, yet originally it grows out of that one seed. As God Most Exalted says:

... Yusqā bi mā'in wāhidin wa nufaddilu  
ba'dahā 'alā ba'din fī'l-ukuli.<sup>1883</sup>

that is:

... they are watered with one water; and  
 We make some of them to excel others in  
 fruit.

The analogy is like rain water in a growth of plant.

---

1882. For Whinfield's translation of the text see above p. 73, and note 145.

1883. Qur'an 13:4. See also Asrār, p.53(33); Sharāb, p.16 (41).

It is the water that permeates all and has varying tastes; in lemon, sour; in sugar-cane, sweet; in the mambu plant, bitter; each to its own taste. But the real essence of all these [tastes] is the water. Another analogy is like the sun and its rays. If it shines upon flowers and scandalwood the rays do not partake of the fragrance. If it were to shine upon foul things, the same would be the case.<sup>1884</sup> Do not entertain doubt in this matter, for doubt is a veil.

(16) Since He is present both in the theatre of manifestation of Majesty as well as in the theatre of manifestation of Beauty, His Name is then the Perfect One. The Name One Who gives Strength, the Name Graceful One; [the Name One Who Subdues and] the Name Irresistable One each is not separate [from the theatres of manifestation]. "Polytheism"<sup>1885</sup> too is a theatre of His manifestation. As Shāh . Ni'matu'llāh (may God sanctify his secret!) says:

[120] Ra'aytu'llāha fī 'aynī bi 'aynihi  
Wa 'aynī 'aynuhu fā'nzur bi 'aynihi

---

1884. Cf. Lawā'ih, p. 36. See also above, p. 37.

1885. Polytheism here to be taken in the mystical sense.

Ḥabībī 'inda ghayrī ghayru 'aynī  
Wa 'indī 'aynuhu min haythu 'aynihi."<sup>1886</sup>

that is:

"I see God in my being through His Sight,  
 My being is His Being, see with His Sight;  
 My Beloved is, from the point of view of  
 that which is other than me, is other than  
 my being,  
 And from my point of view His Being and  
 my being are one."<sup>1887</sup>

Such, then, the true understanding of "whosoever  
 knows his self knows his Lord" is the beginning  
 [of man's ascent to God].

(17) God the Glorious and Exalted says:

Wa'Llāhu khalaqakum wa mā ta'malūn.<sup>1888</sup>

that is:

God Glorious and Exalted creates you and  
 what you do.

God Glorious and Exalted says further:

Mā min dābbatin illā huwa ākhidhun

1886. Shāh Ni'matu'Llāh, Dīvān (op. cit.), p. 604.  
 In Ḥamzah's texts the last word 'aynihi' reads:  
 'aynī'.

1887. The last line of the verse is not translated  
 literally by Ḥamzah. But the meaning is main-  
 tained in the manner meant by the author.

1888. Qur'ān 37:94.

bi nāsiyatihā inna rabbī 'alā ṣirāṭin  
mustaqīm.<sup>1889</sup>

that is:

There is no living creature but He grasps it by its forelock. Surely my Lord is on the right path.<sup>1890</sup>

Furthermore the Prophet (may God bless him and give him peace!) says:

"Lā ḥawla wa lā quwwata illā bi'Llāhi  
'l-'ayliyyi'l-'azīm."<sup>1891</sup>

that is:

"There is no majesty<sup>1892</sup> and there is no might save in God, the Exalted, the Great."

And the Prophet (may God bless him and give him peace!) says further:

"Lā tataḥarraka dharratun illā bi idhni'Llāh."

that is:

Not one single atom moves except by God's will."<sup>1893</sup>

[And the Prophet (may God bless him and give him

1889. Qur'ān 11:56.

1890. For a mystical interpretation of this verse, see Burckhardt, p. 53.

1891. Qur'an 18:40.

1892. See note 1682.

1893. The word gerak: volitive movement, here means will.



peace!) says further:]

"Khayrihi wa sharrihi mina'LLāhi ta'ālā."

that is:

"The good and the evil come from God Most  
Exalted."

As Gpd [121] Most Exalted says:

Wa mā tashā'ūna illā an yashā'a'LLāh.<sup>1894</sup>

that is:

And none wills except by God's will.

(18) All these proofs [from the Qur'ān and the Traditions serve as symbolic allusions to [the meaning of] "Whosoever knows his self knows his Lord".

Apart from this there is no other [symbolic allusion that they refer to]. Shaykh Muḥyī'l-Dīn ibnu'l-

'Arabī (may God sanctify his mighty secret!) says:

Verse:

"Ḥarāmun 'alā'l-'ushshāqi an yashhadu'l-siwā  
idhā kāna wajhu'l-ḥaqqi [bi'l-nūri] sha'sha'ā  
mā dhā aqūlu wa anta waḥduka lam yaku  
aḥadun siwāka fa mā siwāka fa kā'l-habā."

that is:

"It is forbidden to the Lovers to see other  
than He,

---

1894. Qur'ān 76:30; 81:29.

When the Being of the Truth shines with a  
 light resplendent;  
 What do I say, Thou being One, there is none  
 other than Thee!  
 And what is other than Thee but are as dust  
 that rise and disappear?"<sup>1895</sup>

As God Most Exalted says:

Kullu yawmin huwa fī shā'n.<sup>1896</sup>

that is:

Every day He is in some state of activity.

(19) That is to say, His external manifestations  
 are many [but the Essence is not many] and is not  
 subject to change, for

Huwa'l-awwalu wa'l-ākhiru wa'l-ẓāhiru  
wa'l-bāṭinu.<sup>1897</sup>

that is:

He is the First and the Last, the Outwardly  
 Manifest and the Inwardly Hidden

His Firstness is unknown, His Lastness is endless,  
 His Outward Manifestness is most concealed, and His  
 Inward Hiddenness is unattainable; He sees Himself  
 through Himself, He sees Himself through His Essence,

1895. I am unable to trace this. Probably from the  
Diwān.

1896. Qur'an 55:29.

1897. Qur'an 57:3.

His Attributes, His Acts and His Effects, Though in name they are four, yet in reality they are one. As Shaykh [122] Muḥyī'l-Dīn says:

"Tajallī bi dhātihi fī dhātihi."

that is:

"He reveals Himself through His Essence to His Essence."

Furthermore Imām Muḥammad Ghazzālī (God's mercy be upon him!) says:

"In 'ālam azūst beūst bal ki hamah ūst."

that is:

"The world is from Him, it is of Him - nay, He indeed is all."

Quoted from the Kīmiyā-i-Sa'ādat;

"Guft Bā Yazīd: 'Wujūdunā minhu wa quwwāmunā bihi lā farqun baynī wa bayna rabbī illā bi hādha'l-martabatayn."<sup>1898</sup>

that is: [Bā Yazīd said]:

"Our being is from Him and our power is of Him; there is no distinction between me and my Lord except for these two degrees."

---

1898. Both this passage and the one immediately preceding come from Ghazzālī's Kīmiyā -i-Sa'ādat, but I have not succeeded in tracing them. Compare with Abū Bakr Warrāq in Lama'āt, p. 348.

Such is the symbolic expression of [the words]:

"Whosoever knows his self knows his Lord."

(20) God, Glorious and Exalted, is without 'place' and without 'similitude'. How can 'place' be ascribed to Him when nothing exists apart from Him? What of 'place', 'similitude', 'colour'? The slave too must be without 'place', without 'similitude', without six directions,<sup>1899</sup> for the slave's attributes are his Lord's; the desired meaning being that he will then arrive at [the state described as]c-

"Idhā tamma'l-faḡru fa huwa'Llāhu  
'īshuhu bi 'īshi'Llāh."<sup>1900</sup>

that is:

"When poverty is perfect it is God indeed,  
He [i.e. who is in the state of poverty]  
lives by God's Life.

As Mawlānā 'Abdu'l-Raḥmān Jāmī (may God's mercy be upon him!) says:

["Bas bī rangīst yārī dīlkhwāh ay dīl  
Qānī' nashawī barangi nā ḡāh ay dīl  
Aṣal in hamah rangahā azān birangīst

---

1899. I.e. dimensions of space-time: front, behind, above, below, left and right.

1900. Cf. Lama'at, p. 352.

Man aḥsanu ṣibghatan mina'LLāhi ay dil."<sup>1901</sup>

that is:

"The Loved One is quite colourless,<sup>1902</sup>

O heart;

He not engrossed with colours, then, O

heart;

All colours come from what is colourless,

And 'who can dye so well as God',<sup>1903</sup> O

heart."<sup>1904</sup>

(21) That is to say [123] its origin is without colour and without form. All forms that can be perceived and discoursed upon are, from the point of view of analogy, created. Whosoever worships created things such as the dead, semen,<sup>1905</sup> the heart and lungs, he is a polytheist for all these are as idols. Whosoever worships idols, he is an unbeliever - may God preserve us from such! But God knows best!

(22) Such being the case, how is it that it is permissible to consider [the relationship between

---

1901. Not in the text. See 5716(2), p. 77, and Lawā'ih, Persian text, p. 17.

1902. Colourless: bīrangī, absence of visible or knowable qualities.

1903. Qur'ān 2:138.

1904. Lawā'ih, p. 13. The English translation is Whinfield's.

1905. See Kramer (op. cit.) on mani. p. 102; also Wilkinson: manikam.

God and man] on the analogy of the sea and its waves?

As the verse says:

Fa 'awwal 'alayhi lā siwāhu fa 'aynamā  
tuwallū fa thamma wajhu['Llāhi laysa  
mubārqa'an]<sup>1906</sup>

[Rely on Him! there is no other than He.  
 And wheresoever you turn there is the Face  
 of God unveiled] ...

(23)... [Raḡqu'l-zujāju wa rāḡati'l-khamru  
Fataḡābahā wa tashākula'l-amru  
Fa ka'annamā khamrun wa lā qadaḡu  
Fa ka'annamā qadaḡun wa lā khamru].<sup>1907</sup>

[that is:

The glass is thin and the wine is clear],<sup>1908</sup>  
 Their resemblance is indistinguishable;  
 As if it were wine without a cup,  
 And as if it were a cup without wine.

The meaning is that the colour of the glass and the  
 colour of the wine is the same thing; similarly the  
 colour of the wine and the colour of the glass is the

1906. Lacunae follows. See 5716(2), pp. 79-84, and  
 explanation in the Introduction, pp. 369-377  
 above. The words in square 5716(2)kets are found  
 in the Javanese text. . 335;

1907. Not in the text, but in 5716(2), pp. 84-85.  
 See Lama'āt, Lam'at V, p. 335; Israr, p. 56.

1908. Cf. Israr, p. 56.



waves and the ocean are one and the same, it is only to outward perception that they appear as two, but they neither are united nor are they separated; each is neither within nor [124] outside the other.

"Qāla'l-ghawthu'l-a'zam ayyi ṣalātin  
afḍalu 'indaka yā rabbī qāla'Llāhu ta'ālā  
ṣalatu'l-ladhī laysa fīhā siwā'ī wa'l-  
muṣallī ghā'ibun 'anhā."

that is:

Said the Great Succor:<sup>1912</sup> "Which prayer is most incumbent for You , O my Lord?"  
 God Most Exalted said: "That prayer in which there is no 'other' than Me and from which the one who prays is completely extinct."<sup>1913</sup>

It is clear [from this that] the Truth is both the One Who is worshipped and the One Who Worships. As the Doctors among the Ṣūfīs<sup>1914</sup> say:

'Mā 'arafa'Llāhu illā'Llāh

1912. Al-Ghawth al-A'zam: the Great Succor is the Ṣūfī title given to Shaykh 'Abdu'l-Qādir al-Jaylānī, the founder of the Qādiriyyah Order (561/1166).

1913. See Ghazzālī on fanā'. Lawā'ih, Appendix III. See also Lama'at, p. 342.

1914. Masha'ikh plural of Shaykh: spiritual guide among the Ṣūfīs who were also generally the writers on doctrine.



mā ya'lamu'LLāhu illā'Llah  
mā yarā'LLāhu illā'Llāh.'

that is:

'None has gnosis of God but God  
 none knows God but God  
 none sees God but God.'

And it is as Mawlānā 'Abdu'l-Raḥmān Jāmī says:

Hamchunin wāṣil nash[as]tah pech yārī mī  
kunad ān hajr nālahāi zār tā shuwad maḥjūb  
u maḥrūm az waṣl wāqif ān bar ranj u malāl.

that is:

"The person whos is in union is like one  
 who sits [in sorrow];  
 he tells his companion about his separation  
 and his sighs and his tears until he becomes  
 deprived from union,  
 he ceases [to be in union] because of his  
 separation and because of his being full  
 of grief.<sup>1915</sup>

It is as Shiblī<sup>1916</sup> says - verse:

1915. The Persian conveys the meaning interpreted by Ḥamzah: "The one who is in union is like one who sits before a companion lamenting and weeping about his separation until he becomes veiled and deprived from union, and remains in separation bearing the burden of grief and remorse."

1916. Abu Bakr Shiblī, the famous pupil of Junayd.  
 See Tadhkirat, etc.

"Innanī<sup>1917</sup> kaḍafad'un sākinat<sup>1918</sup> fi'l-līmi  
in hiya [fāhat] mala'at fāhā<sup>1919</sup>  
aw<sup>1920</sup> sakatat mātāt mina'l-ghammi."<sup>1921</sup>

that is:

"I am like a frog that lives in the sea;  
 if she opens her mouth the water will  
 fill her; and if she shuts her mouth she  
 will die of grief." [125]

- (25) The symbolic allusion from Shaykh Sa'du'l-Dīn:<sup>1922</sup>  
 'if one still seeks one will not achieve, [and if one  
 still] looks one will not see', is because our  
 endeavour is like the wind at sea. When the wind  
 ceases then the waves return to their origin.<sup>1923</sup>

As God Most Exalted says:

Yā ayyatuhā'l-nafsu'l-muṭma'innatu irji'ī  
ilā rabbiki rāḍiyatan marḍiyyatan fa'dkhulī

1917. The text has: anā.

1918. The text has: yaskunu.

1919. The text is corrupt: aqāhā.

1920. The text has: wa in.

1921. See Lama'at, Lām'at XXVIII, p. 361. See also  
Kalābādhi, p. 139. Arberry has given an English  
 translation of the verse in Kalābādhi (loc. cit.):

Now praised be God, that like a frog am I  
 Whose sustenance the watery deeps supply  
 It opens its mouth, and straightway it is  
 filled;

It holds its peace, and must in sorrow die.

1922. Sa'du'l-Dīn Mahmūd Shabistari (720/1320), the  
 author of the Gulshan-i-Rāz.

1923. Cf. Shabistari, pp. 29-32.

fī 'ibādī wa'dkhulī jannatī.<sup>1924</sup>

that is:

O soul that art at rest,  
Return to thy Lord, well-pleased, well-  
pleasing.

So enter among My servants,  
And enter My Garden!

The meaning contained herein is that its<sup>1925</sup> coming is from the sea, and its return will be also to the sea.

'Jannatu'l-ṣāhidīna ḥūrun wa quṣūrun  
jannatu'l-'ashiqīna fī maḥalli kuntu  
kanzan makhfiyyan.'

that is:

'The Paradise of Ascetics is houris and  
couches;  
the Paradise of Lovers is the state of  
"I was a hidden treasure"'

(26) Therein is the Abode of Lovers! They neither hope for Heaven nor fear Hell; for to the Lovers who are united [to the Beloved], the word jannat that is mentioned in the verse fa'dkhulī fī 'ibādī wa'dkhulī jannatī refers to the return to the state

1924. Qur'an 89:27-30.

1925. 'Its' refers to 'wave' or 'drop' an analogy referring to the soul or self.

of "I was a hidden treasure". Furthermore as the People of Allāh say:

Man 'arafa'LLāhu fa huwa mushrikun

that is:

Whosoever knows God becomes a polytheist.<sup>1926</sup>

And again:<sup>1927</sup>

"Al-faqīru lā yaḥtāju'ilā'LLāh."<sup>1928</sup>

[that is:

"One in the state of poverty stands in no need of God."]

And again:

"Al-faqīru suwadu'l-wajhi fī'l-dārayn."<sup>1929</sup>

that is:

"The one who is in the state of poverty, his face is blackened in both worlds."<sup>1930</sup>

And again - verse:

"Anā'l-gharīqu [126] bi baḥri mā lahu ṭarafun Ghibtu fīhi 'ani'l-wijdāni wa'l-'adan."<sup>1931</sup>

1926. See below, note 1942.

1927. See text, note 1578 : wa lahu ayḍan.

1928. See Lama'at, Lam'at XX, p. 352.

1929. Loc. cit.

1930. The meaning: the present world and the Hereafter is of no concern to him; God alone is his sole desire. See Lama'at, pp. 352-353, for exposition.

1931. I have not been able to trace this verse.

that is:

"I am drowned in the sea that has no shore;  
I disappear in it and am conscious of neither  
'being' nor 'non-being'."

And again - verse:

"Raddadtanī bayna'l-maniyyati wa'-munā  
wa jama'tanī bayna'l-'ināyati wa'l-'inā  
wa akhadhta nī [minnī] li dhātika fa'rtaqītu  
limustawā lā anta fīhi wa lā anā."

that is:

I have returned from desiring and the desired  
Object,  
And am united from being between the Giver  
of Grace and the one who is graced,  
And I have returned from 'me' unto Your  
Very Essence; the three are one:

There is no 'Thou' in It nor 'I'.<sup>1932</sup>

Furthermore Shaykh 'Aṭṭār (may God be well-pleased with him!) says:

[Bāz ba'de dar tamāshā ʔarab  
tan farūdandi fārigh az ʔalab]<sup>1933</sup>

that is:

Some from among them returned, after  
beholding, leaping for joy; their souls  
have been given release from seeking.

And again - verse:

1932. I have not been able to trace this verse, but Ḥamzah's interpretation of the verse is clear. Literally the verse means:

You brought me back from between Death  
and the desired Object,  
And You united me [from being] between  
[Your] Providence and the need for [i.e.  
submission to] it,  
And You took me from my self unto Your  
Very Essence and I am raised up  
To Your level; there is no 'Thou' in It  
nor 'I'.

The first two lines of the verse are the problematic ones as there is a play of meanings in the words manīyyah and munā, and 'ināyah and 'inā, which are derived in each case from the same root. In Ḥamzah's interpretation of the third line where he says "the three are one" he means by "three" Huwa, Anta and Anā: He, Thou and I.

1933. 57I6(2), p. 91.

"Waraq sūkhtah<sup>1934</sup> u qalam bashkun siyāhi  
zir dam dharkas  
Hamīn dīn u qisṣati 'ishq ūst ki dar daftar  
nah me-kunjad."<sup>1935</sup>

that is:

"The paper is burnt, the pen is broken and  
the ink spilled and the breath is drawn out.  
Such is the disposition and the tale of the  
Lover, which cannot be contained in books."

And again:

(According to Shāh Ni'matu'llāh's verse:)  
["Ṭalab afdat irādat wa bilā wujūd hijāb ast  
wajdān muḥāl namnāyi waqrub wa khiyāl  
ḥudūr ghurūr nafsah dū dur dū dur."]<sup>1936</sup>

that is:

Seeking is a foe and desire is vain and  
existence becomes a veil, ecstasy [or the  
finding of the One] cannot be attained  
[if] it requires nearness with an 'other',  
and the thought of one who is 'present' -  
all these are deceptions of the self and  
bring one further away [from the Truth].

(27) Such is the ultimate goal! This is what is

---

1934. Text corrupt: shūqī.

1935. I have not been able to trace this verse.

1936. I have not been able to trace this verse and  
it is impossible to reproduce it correctly  
here as it is incomplete.

called: "Fa'l-fanā 'ani'l-fanā ghāyata'l-fanā."<sup>1937</sup>

[137] This goal can be called the World of Divinity, or union, or effacement. Hence Shāh 'Alī Bārizi<sup>1938</sup> says:

"Bar dar dār'l-fanā'i kardam sujūd  
Sar bar āwardam marā rū'ī numūd."

that is:

"I prostrate myself before the Door of  
the World of Annihilation,  
I raise my head: 'Show me, Lord, Thy  
Countenance'."<sup>1939</sup>

According to the expression of the people of Pasai:  
'If one is not kufr, one will not meet with kufu' -  
that is, by kufr is meant in Malay "covered": if  
one is not covered, one will not "meet" with kufu' -  
that is to say ["equal"]. The meaning of equal is  
'there is nothing higher than it', meaning: one  
becomes as one was originally, as when in the state  
of "I was a hidden treasure", together with one's  
Lord. The analogy is like the seed in which the

1937. "For annihilation from annihilation is the final goal of annihilation" - Ghazzālī.

1938. See above, note 1590.

1939. The Persian of the second line reads: "I raised my head, He showed me His Countenance."



tree resides; although outwardly the tree is not perceived, its reality is one with the seed.<sup>1940</sup>

For this reason Maṣṣūr [al-Ḥallāj] says: "I am the Truth!" - and some say: "Verily I am God!" for their [phenomenal] self<sup>1941</sup> is no longer "seen" by them.

(28) This is what is meant by

"Idhā tamma'l-faqr fa huwa'llāh"

meaning:

"When poverty is perfect it is God indeed"

Thus God, Glorious and Exalted says in the Holy Tradition:

Nawmu'l-faqīru nawmī [wa]  
ukulu'l-faqīru ukulī  
wa sharabu'l-faqīru sharabī.

that is:

The sleep of the poor is My sleep [and]  
 the food of the poor is My food and  
 the drink of the poor is My drink.

And furthermore God Most Exalted says [in the Holy tradition]:

Al-insānu sirrī wa anā sirruhu wa sifatuhu.

1940. Cp. Shabistarī's analogy of the tree, Shabistarī, p. 37.

1941. I.e. existence (or being; adanya).

[128] that is:

Man is My secret and I am his Secret and  
his [true] Nature.

Uways al-Qaranī says:

"Al-faqīru ḥayātuhu bi ḥayāti 'Llāhi  
wa 'īshuhu bi 'īshi['Llāh]

that is:

The life of the poor is by God's Life and  
his sustenance is by God's Sustenance.

It is as the saying of all the Shaykhs:

'Man 'arafa 'Llāhu fahuwa mushrikun  
wa man 'arafa nafsahu fa huwa kāfirun.'

that is:

'Whosoever knows God is a polytheist  
and whosoever knows his self is an  
unbeliever.'<sup>1942</sup>

As Shaykh Muḥyī'l-Dīn ibn 'Arabī says:

"Al-ma'rifatu ḥijābun lahu wa lawlā"<sup>1943</sup>  
wujūdu'l-kawnayn laẓāhara'l-'aynu."

1942. I.e.: he who knows God is a "polytheist" since knowing implies the knower and the Known. Hence ma'rifah is a veil (ḥijāb); he who knows his self is an "unbeliever" because knowing his self to be his Lord, the Slave is non-existent.

1943. The sequence in the text is incorrect: wa lahu lawlā. See notes above, pp. 87 (192); 166 (432).

that is:

"Gnosis is a veil unto Him, and were it not for the existence of the two worlds the Essence would be manifest."

(29) Since seeking and gnosis and passionate love and attachment, all of them, pertain to the creaturely nature, when all these are absent in him, then he is annihilated. Since his essence and his qualities are attributes related only to God Glorious and Exalted, when he is annihilated, slavehood, like the wave, returns to the Sea. This is the meaning of 'Return thou to thy origin!' (irji'ī ilā aṣlihi);<sup>1944</sup> [and also the meaning of 'Verily we are from God and surely to Him we will return (innā li'Ilāhi wa innā ilayhi rāji'ūn)'];<sup>1945</sup> and the meaning of 'everything perishes except His Face' (kullu shay'in hālikun illā wajhahu)<sup>1946</sup> is also that; and the meaning of 'kullu man 'alayhā fānin wa yabqā wajhu rabbika dhū'l-jalāli wa'l-ikrām'<sup>1947</sup> - that is: Everything in it perishes, and there remains the Essence of they Lord [129]

---

1944. Qur'ān 89:28.

1945. Qur'ān 2:156.

1946. Qur'ān 28:88.

1947. Qur'ān 55:26-27.

the Lord of Majesty and Honour - is also that.

(30) If one is still conscious of one's feeling and thinking and sensuality, then one is still in the dual state, in the same manner as contemplation implies duality: when there is still one who contemplates, what is contemplated must [exist]; in the like manner feeling implies the thing felt and the one who feels; and similarly the one who thinks implies the thing thought. All these are ascribed to a nature in the state of duality, just as the wave as wave and the sea as sea, the wave not yet merged in the sea; [when wave and sea have become one,] there is no "meeting" and there is no "seeing." This is what is meant in the expressions: "When poverty is perfect it is God indeed," and "One in the state of poverty stands in no need of God." What is meant here is nothing but annihilation from the very state of annihilation. But one in the state of annihilation - should one be conscious of it - then one is not yet annihilated, for one is still conscious of one's annihilation. In that case duality still holds sway over him.

(31) As Shaykh 'Aṭṭār says:

"Rāhi wiṣāli dost kase rāygān nadīd  
Ān-kas ki dīdah har dū jihān dar niyān  
nadīd."

that is:

"No one has seen the path of union with  
the Friend for nothing,  
He who has seen [that path] has not seen  
the two worlds between."<sup>1948</sup>

Furthermore, Shaykh 'Aṭṭār (God's mercy be upon  
him!) says:

"Tū [mabāsh] aṣlān kamāli īn [130] ast  
u bas  
Tū dū rū kam shor wiṣāl īn [ast] u bas."

that is:

"Do not be at all - this alone is perfection.  
Do not be two-faced - this alone is union." -

for the meaning of "united" excludes the notion of  
"two". That is to say, when doubt and certainty  
have vanished from him, then he is 'united'. This  
is called 'ilmu'l-yaqīn', that is, to know with  
certainty; and 'aynu'l-yaqīn', that is, to see with  
certainty; and 'ḥaqqu'l-yaqīn', that is, to be truly

---

1948. I have to thank Professor Arberry of Pembroke  
College, Cambridge, for his help in clarifying  
this verse and the one following.

certain - certain that his existence and the Existence of his Lord is but one.<sup>1949</sup> His origin is one and the same and his return will be to the One - that is, 'return thou to thy origin' (irji'ī ilā aṣlihi);<sup>1950</sup> and this is the meaning of "when poverty is perfect it is God indeed." But God knows best!

The book [entitled Muntahī]<sup>1951</sup> is completed. Amen!

---

1949. Cf. 'Aṭṭār and the allegory of the moths, note. For an illuminating account of the Ṣūfī concept of certainty, see Sirāj Ed-Dīn's The book of certainty, London, 1952.

1950. Qur'an 89:28.

1951. 5716(2), p. 100.

APPENDICES

### Appendix I

Passages of texts quoted in Chapter I from an anonymous Malay work of the 17th. Century (Marsden Collection no. 11648, Library, S.O.A.S., University of London) rendered into romanized Malay.

#### (i)

[108] Bāb ini pada menyatakan peri mengenal Allāh dan mengenal diri seperti sabda Rasūlu'LLāh (ṣalla'LLāhu 'alayhi wa sallam!): "Man 'arafa nafsahu faqad 'arafa rabbahu;" ertinya: "Barangsiapa mengenal dirinya, maka sanya mengenal Tuhannya" - kerana wujud Tuhannya dengan wujud dirinya ini esa jua. Maka erti sebenar-benar pengenalan akan diri itu [109] dikenalnya adanya tatakala lagi dalam 'ilmu Allāh itu; ya'nī bahwa dikenalnya dirinya ma'lūm Allāh yang dalam 'ilmuNya. Apabila dikenalnya dirinya bahwa ia ma'lūm Allāh itu - maka ma'lūm Allāh itu netiasa wāṣil dengan 'ilmu [Allāh], dan 'ilmu Allāh itu netiasa wāṣil dengan wujud Allāh - nischaya diperolehnyalah nisbat daripada Allāh [110] dan dikenalnyaalah jalan keesaannya dengan Allāh Subḥānahu wa Ta'ālā. Seperti firmān Allāh Ta'ālā: Wa fī



anfusikum afa lā tubsirūn;<sup>1952</sup> ertinya: Dalam diri kamu jua - maka 'ngapa kamu tiada melihat Dia? Kata Shaykh Ḥanzah:

Kenali dirimu, hai anak jamu!  
 Jangan lupa akan diri kamu.  
 'Ilmu ḥaqīqat yogya kau ramu.  
 Supaya terkenal a'lā adamu.<sup>1953</sup>

[111] Ya'nī jika demikian, hendaklah bagi barangsiapa menchari 'ilmu ma'rifat Allāh [supaya mengetahui] tetaplah ia dalam sebenar-benar dirinya itu, dan kembali diri yang ḡāhir ini pun kepada sebenar-benar diri yang bātin itu jua. Kata Shaykh Ḥanzah:

Jika sungguh kamu sekalian ṭālibūn.  
 Kepada Kuntu Kanzan pergi rāji'ūn.  
 Dengan ḥaqīqat diri yogya 'āshiqūn -  
 Inilah ma'nā ṣalātihim dā'imūn.<sup>1954</sup>

[112] Maka barangsiapa mongenal Allāh dan mengenal dirinya seperti yang tersebut ini, nischaya orang itulah yang beroleh 'ilmu ma'rifat Allāh yang sempurna turun-temurun daripada Nabī Muḥammad Rasūlu'-Llāh (ṣalla'LLāhu 'alayhi wa sallam!) seperti yang tersebut itu. Wa'LLāhu a'lam!

---

1952. Qur'ān 51:21.

1953. Cf. 3374, p. 11.

1954. Cp. 2016, p. 52; Qur'ān 70:23.

(ii)

Bāb pada menyatakan datang diri kita daripada Allāh Subḥānahu wa Ta'ālā dan kembalinya pun kepadaNya jua [113] seperti firmān Allāh Taālā: Qul kullun min 'indi'Llāh;<sup>1955</sup> ertinya: Katakan olehmu (yā Muḥammad) sekaliannya daripada Allāh jua. Dan firmān Allāh Ta'ālā: Yā ayyatuha'l-nafsu'l-muṭma'innatu irji'ī ilā rabbiki;<sup>1956</sup> ertinya: Hai nafsu muṭma'-innah, kembali engkau kepada Tuhanmu. Ya'nī bahwa sanya hendaklah kita ketahui bahwa diri kita yang ḡāhir ini [114] pun datangnya daripada diri kita yang bāṭin dalam 'ilmu Allāh yang tiada bercherai dengan 'ilmunya itu jua. Dan hendaklah kita ketahui bahwa diri kita yang ḡāhir ini pun kembalinya kepada diri kita yang bāṭin itu jua. Tetapi pada taḥqīqnya, datang pun tiada, kembali pun tiada. Adapun yang dikatakan datang [96]<sup>1957</sup> itu daripada limpah wujūd maḥḍ jua kepada 'ālam mumkināt ini, kerana wujūd mumkināt ini daripada maḡhar Ḥaqq Subḥānahu wa

---

1955. Qur'ān 4:78.

1956. Qur'ān 89:27-28.

1957. Ms. pages 96 and 95 should in fact read 115 and 116 respectively. There is an error in the ms. binding which effects the pagination.

Ta'ālā pada kedua 'ālan ḡāhir [dan] bāṭin ini, kerana bahwa sanya bagi segala 'ālan munḡināt ini, tiada baginya wujūd dan tiada berpenguasa. Maka yang tiada baginya wujūd dan yang tiada [95] berpenguasa itu mustahīl<sup>1958</sup> adanya dapat berdiri sendirinya, kerana bahwa sanya ia itu sehingga beroleh sambutan jua. Kata Shaykh Ḥamzah:

'Ilmu ini daripada sidang 'allāmah,  
 Dengan rupa diri lawan beramah;  
 Jalan ma'rifat Allāh akan manah-manah,  
 Barangsiapa menghadap ustādh dimanakan  
 salah?<sup>1959</sup>

(iii)

... [117] Maka barangsiapa mengetahui perkataan yang tersebut ini nischaya diketahuinyalah datangnya daripada Allāh dan kembalinya pun kepadaNya, dan nischaya dikenalnya wujūd dirinya [118] yang ḡāhir ini tiada lain daripada wujūd Allāh yang tetap dengan dia ṡifat 'ilmu itu. Maka ṡifat 'ilmunya itu tetap dengan dia ma'lūmNya yang didalam 'ilmunya itu. Maka ṡifātnya yang ḡāhir ini pun tiada lain daripada ṡifātnya yang bāṭin itu, dan fi'ilnya yang ḡāhir ini pun tiada lain daripada

---

1958. Text corrupt: muhi1.

1959. Cp. 2016, p. 49.

fi'ilnya yang bāṭin itu, kerana yang ṣāḥir [119]  
ini pun menyatakan ṣifātnya yang bāṭin itu jua.  
Jika demikian, bahwa sanya sewujūdlah baginya dan  
seṣifātlah ia dan sefi'illah ia dengan Allāh Subḥānahu  
wa Ta'ālā, Tuhan yang Mahabesar kebesaranNya, dan  
yang Mahatinggi ketinggianNya itu. Wa'LLāhu a'lam.<sup>1960</sup>

---

1960. 11648, pp. 108-119.

Appendix II.

Passages of texts quoted in Chapter II from Rānirī's Tibyān fī Ma'rifati'l-Adyān (Cod. Or. 3291, Library. University of Leiden) rendered into romanized Malay.

(i)

Ketiga ṭā'ifah daripada Majūsī itu bernama Sumaniyyah. Adalah mereka itu menyembah tiap-tiap chahaya daripada mata hari dan bulan dan bintang dan api dan barang sebagainya. Seperti katanya adalah sekalian chahaya itu daripada suatu chahaya jua dahulu daripada dijadikan Allāh segala makhluk (iaitu: 'arsh, dan lawḥ, dan tujuh petala langit). Maka tatakala dijadikan Allāh Ta'ālā segala perkara itu, jadi bercherailah segala chahaya itu; iaitu pada penglihat mata jua, tetapi pada ḥaqīqatnya sekalian chahaya itu suatu jua: iaitulah Nūr Allāh. Demikianlah i'tiqād Ḥamzah Fanṣūrī. Katanya dalam kitāb Asrāru'l-'Arifīn<sup>1961</sup> bahwa chahaya yang pertama-tama cherai daripada Dhāt Allāh itu Nūr Muḥammad. Maka daripada perkataan ini chendereng kepada madhhab Tanāsukiyyah, dan serupa dengan kata Falāsifah bahwa

---

1961. 7291(I).

adalah Ḥaqq Ta'ālā itu suatu jawhar yang basīt. Dan demikian lagi i'tiqād Wathaniyyah yang daripada qaum Barāhimah dan Saniyyah yang mengediami negeri Tubbat. Dan seperti i'tiqād qaum Ḥulūliyyah yang mengediami negeri Halwāniyyah dan benua Hindustān. Demikianlah i'tiqād mereka itu.<sup>1962</sup>

(ii)

Katanya bahwa segala arwāḥ dan segala sesuatu itu daripada suku-suku Allāh dari kerana Ia berbuat dan menjadikan segala suatu. Maka perbuatanNya dan yang demikiannya itu jadi daripada api, dan kembali pula kepadanya jua. Maka segala makhlūqāt itu suku-suku daripada Allāh. Inilah madhhab Ḥanzah Fanṣūrī dan Shamsu'l-Dīn al-Sumatrānī yang ḍalālat keduanya. Dan lagi kata setengah daripada qaum Tanāsukhiyyah bahwa takwīn dan mukawwan,<sup>1963</sup> dan fā'il<sup>1964</sup> dan maf'ūl suatu jua. Dan demikianlah madhhab Ḥamzah Fanṣūrī dan Shamsu'l-Dīn al-Sumatrānī kata ma'nawiiyyah daripada qaum Tanāsukhiyyah jua: bahwa Allāh Ta'ālā ḥulūl dengan DhātNya pada segala suatu yang keli-hatan.<sup>1965</sup>

---

1962. Tibyan, pp. 17-18.

1963. The text reads mukawwin.

1964. Text reads: taf'il.

1965. Tibyan, pp. 26-27.

(iii)

[97] Maka sekarang kunyatakan pula kepadamu setengah daripada i'tiqād qawm Wujūdiyyah yang dibawah angin; iaitu [Wujūdiyyah] Ḥamzah Fanṣūrī dan Shamsu'l-Dīn al-Sumatra'ī, dan segala yang mengikut keduanya. Kata Ḥamzah Fanṣūrī dalam kitābnya yang bernama Muntahī,<sup>1966</sup> pada merechanakan sabda Nabī "man 'arafa nafsahu faqad 'arafa rabbahu" - "Barangsiapa mengenal dirinya, bahwa sanya ia mengenal Tuhannya" - "... erti mengenal Tuhannya dan mengenal dirinya; ya'nī diri 'kuntu kanzan makhfiyyan'[itu] dirinya, dan semesta sekalian dalam 'ālam [itu] Allāh." (Tanthīl) seperti biji dan puhunnya dalam biji itu lengkap serta dalam biji itu. Maka nyatalah daripada perkataan Wujūdiyyah itu bahwa serwa semesta 'ālam sekalian ada lengkap berwujūd didalam Ḥaqq Ta'ālā. Maka keluarlah 'ālam daripadanya seperti puhon kayu keluar daripada biji. Maka i'tiqād yang demikian itu kufr.<sup>1967</sup>

(iv)

Dan lagi pula katanya: "Jangan dinisbatkan

---

1966. 7291 (III).

1967. Tibyan, p. 97.

[dirimu] Ḥaqq Ta'ālā seperti kain basah dengan air, kerana kain lain air lain. Allāh Subḥānahu wa Ta'ālā munazzah daripada demikian ditamthīlkan! Jika ditamthīlkan seperti laut dan ombak harus. Jangan mendindingi<sup>1968</sup> dikau dengan segala rupa yang menyerupakan diriNya, kerana segala rupa itu terdinding Allāh [98] Ta'ālā daripadanya. Tetapi berserta dengan laut qadīm; ya'nī laut qadīm itu apabila berpalu baharu ombak namanya dikata - tetapi pada ḥaqīqat laut jua, kerana ombak dan laut esa jua, tiada dua." Maka nyatalah daripada ini wujud Allāh dan wujud makhluk suatu jua. Maka i'tiqād yang demikian itu kufr.<sup>1969</sup>

(v)

Dan lagi pula katanya tamthīl seperti matahari dengan chahayanya dengan panasnya; namanya tiga, rupanya tiga, ḥaqīqatnya suatu jua. Maka i'tiqād ini seperti i'tiqād Naṣārā bahwa wujud itu tiga; pertama wujud Bapa, kedua wujud Ibu, ketiga wujud Anak - sungguh pun tiga nama tetapi pada ḥaqīqatnya suatu wujud jua. Hai segala yang ber'īnān! -

---

1968. Text corrupt.

1969. Tibyan, pp. 97-98.



lihatlah i'tiqād dan perkataan yang semata-mata kufr seperti i'tiqād qawn Falāsifah yang telah tersebut itu.<sup>1970</sup>

(vi)

Dan lagi katanya: "Hai Ṭālib, mengetahui 'man 'arafa nafsahu faqad 'arafa rabbahu' bukan mengenal jantung dan paru-paru, bukan kaki-tangan. Ma'nā man 'arafa nafsahu: adanya dan ada Tuhanya esa jua." Maka i'tiqād yang demikian itu kufr, kerana ittiḥād Ḥaqq Ta'ālā dengan makhlūq. Mahasuchi lagi mahatinggi Ḥaqq Ta'ālā daripada kata kāfir yang demikian itu!<sup>1971</sup>

(vii)

Dan lagi pula katanya tamthīlnya [99] seperti air hujan didalam sebuah tanaman. Air itu jua lengkap pada sekalian tanaman itu. [Ber]bagai-bagai rasanya; pada limau masam, pada tebu manis, pada mambu pahit - masing-masing membawa rasanya. Tetapi ḥaqīqatnya air itu jua pada sekalian itu. Maka i'tiqād yang demikian kufr, kerana dii'tiqādkannya makhlūq dengan Ḥaqq Ta'ālā mesra seperti mesra air dengan bumi.

---

1970. Ibid, p. 98.

1971. Loc. cit.

Mahasuchi Ta'ālā daripada kata kāfir itu!<sup>1972</sup>

(viii)

Dan lagi pula katanya: "Kulihat Allāh pada keadaanku dengan keadaanNya. Bermula: keadaanku itu pun keadaanNya. Maka kulihatpun dengan pe[ng]lihat daripadaNya." Maka i'tiqād yang demikian [itu] kufr, kerana dijadikan wujudnya dan şifātnya yang ḥādith keduanya itu bersuatu dengan wujud Allāh dan şifātNya yang qadīm.<sup>1973</sup>

(ix)

Dan lagi pula katanya pada merechanakan firmān Allāh Ta'ālā: 'Kullu yawmin huwa fī shā'n,<sup>1974</sup> - ya'nī pada ḡāhirnya jua berbagai-bagai dan berubah-ubah, kerana Ia: huwa'l-awwalu wa'l-ākhiru wa'l-ḡāhiru wa'l-bāṭinu;<sup>1975</sup> ya'nī awal[Nya] tiada ketahuan ākhirNya tiada berkesudahan ḡāhirNya amat nyata bāṭinNya tiada kodapatan; memandang diriNya dengan diriNya melihat diriNya dengan dhātNya dengan şifātNya dengan af'ālNya dengan āthārNya - sungguh pun namanya empat ḥaqīqatnya esa [100] jua. Maka

---

1972. Ibid, pp. 98-99.

1973. Ibid, p. 99.

1974. Qur'an 55:29.

1975. Ibid, 57:3.

i'tiqād yang demikian itu kufr, kerana dijadikannya Khāliq dengan makhluk bersuatu.<sup>1976</sup>

(x)

Dan lagi pula katanya: "Pada ẓāhirnya jua makhluk, tetapi pada ḥaqīqatnya Allāh." Inilah i'tiqād qawm Ittihādiyyah.

Dan lagi pula katanya: "Pada ḥaqīqatnya ẓāhir dengan maẓharnya tiada bercherai. Adapun segala kata itu pun pertama mengetahui ma'rifat Allāh jua. Adapun sesudah-sudahan ma'rifat itu "tatakala datanglah kepada ḥad faqīr bahwa ialah Allāh". Apa ertinya? Seperti laut dan ombak dan angin tatakala bertiup angin ombak timbul daripadanya; jika barat angin ombak pulang kepada asalnya. Inilah ma'nā irji'ī ilā aṣlihi.<sup>1977</sup> Maka i'tiqād yang demikian itu kufr, kerana telah nyatalah kesalahannya.<sup>1978</sup>

(xi)

Dan lagi pula katanya tamthīl makhluk dengan Khāliq seperti biji dengan pohon kayu dalamnya; sungguh pun ẓāhirnya dua kelihatan, ḥaqīqatnya esa jua. Sebab inilah Mansūr Ḥallāj mengatakan "Anā'l-

1976. Tibyān, pp. 99-100.

1977. Qur'an 89:28.

1978. Tibyān, p. 180.

Ḥaqq!", setengah mengatakan "inā'LLāh!", kerana dhātunya tiada kelihatan dilihatnya. Lagi erti "idhā tamma'l-faqr fa huwa'LLāh"<sup>1979</sup> ertinya: "faqīr itu tiada sesuatupun baginya." Maka i'tiqād yang demikian itu kufr, kerana [101] telah nyatalah bāṭil i'tiqādnya.<sup>1980</sup>

(xii)

Dan lagi pula katanya "kata orang Pasai jika tiada kufr tiada bertenu dengan kufu", [kupho]<sup>1981</sup> pada bahasa Jāwī 'tertutup', [jika tiada tertutup] tiada bertenu dengan kufr, ya'nī: pada; erti pada itu [iaitu] tiada lagi diatasnya, ya'nī menjadi seperti tatakala dalam kuntu kanzan makhfiyyan. Hai segala Ahlu'l-Imān! - lihatlah kepada Zindīq; dithābitkannya akan Ḥaqq Ta'ālā kufu', iaitu: sebangsa, lagi diketahuinya pada ḡāhirnya bahwa sanya i'tiqād yang demikian itu kufr; maka dii'tiqādkannya jua i'tiqād yang bāṭil itu serta katanya bahwa i'tiqād yang demikian itu pada 'ilmu bāṭin tawḥid yang kāmīl. Demikianlah katanya dalam kitāb Muntahī.<sup>1982</sup>

---

1979. See (x) above.

1980. Tibyan, pp. 100-101.

1981. Kupho is the Acehnesse form of kufu'.

1982. Tibyan, p. 101.

(xiii)

Shahdān. Lagi pula i'tiqād qawm Qadariyyah. Dan katanya bahwa adalah Haqq Ta'ālā menyuruhkan dan memilikkan [or memikulkan]<sup>1983</sup> segala pekerjaan hamba itu kepada hamba jua. Maka hambalah menjadikan segala perbuatan, tetapi dinyatakan Allāh akan segala hambaNya amr dan nahī. Maka tiada harus akan Allāh menjadikan segala perbuatan hambaNya dengan irādatNya, dan mashiyyatNya, dan qaḍā'Nya, dan qadarNya. Maka i'tiqād yang demikian itu kufr kerana mereka itu menyabitkan ada yang menjadikan [sesuatu] lain daripada Allāh. Dan setengah daripada mereka itu i'tiqādnya [me] mungkirkan<sup>1984</sup> ṣifāt Allāh. Maka i'tiqād yang demikian itu kufr. Dan setengah daripada mereka itu i'tiqādnya bahwa Qur'ān itu makhlūq. Maka i'tiqād yang demikian itu kufr; seperti sabda Nabī (ṣalla'LLāhu 'alayhi wa sallam!): "Man qāla'l-qur'ānu makhlūqun fahuwa kāfirun"<sup>1985</sup> - ya'nī "Barangsiapa mengatakan Qur'ān itu makhlūq, maka ia itu kāfir." Demikian lagi i'tiqād Ḥanzah Fanṣūrī

---

1983. The text looks ambiguous: Memilikkan preferred.

1984. The text is corrupt.

1985. Cf. Taftāzānī, p. 62.

dalam kitāb yang bernama Asrāru'l-'Ārifīn: katanya Qur'ān yang dibawa Jibrā'īl itu dapat dikata makhlūq.<sup>1986</sup>

(xiv)

Kesepuluh qawm Jahmiyyah [itu] Lafziyyah namanya. Adalah i'tiqād mereka itu dan katanya yang melafazkan dan yang dilafazkan itu sana keduanya; ya'nī Qur'ān itu kalām Allāh, yang melafazkan - ertinya kalām yang dibacha itu - bukan kalām Allāh. Inilah i'tiqād Wujūdiyyah Ḥamzah Fanṣūrī. Katanya dalam kitāb Asrāru'l-'Ārifīn bahwa kalām Allāh yang dibawa Jibrā'īl itu dapat dikata akan dia makhlūq. Maka i'tiqād yang demikian itu kufr, kerana firmān Allāh Ta'ālā: (Innā anzalnāhu) Qur'ānan 'Arabiyyan [ghayra] dhī 'iwajin<sup>1987</sup> - ya'nī: 'Bahwa sanya Kami turunkan Qur'ān dibawa Jibrā'īl dengan bahasa 'Arab bukannya ia makhlūq.<sup>1988</sup>

(xv)

Kesem[b]ilan qawm Jahmiyyah [itu] Zanādiqiyyah

1986. Tibyān, pp. 70-71.

1987. Qur'an 39:28. The words I have put in brackets actually do not appear in the Quranic text. The word in square brackets has been omitted in Rānīrī's text.

1988. For the Jahmiyyah, cf. Watt, pp. 99-104, and see E.I. articles Djāhm and Djahmiya. Tibyān, p. 77.

namanya. Adalah i'tiqād mereka itu dan katanya bahwa 'ālam itu qadīm dan ma'dūn itu suatu jua; dan Allāh Ta'ālā tiada ma'dūn. Maka inilah i'tiqād Ḥamzah Fanṣūrī dan Shamsu'l-Dīn al-Sumatrānī dan segala yang mengikut keduanya. Maka i'tiqād yang demikian itu kufr kerana firmān Allāh Ta'ālā: 'Wa'LLāhu khāliq kulli shay'in,<sup>1989</sup> - ya'nī: 'Allāh jua yang menjadikan segala sesuatu.'

Shahdān. Adalah segala Ahlu'l-Sunnah wa'l-Jamā'ah ittifāq mengatakan barangsiapa mengi'tiqādkan bahwa ma'dūn itu suatu shay' maka ia itu kāfir. Mereka itulah yang bernama Aṣḥābu'l-Hayūlā; ertinya, yang mengi'tiqādkan a'yānu'l-thābitah itu ada berwujud.<sup>1990</sup>

---

1989. Qur'ān 13:18; 39:62.

1990. Tibyān, pp. 76-77.

Appendix III

Passages of texts quoted in Chapter  
III from Rānirī's Jawāhiru'l- 'Ulūm  
fī Kashfi'l-Ma'lūm (Marsden Collection  
no. 12151, Library, S.O.A.S., University  
of London) rendered into romanized Malay.

Dan lagi pula kata Shaykh Nūru'l-Dīn [36] 'Abdu'l-Rahmān Jāmī (qaddasa'llāhu sirrahu!) dalam kitāb Lawā'ih<sup>1991</sup> bahwa:

Ḥaqīqatu'l-Ḥaqā'iq itu-iaitu wujud Ḥaqq Ta'ālā - ialah ḥaqīqat segala ashyā'. Maka adalah Ia pada ḥadd DhātNya Esa, sekali-kali tiada berbilang, tetapi i'tibār segala tajallīNya dan ta'ayyunNya jua berbilang martabatnya (ya'nī tajalliyyāt dan ta'ayyunāt jua yang berbilang), iaitu daripada segala jawhar yang maṭbū' dan segala a'rāḍ yang ṭābi'. (Maka Dhāt Ḥaqq Ta'ālā itu Esa jua, sekali-kali tiada berbanyak dan berbilang; hanya sanya yang berbanyak dan berbilang itu segala jawhar dan a'raḍ jua - ialah yang kelihatan).

Maka Dhāt Allāh yang Esa itu, daripada fihaq i'tibār tajarrud dan iṭlāq daripada ta'ayyunāt dan taqayyidāt dinamai Ḥaqq, dan daripada fihaq i'tibār berbilang dan berbanyak segala maṣṣar dan ta'ayyunāt

---

1991. Text corrupt: Lawā'ij.



yang kelihatan itu dinamai khalq dan 'ālam. Maka 'ālam itu ḡāhir Ḥaqq Ta'ālā (ya'nī maḡharNya) dan Ḥaqq Ta'ālā itu bāṭin 'alam (ya'nī menḡāhirkan dia). Maka 'ālam itu, dahulu daripada ḡāhirnya, 'ayn Ḥaqq Ta'ālā (ya'nī ma'lūnNya pada diriNya akan diriNya dalam diriNya), dan Ḥaqq Ta'ālā, kemudian daripada ḡāhir 'ālam itu, 'ayn 'ālam (ya'nī menyatakan 'ālam). Maka nyatalah pada ḥaqīqat Ḥaqq Ta'ālā jua yang Esa lagi Wujūd Ḥaqīqī (dan segala mā siwā'LLāh itu sekali-kali tiada berwujūd ḥaqīqī, hanya wujūd majāzī dan ḡillī jua). Maka adalah ḡuhūr dan buṭūn, awwaliyyat dan 'ākhiriyyat dan segala i'tibārNya bagiNya jua. Ialah Awwal dan 'Ākhir, ḡāhir dan Bāṭin.<sup>1992</sup>

---

1992. 12151, pp. 35-36; Lawā'ih, pp. 41-42.

Appendix IV

Passages of texts quoted in Chapters II and VI from Rānirī's Hujjatu'l-Şiddiq li daf'i 'l-Zindiq (Maxwell Collection no. 93, Library, Royal Asiatic Society, London) rendered into romanized Malay.

(i)

Wujūd itu iaitu dhāt - ya'nī keadaan sesuatu shay'.<sup>1993</sup> Maka dhāt<sup>1994</sup> itu ada kalanya kelihatan dengan mata kepala seperti 'ālam, dan ada kalanya tiada kelihatan dengan mata kepala, tetapi menyabitkan dia<sup>1995</sup> 'aql dan shara', atau kashf<sup>1996</sup> dan dhawq. Ia itulah wujūd Allāh.<sup>1997</sup>

- 
1993. Rānirī's note: Ertinya: diri sesuatu.  
 1994. Rānirī's note: Ya'nī iaitu ḥuḍūr 'abd senantiasa dengan ingat akan Ḥaqq Ta'ālā seperti dirasainya segala asrār Allāh.  
 1995. Rānirī's note: Ya'nī firmān Allāh dan ḥadīth Rasūlu'Llāh dan ijimā' segala 'Ulamā'.  
 1996. Rānirī's note: Ya'nī iaitu diperoleh 'abd daripada segala tajallī Ḥaqq Ta'ālā; iaitu memushāhadahkan Ḥaqq Ta'ālā dengan anugerah daripada Ḥaqq Ta'ālā dan diperoleh 'abd beberapa asrār, iaitulah fā'idah tajallī dan kashf.  
 1997. Hujjah, p. 3.

(ii)

Kata Mutakallimīn wujud itu dua perkara: pertama wujud Allāh, kedua wujud 'ālam. Maka wujud Allāh itu wājibu'l-wujūd lagi qā'im sendirinya, dan wujud 'ālam itu mumkinu'l-wujūd - ya'nī: dijadikan Ḥaqq Ta'ālā daripada 'adan kepada wujūd khārijī; lagi ia qā'im dengan Ḥaqq Ta'ālā. Maka jadilah ḥaqīqat keduanya berlain-lainan; ya'nī keadaan keduanya itu berlain-lainan kerana Ḥaqq Ta'ālā itu qadīm lagi menjadikan, dan 'ālam itu muḥdath lagi dijadikan. Maka nyatalah pada iṣṭilāḥ mereka itu bahwa wujud itu dua perkara: suatu wujūd ḥaqīqī; kedua wujūd majāzī. Maka wujūd majāzī itu milik bagi wujūd ḥaqīqī.<sup>1998</sup>

(iii)

Adapun pada iṣṭilāḥ kami bahwa wujud itu esajua; iaitulah dhāt Allāh Ta'ālā. Dan 'ālam itu tiada berwujud dan tiada layak dinamai akan dia dengan nama wujud kerana ia 'adamu'l-mahḍ. Maka apabila adalah 'ālam itu 'adamu'l-mahḍ dan wujud Ḥaqq Ta'ālā itu wujūdu'l-mahḍ,<sup>1999</sup> maka manatah jadi sewujud 'adamu'l-mahḍ dengan wujūdu'l-mahḍ? Hanya sanya adalah 'ālam

---

1998. *Loc. cit.*

1999. Rāniri's note: Ya'nī somata-mata wujud ḥaqīqī.

itu mazhar dan zill; milik bagi Ḥaqq Ta'ālā - ya'nī tempat nyata Ḥaqq Ta'ālā dan bayang-bayang<sup>2000</sup> seperti upama rupa yang kelihatan dalam chermin bidal tamthīl. Ḥaqq Ta'ālā itu upama yang menilik chermin dan 'ālam itu upama rupa yang kelihatan dalamnya. Maka wujud Ḥaqq Ta'ālā dengan 'alam berlainan pun tiada dan bersuatu pun tiada, kerana berlainannya dan bersuatu itu menghendaki dua wujud mustaqill<sup>2001</sup> sendirinya. Maka apabila adalah wujud Allāh jua yang esa, dan 'ālam itu tiada berwujud, maka tiadalah jadi berlain-lainan. Daripada kerana inilah kami kata wujud Allāh dengan 'ālam esa. Jikalau ada 'ālam itu mawjūd kelihatan sekalipun tetapi tiada kebilangan wujudnya dari kerana ia tiada berwujud haqīqī.<sup>2002</sup>

(iv)

Adapun pendapat Ahlu'l-Ṣūfī itu pun dengan dalīl 'aql dan naql jua, lagi ditambah pula kashf dan dhawq.<sup>2003</sup> Maka ditilik mereka itu dengan mata hatinya dan dirasanya dengan perasaannya bahwa wujud itu esa jua - iaitulah wujud Allāh yang tiada kelihatan dengan

2000. The text is corrupt.

2001. Rānirī's note: Upama yang menilik chermin dan 'ālam itu.

2002. Ibid., p. 4.

2003. Text is corrupt: zawq.

mata kepada dalam Dāru'l-Dunyā ini; dan yang kelihatan dengan mata kepala itu iaitu 'ālam yang tiada berwujud seperti wujud Allāh. Maka wujud 'ālam itu wujud majāzī lagi muqayyad - ḡill - dan milik bagi wujud Allāh. Maka akan ḡill itu tiada dapat dikata akan dia wujud, dan tiada dapat dikata akan dia 'adam muṭlaq; dari kerana jika dikata akan dia wujud, sekutulah ia dengan wujud Allāh; dan jika dikata akan dia 'adam muṭlaq, maka 'adam itu tiada ada sesuatu shay' jua pun, dan 'ālam itu ada ia kelihatan. Maka hyatalah 'ālam itu maḡhar wujud Ḥaqq Ta'ālā. Maka nisbah antara wujud Allāh dan 'ālam itu bersuatu pun tiada dan berlainan pun tiada kerana 'ālam itu maḡhar dan milik bagi Ḥaqq Ta'ālā.<sup>2004</sup>

(v)

Kata Wujūdiyyah yang mulhid bahwa wujud itu esa; iaitulah wujud Allāh. Maka wujud Allāh yang Esa itu tiada ada ia mawjūd mustaqill sendirinya yang dapat dibezakan melainkan dalam kandungan sekalian makhlūqāt jua. Maka adalah makhlūqāt itu wujud Allāh, dan wujud Allāh itu wujud makhlūqāt. Maka 'ālam itu Allāh dan Allāh itu 'ālam. Bahwa sanya

adalah mereka itu menyabitkan wujud Allāh yang Esa itu dalam segala makhlukāt, serta katanya tiada mawjūd hanya Allāh.<sup>2005</sup>

(vi)

Maka nyatalah pada iṣṭilāḥ Ahlu'l-Ṣūfī bahwa wujud dan ḥaqīqat itu esa jua pada ma'nānya; iaitulah Dhāt Ḥaqq Ta'ālā. Maka murād daripada ḥaqīqat pada iṣṭilāḥ Ahlu'l-Ṣūfī itu iaitu: Al-ḥaqīqatu mā bihi'l-shay'u huwa huwa. Ertinya: Yang ḥaqīqat itu suatu shay' yang dengan dia [jadi] shay' itu - ia ia (ya'nī barang suatu shay' yang jadi ia daripada suatu shay'. Maka suatu shay' itu ḥaqīqat - upama ḥaqīqat periuk itu kisaran<sup>2006</sup> dan ḥaqīqat perahu itu tukang. Dan murād daripada ḥaqīqat pada iṣṭilāḥ Manṭiqiyyīn<sup>2007</sup> itu iaitu: Al-ḥaqīqatu mā yakūnu'l-shay'u bihi ka'l-ḥayawāni'l-nāṭiqi bi'l-nisbati ilā'l-insān. Ertinya: Yang ḥaqīqat itu barang sesuatu shay' yang dengan dia ia, seperti ḥayawān nāṭiq dengan nisbah kepada insān (ya'nī ḥaqīqat insān itu hidup yang berkata-kata). Maka nyatalah pada iṣṭilāḥ

---

2005. Hujjah, pp. 9-10.

2006. Text corrupt: kisawan.

2007. The text reading Manṭiqīn.

Mantiqiyīn<sup>2008</sup> haqīqat sesuatu shay' itu diri sesuatu shay'. Maka ikhtilāf ikhtiyār Mutakallimīn dan Ahlu'l-Şūfī pada menyabitkan wujūd Allāh dengan wujūd 'ālam itu ikhtilāf lafzī jua, bukan ma'nawī; seperti kata orang 'lina belas' dengan 'tengah dua puluh'. Maka pada ma'nānya sama jua, dan pada lafaznya berlain-lainan.<sup>2009</sup>

(vii)

Maka berhimpunlah<sup>2010</sup> sekalian Ahlu'l-Şūfī dan segala Mutakallimīn mengatakan: "Al-'ālamu bi jamī'i ajzā'ihī a'rādun wa'l-ma'rūdu huwa'Llāhu" - ya'nī: "Yang 'ālam dengan segala suku-sukunya [itu] beberapa 'araḍ, dan ma'rūḍ itu iaitu Haqq Ta'ālā." Maka murād daripada 'araḍ itu pada iştīlāḥ mereka itu: "Al-'araḍu lā yabqā zamānayn"<sup>2011</sup> - ya'nī: "Yang 'araḍ itu tiada ia kekal pada dua masa." Dan murād daripada ma'rūḍ itu iaitu wujūd Allāh yang azalī lagi abadī. Ialah yang qā'im sendiriNya dan Ialah

2008. Text reads: Mantiqīn.

2009. Hujjah, pp. 6-7.

2010. Text reads: berhimpunkan.

2011. Rānirī's note on the margin says:

Ya'nī adalah 'araḍ itu berubah-ubah lagi bergantiganti dan hilang. Maka datang yang ganti sebagainya pada tiap-tiap nafas dan ketika.

yang mengqiyānkan<sup>2012</sup> bagi lainnya. Maka tiadalah dinamai akan 'ālam itu dengan nama wujūd; hanya sanya adalah dinamai akan dia dengan nama ḡalālat<sup>2013</sup> dan lā shay', bāṭil dan khayālī dan sarābī dan ḡillī jua.

Maka apabila adalah ḡāl 'ālam itu demikian - ya'nī tiadalah kebilangannya itu jikalau kelihatan pada penglihat mata sekalipun - maka tiadalah menduai wujūd Ḥaqq Ta'ālā. Sebab inilah kata mereka itu bahwa Ḥaqq Ta'ālā dengan 'ālam itu esa. Bukan maḡṣūd mereka itu bahwa 'ālam<sup>2014</sup> dengan Ḥaqq Ta'ālā sewjūd dan bersuatu. Kerana itulah kata mereka itu bahwa Ḥaqq Ta'ālā dengan 'ālam berlainan pun tiada dan bersuatu pun tiada, kerana berlainannya dan bersuatunya itu menghendaki dua wujūd. Hanya sanya adalah ia milik bagi Ḥaqq Ta'ālā.<sup>2015</sup>

2012. Text corrupt: peqiyānkan.

2013. Text corrupt: ḡalalat.

2014. Rānirī's note on the margin says:

Ya'nī sebab dinamai akan 'ālam itu lā shay' kerana ia tiada shay' ḡaḡīqī pada tiap-tiap nafsu'l-amr dirinya, tetapi adalah shay' pada fiḡaḡ dijadikan Allāh akan dia.

2015. Hujjah, pp. 21-22.



(viii)

Kata ṭā'ifah Falāsifah bahwa wujūd Allāh dan 'ālam keduanya qadīm kerana [8] ia terbit daripada wujūd Allāh dengan ta'thīrnya, tiada dengan ikhtiyār Ḥaqq Ta'ālā; seperti keluar<sup>2016</sup> panas matahari daripada dhāt matahari. Maka tiadalah kuasa matahari menahani panasnya; selama ada matahari adalah panasnya. Demikian lagi selama ada Dhāt Allāh adalah 'ālam; tiada bercherai dan tiada tanggal daripada Dhāt Allāh, daripada azal datang kepada abad berhubung dan bertemu selama-lamanya. Dan lagi pula katanya bahwa Allāh Ta'ālā tiada kuasa atas segala sesuatu, dan tiada kuasa Ia menjadikan sesuatu yang lain daripada [yang] sudah keluar daripadanya. Dan tiada Ia berkuasa pada mengubahkan 'ālam yang sudah ada ini.<sup>2017</sup>

---

2016. Rānīrī's note:

Ya'nī, keluar 'ālam daripada Dhāt dengan kuasa dirinya, tiada dengan dijadikan Ḥaqq Ta'ālā akan dia.

2017. Hujjah, pp. 7-8.

Appendix V

Passages of texts quoted in Chapter III from Ḥanzah's Sha'irs (Cod. Or. 2016, Cod. Or. 3374, Cod. Or. 3372, Library, University of Leiden) rendered into romanized Malay.

(i)

On the Fixed Essences.

Aho segala kamu yang bernama taulan!  
Tuntut ma'rifat pada nongenal a'yān  
Kerana disana sekalian 'arifān  
Barang katanya setengah dengan firmān.

A'yān thābitah bukankah shu'ūn dhātiyyah?  
Mengapa pulang dikata wujud 'ilmiyyah!  
Tatakala awal baharu muqābalah  
Olehnya janggal sebab lagi mentah.

A'yān thābitah bukankah suwarī?  
Mengapa pulang dikata sifat wahyī!  
Tatakala awal baharu tafṣīl 'ilmī  
Olehnya janggal tiada mengetahui.

A'yān thābitah bukankah nāhiyyat al-murkināt?  
Mengapa pulang dikata mustahīlāt!  
Tatakala awal telah bernama na'lūnāt  
Olehnya janggal tiada mendapat.

A'yān thābitah bukankah makhḷūq?  
Mengapa pulang dikata na'shūq!  
Tatakala awal baharu nasbūq  
Olehnya janggal lalu tafāruq.

A'yān thābitah bukankah mir'āt?  
Mengapa pulang dikata 'adamiyyāt!  
Tatakala awal bernama ḥurūf 'āliyāt  
Olehnya janggal menjadi dalālat.

A'yān thābitah bukankah 'ālan?  
 Mengapa pulang dikata 'adan!  
 Tatakala awwal telah sudah mutalāzan  
 Olehnya janggal penglihatnya kelam.

A'yān thābitah bukankah 'āshiq?  
 Mengapa pulang dikata Khāliq!  
 Tatakala awwal baharu mutalāhiq  
 Olehnya janggal lalu mufāriq.

A'yān thābitah bukankah na'lūn?  
 Mengapa pulang dikata na'dūn!  
 Tatakala awwal telah sudah termaqsūm  
 Olehnya janggal tiada mafhūm.

A'yān thābitah bukankah faqīr?  
 Mengapa pulang dikata anīr!  
 Tatakala awwal baharu hādīr  
 Olehnya janggal menjadi khāsir.

A'yān thābitah bukankah jā'izu'l-wujūd?  
 Mengapa pulang dikata mumtani'u'l-wujūd!  
 Tatakala awwal telah sudah mawjūd  
 Olehnya janggal menjadi juhūd.

A'yān thābitah bukankah sh'ūn thubūtī?  
 Mengapa pulang dikata 'adan maḥḍī!  
 Tatakala awwal sudah mujmalī  
 Olehnya janggal menjadi Mu'tazilī.

A'yān thābitah bukankah 'adam munkin?  
 Mengapa pulang dikata 'adan sākin!  
 Tatakala awwal telah menjadi chermin  
 Olehnya janggal lalu ngerin.

'Adam munkin awwalnya na'dūm  
 Disana faqīr sekalian antun  
 Didalan 'ilnu sekaliannya na'lūn  
 Itulah murād wa huwa na'akum aynamā kuntum.<sup>2018</sup>

(ii)

On the Descent of the Absolute

Ta'ayyun uwwal wujud yang jāni'ī  
 Pertama disana nyata Rūḥ Idāfī  
 Senesta 'ālam sana lagi ijmālī  
 Itulah bernama Ḥaqīqat Muḥammad al-Nabī.

Ta'ayyun thānī wujud yang tanyīzī  
 Disana terperi sekalian rūḥī  
 Senesta 'ālam sana tafṣīl yang mujmalī  
 Itulah bernama ḥaqīqat insānī.

Ta'ayyun thālith wujud yang mufaṣṣalī  
 Iaitulah anugeraha daripada karunia Ilāhī  
 Senesta 'ālam sana tafṣīl fi'lī  
 Itulah bernama a'yān khārijī.

Rahasia ini yogya diketahui  
 Pada kita sekalian yang menuntut  
 Denikianlah kelakuannya tanazzul dan taraqqī  
 Dari sanalah kita sekalian menjadi.

Pada kunhinya itu belum berketahuan  
 Denikianlah martabat asal permulaan  
 Bernama waḥdat tatakala zamān  
 Itulah 'Āshiq sifat menyatakan.

Waḥdat itulah bernama Kamāl Dhātī  
 Menyatakan sana Rūḥ Muḥammad al-Nabī  
 Tatakala itu bernama Rūḥ Idāfī  
 Itulah makota Qurayshī dan 'Arabī.

Waḥdat itulah sifat yang Keesaan  
 Memberikan wujud pada sekalian insān  
 MuḥīṭNya lengkap pada sekalian zamān  
 Olehnya itulah tiada Ia bermakān.

Waḥdat itulah yang pertama nyata  
 DidalamNya mawjūd sekalian rata  
 MuḥīṭNya lengkap pada sekalian anggota  
 Denikianlah umpama cahaya dan purnama.

Wahdat itulah bernama Kunhi Sifat  
Tiada bercherai dengan iṭlāq Ahadiyyat  
Tanzih dan tashbih disana na'iiyyāt  
Denikianlah sekarang zāhir [28] pada  
ta'ayyunāt.

Wahdat itulah bernama bayang-bayang  
Disana nyata Wayang dan Dalang  
MuhitNya lengkap pada sekalian padang  
Mushahadat disana jangan kepalang.

Wahdat itulah yang pertama awal  
Ijmal dan tafsir sana mujmal  
MuhitNya lengkap pada sekalian af'al  
Itulah martabat usul dan asal.

Wahdat itulah yang pertama tanazzul  
Ijmal dan tafsil sana naqbul  
MuhitNya lengkap pada sekalian maf'ul  
Itulah Haqiqat Junjungan Rasul.

Wahdat itulah yang pertama tajallī  
Tiada bercherai dengan Wujūd Muṭlaqi  
Ijnāl dan tafṣīl didalam 'ilmi  
Itulah martabat kejadian Rūh Idāfī.

Wahdat itulah yang pertama taqayyid  
 Disana idāfat lan yulan dan lan yalid 2019  
 Pada sekalian ta'ayyun jangan kau taqlid  
 Mangkannya sampai bernama tajrid.

Wahdat itulah sifat yang talāhuq  
Tanzīh dan tashbīh sana eluk  
MuhiṭNya nyata tatakala nasuk  
Itulah pertemuan Khālīq dan Makhlūq.

Wahdat itulah sifat yang talāzun  
Tanzīh dan tashbīh sana malzūn  
MuḥīṭNya lengkap pada sekalian ma'lūn  
Itulah pertemuan Qasīm dan Maqsūn.

Waḥdat itulah sifat yang taqārūn  
 Tanzīh dan tashbīh sana maqrūn  
 MuḥitNya lengkap pada sekalian mudabbirūn.  
 Itulah murād: Wa fī anfusikum - a fa lā  
tubṣirun. 2020

---

2020. 2016, pp. 27-28. Qur'ān 51:21.

(iii)

On the Compassionate

Tuhan kita yang bernama Qadīm  
 Pada sekalian makhluk terlalu karīm  
 TandaNya qadīr lagi dan ḥakīm  
 Menjadikan 'ālan daripada al-Raḥmān al-Raḥīm.

Raḥmān itulah yang bernama ṣifāt  
 Tiada bercherai dengan kunhī Dhāt  
 Dhāt disana perhimpunan sekalian 'ibārāt  
 Itulah ḥaqīqat yang bernama na'lūmāt.

Raḥmān itulah yang bernama wujud  
 Keadaan Tuhan yang sedia na'būd  
 Kenyataan Islām Naṣrānī dan Yahūd  
 Dari Raḥmān itulah sekalian nawjūd.

Ma'būd itulah terlalu bayān  
 Pada kedua 'ālan kullu yawmin huwa fī shān<sup>2021</sup>  
 Ayat ini daripada Surat al-Raḥmān  
 Sekalian 'ālan disana ḥayrān.

Ma'būd itulah yang bernama ḥaqīq  
 Sekalian 'ālan didalamnya ḡharīq  
 Olehnya itulah sekalian farīq  
 Pada kunhinya itu tiada beroleh ṭarīq.

Ḥaqīqat itulah terlalu 'ayān  
 Pada rupa kita sekalian insān  
 Aynanā tuwallū suatu burḥān  
Ḥa thanna wajhu'Llāh<sup>2022</sup> pada sekalian  
 nakan.

Insān itu terlalu 'alī  
 Ḥaqīqatnya Raḥmān yang Maha Bāqī  
Aḥsanu taqwīnin<sup>2023</sup> itu rabbānī  
 Akan kenyataan Tuhan yang bernama Subḥānī.

---

2021. Qur'ān 55:29.

2022. Ibid., 2:109.

2023. Ibid., 95:4.

Subḥānī itulah terlalu 'ajīb  
 Daripada ḥabli'l-warīd<sup>2024</sup> pun ia qarīb  
 Indah sekali qaḍi dan khaṭīb  
 Demikian hampir tiada beroleh naṣīb.

Aho segala kita yang 'āshiqī  
 Ingatkan na'nā insānī  
 Jika sungguh engkau bangsa rūḥānī  
 Jadikan dirinu akan rupa Sulṭānī.

Kenal dirinu hai anak 'ālin!  
 Supaya engkau nentiasa sālīm  
 Dengan dirinu itu yogya kau qā'in  
 Itulah ḥaqīqat ṣalāt dan ṣā'in.

Dirinu itu bernama khalīl  
 Tiada bercherai dengan rabb [al-]Jalīl  
 Jika na'nā dirinu dapat akan dalīl  
 Tiada berguna madḥab dan sabīl.

Kullu nan 'alayhā fān<sup>2025</sup> āyat min Rabbihi  
 Menyatakan na'na irjī'i ilā aṣlihi<sup>2026</sup>  
 Akan insān yang beroleh tawfiqī  
 Supaya karan didalam sirru sirrihi.

Situlah wujūd sekalian funūn  
 Tinggallah engkau daripada māl wa'l-banūn  
 Engkaulah 'āshiq terlalu junūn  
Innā li'llāhi wa innā ilayhi rāji'ūn.<sup>2027</sup>

---

2024. Ibid., 50:16.

2025. Ibid., 55:26.

2026. Ibid., 89:28.

2027. Ibid., 2:156. 3374, pp. 13-14.



(iv)

On the Spirit

(a)

Unggas itu yang anat burhāna  
 Diannya nentiasa didalan astana  
 [39] Tempatnya bermain dibukit Tūr Sīnā  
 Majnūn dan Si Laylā adalah disana.

Unggas itu bukannya nuri  
 Berbunyi ia sedekala hari  
 Bermain tanāshā pada sekalian negeri  
 Denikianlah murād al-insānu sirri.

Unggas itu bukannya balan  
 Nentiasa berbunyi siang dan malam  
 Tempatnya bermain pada sekalian 'ālan  
 Disanalah tanāshā melihat ragam.

Unggas itu tahu berkata-kata  
 Sarangnya dipadang rata  
 Tempatnya bermain pada sekelian anggauta  
 Ada yang bersalahan, ada yang sekata.

Unggas itu terlalu indah  
 Olehnya banyak ragan dan ulah  
 Tempatnya bermain [didalan] Ka'bah  
 Pada bukit 'Arafāt kesudahan mushāhadah.

Unggas itu bukannya merak  
 Nentiasa bermain didalan shurga  
 Kenyataan mu'jizat tidur dan jaga.  
 Itulah wujud meliputi rongga.

Unggas itu terlalu pingai  
 Nentiasa nain dalam naligai  
 Rupanya elok sempurna bisai  
 Menyanarkan diri pada sekalian sakai.

Unggas itu bukannya gagak  
 Bunyinya terlalu sangat galak  
 Tempatnya tanāshā pada sekalian awak  
 Itulah wujud menyatakan kehendak.

Unggas itu bukannya bayan  
 Nentiasa berbunyi pada sekalian a'yān  
 Tempatnya tanāshā pada sekalian kawan  
 Itulah wujud menyatakan kelakuan.

Unggas itu bukannya burung  
 Nentiasa berbunyi didalam tanglung  
 Tempatnya tanāshā pada sekalian lurung  
 Itulah wujud menyatakan tulung.

Unggas itu bukannya Baghdādī  
 Nentiasa berbunyi didalam jasadi  
 Tempatnya tanāshā [40] pada sokalian fu'ādī  
 Itulah wujud menyatakan 'ahdi.

Unggas itu yang weruh angasmu  
 Nentiasa 'āshiq tiada kala jenu  
 Menjadi dagang lagi ia jamu  
 Itulah wujud menyatakan 'ilmu. 2028

(b)

Tayru'l-'uryānī unggas sulṭānī  
 Bangsanya Nūr'l-Rahmānī  
 Tasbīḥnya Allāh Subḥānī  
 Gila dan nabok akan Rabbānī.

Unggas itu terlalu pingai  
 Warnanya terlalu bisai  
 Rumahnya tiada [69] berbidai  
 Duduknya dā'in dibalik tirai.

Putihnya terlalu suchi  
 Olehnya itu bernana rūḥī  
 Millatnya terlalu ṣūfī  
 Maṣḥafnya bersurat Kūfī.

'Arsh Allāh akan pangkalannya  
 Ḥabīb Allāh akan taulannya  
 Bayt Allāh akan sangkarannya  
 Mengadap Tuhan dengan sopannya.

Ṣūfīnya bukannya kain  
 Fī'l-Makkah dā'im bernain  
 'Ilmunya ṣāhīr dan bāṭin  
 Menyenbah Allāh terlalu rajin.

Kitāb Allāh dipersandangnya  
 Ghayb Allāh akan pandangnya  
 'Ālan Lāhūt akan kandangnya  
 Pada dā'irah Huwa tempat pandangnya.

Dhikr Allāh kiri kanannya  
 Fikir Allāh rupa badannya  
 Shurbat tawhīd akan minurnya  
 Dā'im bertemu dengan Tuhannya.

Suluhnya terlalu terang  
 Harinya tiada berpetang  
 Jalannya terlalu hening  
 Barang nendapat dia terlalu menang.

Chahayanya tiada berhā'il  
 Bayna'LLāh dan bayna'l-'ānil  
 Shari'atnya terlalu kānil  
 Barang yang mungkir menjadi jāhil.

Jika kau dapat asal 'ilmunya  
 Engkaulah yang tertahunya  
 'Ālan nin engkau yang punya  
 Disana-sini engkau sukunya.

'Ilmunya tiada berbagai-bagai  
 Farḍunya yogya kau pakai  
 Tinggalkan ibu dan bapai  
 Menyenbah Tuhan jangan kau lalai.

'Ilmunya 'ilmu yang pertama  
 Madhhabnya nadhhab bernana  
 Chahayanya chahaya yang lama  
 Kedalan shurga bersana-sana.<sup>2029</sup>

---

2029. Ibid., pp. 68-69.

(c)

Tayru'l-'uryānī unggas rūḥānī  
 Didalan kandang ḥaḍrat raḥmānī  
 Warnanya pingai rupanya ṣāfī  
 Tempatnya Kursi yang maha 'ālī.

Sungguh pun 'uryān bukannya gila  
 Mengaji Qur'ān dengan tartīla  
 Tempatnya mandi sungai Salsabīla.<sup>2030</sup>  
 Didalan firdaus ra'su Zanjabīla.

(d)

Unggas nūri aṣalnya chahaya  
 Diannya dā'in di Kursi Raja  
 Daripada nūrinya faqīr dan kaya  
 Menjadi insān, Tuhan dan saya.

Kuntu kanzan aṣal sarangnya  
 'Alan Lahut nana padangnya  
 Terlalu Luas dengan lapangnya  
 Itulah kanzan dengan lawangnya.

'Aqlu'l-Kullī nana bulunya  
Qalan al-'Ala nana kukunya  
 Allāh Ta'ala akan gurunya  
 Oleh itulah tiada jodonya.

Jalāl dan Janāl nana kakinya  
 Nūru'l-Awwal nana jarinya  
 Lawḥ al-Maḥfūz nana hatinya  
 Menjadi jawhar dengan ṣāfīnya.

Itulah Aḥmad awwal Nabīnya  
 Nūr Allāh dengan suchinya  
 Sokalian 'alan panchar daripada nūrinya  
 Menjadi langit serta buminya.<sup>2031</sup>

---

2030. Ibid., p. 70.

2031. Ibid., p. 71.

(e)

Unggas Pingai terlalu 'āshiq  
 Dā'in bermain di Kursī Khāliq  
 Bangsanya Raḥmān yang fā'iq  
 Menjadi sultān terlalu lā'iq.

Unggas itu tahu berkata  
 Sarangnya dipadang rata  
 Akan wujūdnya sekalian nata  
 Mengenal diri terlalu nyata.

Mazhar Allāh akan rupanya  
 Asnā' Allāh akan nananya  
 Malā'ikat akan tenteranya  
 Akulah wāṣil akan katanya.

Sayapnya bernama Furqān  
 Tubuhnya bersurat Qur'ān  
 Kakinya Hannān dan Mannān  
 Dā'in [73] bertenggor ditangan Raḥmān.

Rūḥ Allāh akan nyawanya  
 Sirr Allāh akan angganya  
 Nūr Allāh nama matanya  
 Nūr Muḥammad dā'in sertanya.

Liqā Allāh nama 'ishqīnya  
 Ṣawt Allāh akan bunyinya  
 Raḥmān-Raḥīm nama hatinya  
 Menyerbah Tuhan dengan ṣāfīnya.

Buni-langit akan sangkarannya  
 Makkah-Madīnah akan pangkalannya  
 Bayt Allāh nama badannya  
 Disana bertemu dengan Tuhannya.

Chahayanya seperti suluh  
 Bunyinya seperti guruh  
 Matanya lengkap dengan tubuh  
 Bulunya dā'in sekalian luruh.

Rupanya akan maḥbūbnya  
 Lakunya akan narghūbnya  
 Bangsanya akan maṭlūbnya  
 Burāq al-Mi'rāj akan markūbnya.

'Ilmu'l-yaqīn nama 'ilmunya  
 'Aynu'l-yaqīn ḥāṣil tahunya  
 Ḥaqqu'l-yaqīn akan lakunya  
 Muḥammad Nabī aṣal gurunya.

Sharī'at akan ripinya  
 Tarīqat akan budinya  
 Ḥaqīqat akan tirainya  
 Ma'rifat yang wāṣil akan isinya.

'Alan nāsūt nana hambanya  
 Perisai nalakūt akan katanya  
 Duldul jabarūt nana kudanya  
 Menyerang lāhūt akan kerjanya.

Dongarkan hai anak jamu,<sup>2032</sup>  
 Unggas itu sekalian kanu!

(f)

Ikan Tunggal bernama fādīl  
 Dengan air dā'in ia wāṣil  
 'Ishqīnya terlalu kānīl  
 Didalam Laut tiada bersāhil.

Ikan itu terlalu 'alī  
 [87] Bangsanya Nūr al-Raḥmānī  
 Angganya rupa insānī  
 Dā'in bermain di laut bāqī.

Bisni'llāh akan nananya  
 Ruḥ Allāh akan nyawanya  
 Wajh Allāh akan nukanya  
 Zāhir dan bāṭin sertanya.

Nūr Allāh nana bapainya  
 Khalaqat Allāh akau sakainya  
 Raja Sulaymān akan pawainya  
 Dā'in berbunyi dalam balainya.

---

2032. Ibid., pp. 72-73.

Empat bangsa akan ibunya  
Ṣunnun bukmun<sup>2033</sup> akan tipunya  
 Kerja Allah yang ditirunya  
 Mengenal Allah dengan bisunya.

Fanā' fī 'Ilāh akan suchinya  
 Innī anā 'Ilāh akan bunyinya  
 Menakai dunyā akan ruginya  
 Rāḍikan mati dā'in pujinya.

Tarku'l-dunyā akan labanya  
 Menuntut dunyā akan maranya  
 'Abdu'l-Wāḥid asal namanya  
 Dā'in "Anā'l-Haqq!" akan katanya.

Kerjanya nabok dan 'āshiq  
 'Ilmunya sempurna fā'iq  
 Menchari air terlalu ṣādiq  
 Didalan Laut bernama Khāliq.

Ikan itu terlalu zāhir  
 Olehnya dā'in didalam air  
 Sungguh pun ia terlalu hanyir<sup>2034</sup>  
 Wāṣilnya dā'in di Laut halir.

---

2033. Qur'ān 2:18; 171; 6:39.

2034. Ibid., pp. 86-87.

(v)

On Gnosis

Aho segala kita ummat Nabī!  
 Akan na'rifat Allāh yogya diketahui  
 Kerana na'rifat itu pada sekalian walī  
 Mulianya sangat terlalu qawī.

Ma'rifat itu yang terlalu qabūl  
 Dengan Mahbūbnu dā'in beroleh wuṣūl  
 Pakaian Mahbūb yang bernama Rasūl  
 Terlalu jauh daripada zulūnan jahūl. 2035

Maraja'l-bahrayni yaltaqiyān  
Bayna hunā barzakhun la yabghiyān. 2036

Bahrayn itu terlalu 'ajīb  
 Barzakh diantaranya bi Nūri'l-Ḥabīb  
 Olehnya zāhir terlalu qarīb  
 Kelihatan jauh pada sekalian [66] gharīb.

Bahrayn itulah na'nānya dalam  
 Menyatakan pertemuan Tuhan dan 'ālam  
 Inilah rahasia Nabī yang Khātam  
 Menyalakan 'Āshiq tiada ia padan.

Bahrayn itu tiada bertating  
 Airnya suchi terlalu hening  
 Bukan dinata hidung dan kening  
 Jangan dipandang disana pening!

Erti qāba qawsayni aw adnā  
 Pertemuan hamba dan Tuhan yang A'lā  
 Pada nā kadhaba'l-fu'ādu na ra'a  
 Tiada lagi lain 'ala na yura. 2037

2035. Qur'ān 33:72.

2036. Ibid., 55:19-20.2037. Ibid., 53:9, 11-12.



Qāba qawsayni itu suatu tanthīl  
 Ma'nānya 'alī tinbangnya thaqīl  
 Baḥrayn didalamnya sempurna janīl  
 Orang mengetahui dia terlalu qalīl.

Orang qāba qawsayni itu seperti kandang  
 Tali diantaranya bukannya benang  
 Barzakh nananya disana torbentang  
 Ketiganya wāḥid yogya kau pandang.

Tuhan kita itu tiada bermakān  
 ZāhirNya nyata dengan rupa insān  
 Man 'arafa nafsahu suatu burhan  
Fa qad 'arafa rabbahu terlalu bayān. 2038

---

2038. 2016, pp. 65-66. See also ibid., pp. 67-68.

Appendix VI

Facsimile of the text of Ḥamzah's  
Al-Muntahī Cod. Or. 7291 (III),  
Library, University of Leiden.



يناسي معناك والله اعلم بالصواب تمت الكتاب اسبر العا ستين من كلام  
الفقيه من الحنفية له نين تمت كتاب

اميت



بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الحمد لله رب العالمين والعاقبة للمتقين والصلاة على رسول محمد  
محمد وآله اجمعين كنهوي اولهم هي طالب بهر سبب رسول الله  
صلى الله عليه وسلم من نظر الي شيء ولم يري الله فيه فهو باطل يعني  
بر غشيان منيكل كقد سوات كل تباد دليهنش الله دالم كل يايث كيسي



۱۱۱ کات علی رضی الله عنه مایث شیئا الا ورايت الله یعنی ثیاد کلینت  
 سوات ملینکن کلینت الله دالمث سید نبی صلی الله علیه وسلم مت  
 عرف نفسه فقد عرف ربه یعنی بر عتباتی مقتل دیریت مکسث مقتل توهنت  
 ارت مقتل توهنت دان مقتل دیریت یعنی دری کنت کنز اخفیا دیریت  
 دان سمث سکین دالم علم الله ستره سبج دان قوهن قوهنت دالم سبج  
 ایت سکهفون ثیاد کلها قن ثنائی حکمت ادام سبج ایت . کات شیخ جند  
 رضی الله عنه کان الله ولم یکن معه شیئ الا ان کما کان یعنی ادا الله  
 دان ثیاد ادرتات سوات قوه سکاره انی کثره اداث داهول ایت جو  
 کارن انی مکسث علی رضی الله عنه مایث شیئا الا ورايت الله فیله  
 ثنائی جائن ملینت ستره کاین باسه کارن کاین لاین . ایت لاین الله  
 سبحانه وثنالی مهابوج درفرد دامکین ایت ثملث ثنائی جل دثملکن  
 ستره لاوه دان امیث هارس ستره کافه شعیر فالحر بحر علی ماکات  
 فی قد صم ان الکث اداث افواج وانهار لالتحیبتک اسکال ثنائی کلها عن  
 من نشکا فیها تهی استار یعنی یثلاوه ایت لاوه جو قد سری  
 قرمات مکسث چهار ایت امیث دان سوتیث جائن مندیج دیکو



سکل روقی یه مپرو قای دیریت کارن دغن سکل روقی ایت دندیت درقدات ۱/۲  
شقای برسرست جو دغن لاوۃ قدیم ستره مصرع لاوۃ ایت قدیم  
اقیل برفال بهار امیونعات دکات شقای قد حقیقتۃ لاوۃ جو کارن لاوۃ دان  
امیوناس ثیاد دوستره قرمان الله تعالی والله بكل شیئی محیط یعنی بهو الله  
تعالی دغن سوات ملفوت سید رسول الله صلی الله علیه وسلم انا من الله  
والعالم منی یعنی اک درقد الله سکلین عالم درقد اک ستره متهاری دغن چھیائ  
دغن فانسۃ نجات نیک حقیقتۃ سوات جو ستره ایشارۃ رسول الله صلی  
الله علیه وسلم من عرف نفسه فقد عرف ربه یعنی برعسیافا مقتل دیریت  
مک کت مقتل ثورهنۃ ادفون دیریت ایت ستره بروله نام دان روقی جو  
حقیقتۃ روقی دان نام ثیاد ستره بایعۃ عالم جرمن روقات دنجات  
ادستره سبله نبی ص المؤمنین مرآة المؤمنین یعنی یه مؤمنین ایت جرمن  
سمات مؤمنین ارتیت یعنی نام الله مؤمنین مک صیبات یه خاص قوت  
نجات مؤمنین جکر امکان سام سام دغن ثورهنۃ کارن صیبات برجرری  
دغن ثورهنۃ دان ثورهنۃ قوت ثیاد برجرری دغن صیبات ستره قرمان الله  
تعالی وهو معکم ایتماکنتم یعنی یایت سرش کام یارغد مان ادا کام دان



لكن فرمان الله تعالى ثلثة الالهوه بعهم ولا خمسة الالهوه سادسهم  
ولا ادني من ذلك ولا اكثر الالهوه معهم يعني جل اورج تيك مليكن اي جو  
كامنتي دمن مريكت دان جل دليم مليكن اي كام دمن مريكت دان  
تياد ليه دان ثياد كورج درقد دمين ايت مليكن اي جو ستر مريكت كتره  
فرمان الله ونحن اقرب اليه من جبل الوريد يعني كل همي كند درقد  
اورت ليهرت يكد و دمن كن هي طالب وهو معكم ثياد دلور دان ثياد  
دام دان ثياد ديشي دان ثياد دباوه دان ثياد دكيري دان ثياد دكان درقد  
انم قيمت ستر فرمان الله تعالى هو الاول والاخر والظاهر والباطن  
يعني يايث جو يي داهول دان اي جو يي كدين دان اي جو يي ثيات دان  
اي جو يي ثيون قوت ثمل ستر قوصن كاي ستره ثيات ليمو اتر لاي  
درقد ليمو دونت لاي داهنت لاي ثوثات لاي بوخت لاي اكرت  
لاني قد حقيقت سكلين ايت ليمو جو ستره قوت ثيات دان  
روثات دان ورنات برباكي حقيقت اسس جو جگلو دمين قند قله  
سكل عارق مقتل الله تعالى ستر رسول الله ص من من عرق نفسه  
نقد عرق ربه ستر يي ثرت داهول ايت سبرمول كبد رسول الله ايت



دعوت دایم شارکن جو شکستون قد شریعت روقات بر یکی بر یکی قد حقیقت  
اس جو سفر کات شعیر لمعه بهواد کلسه کو توبه دان پا و رفات  
جوانی توبه اقی پا و سکین عالم قوت روقات جو اسکل روقایب اک دان  
ارت بی سوج ایستون روقات جو سکل بارغ یقداغ کقد فطیہتم ایستون  
روقات جو سفر فرمان بعالی فایتم نولو فتم وجه الله یعنی بر حکمت  
مکام کو هدایت کن مکر دسان اذ ذات الله شمول سفر سوس دان پیو  
سایه ثبات دو حقیقت سوات جو کسد هیت سوس لپیو قوتون لپیو  
میو جو ککل سوزیت سکا سکا لیا د بر تو کمر سفر سید رسول الله  
ص من عرف نفسه بالفتاء فقد عرف ربه بالبقاء یعنی بر عیادت مفضل  
دریت فناء بهوست مفضل توهن بی بقاله دان سرت توهنت سفر مشهور  
روح دعوت بدان محیطا قد بدان قوت ثبات دالم بدان قوت ثبات لور بدان قوت  
ثبات دلمین لکن توهن قد سکین عالم قوت ثبات دالم عالم قوت ثبات دلو  
عالم قوت ثبات سفر قمرات جنبی دعوت چمایت دالم قمرات قوت ثبات چمایت  
دیور قمرات قوت ثبات چمایت کارن این مکرکات علی رضی الله عنه  
ما رایت شیئا الا ورايت الله فيه یعنی ثبات کل هیت سوات ملیتکن



کلیت الله دالمک مک منصور منصور خلاج قون برکات در قد ساعته بر صیحه انی  
 مقتانک انا الحق یعنی اک له یغ سبترت مک کات یزید قون مقتانک دمهکت  
 سیحانی ما اعظم شتانی یعنی مها سوج اک دان سیاق بسر سبکیکو مک  
 شیخ جند بغدادی قون مقتانک لیس فی جیتی سومی الله یعنی بنیاد  
 دالم جبهکوانین ملتکن الله دان سید نسیمی قون مقتانک انی انا الله یعنی  
 بهو اک له الله دان مسعودی قون مقتانک دمن بهما قرسی انی  
 همان ذات بود باز همان ذات شد یعنی ذات الله یفقدیم ایستوله  
 ذاکو سکار سکارچ دان کات مولانا روم عالم تن بلم ادک اداله ادم  
 قون بلم ادک اداله سوات قون بلم ادک برهین قدیم کوهر دان کات شمس  
 العا ستین شیخ علی ابو الوفا کل الوجود و وجوده لا تشکر به  
 الملاح فاذا نظرة له به فاسجد هنال ولا جناح یعنی سکل او جود  
 جا غنکو سکو توکن دمن یقبایل اقبیل کو لیست م بلیت دمن دعب  
 هر سچوله انگوسان بنیاد بردوش مک کات کتا گلستان چه سکل  
 اسلام چک کو کشته ی بهو برهالا ای کو کشته اللهم بهو یغ جالی ایت قد  
 میمیه برهالا دیکت چک سکل کافر در برهالات ایت دلال م غاف مک



۱۱۶  
فد کماک ایت جاد نیست کسب داد املینله کل شیخ عین القضاة بمیه انجی متکلی  
هکد ربیع یعنی انیله توهنگو کار انجی ثیاد دلیهتت هات دلیهتت توهنگو  
جو دلیهتت ستره اوسر ملیهت کفد چرم من موک جو یقده لیهتت چرم من  
غایب درقد فطیهتت کارن عالم این قد فطیهتت ستره بایع جو رفاک  
ال حقیقتت ثیاد نسبت کفد حق تعالی ثیاد نسبت کفد کیت اداله کارن  
کیت منمند دجن حجاب ستره سید رسول الله ص من عرف نفسه  
فقد عرف ربه دجن ایشارکن جو قد حقیقتت دکنل قون بی مقتل  
قون ای ستره سید رسول الله ص من عرف الله طال لیسانه یعنی  
بر غسیاق مقتل الله لنجی پیرامت قد تشکالاملاک مقشهور من عرف نفسه  
سئله سیمی کفد قد عرف ربه کل سندیریت کل کنید قولای نبی الله  
من عرف الله کل لسان یعنی بر غسیاق مقتل الله کلوله لیده هکد اریت  
ثمت برکات ثیاد لاک لولس ستره کات شیخ محی الدین عربی قدس الله  
سره ایتشون ایشاره کفد من عرف نفسه فقد عرف ربه جو بشیر  
الحق عین الحق ان کنت دحین والشاف عین الله ان کنت داعقل وات  
کنت داعین وعقل فماتریا فهو عین شیء واحد فیه الا بالسئل



// یعنی کات می الهی سبزی ایت کادات صیانت جل ادعکوا ورنج برماث برمول  
 هب ایت کیشان تو هن جل ادعکوا ورنج بریدی کل برع سکل کویست این کادات  
 سکل سوات ایت دالمی دمن سکل روقی سقره قرمان الیه تعالی و هو معکم  
 اینما کنتم یعنی یائت سرت کام بارخ دمان ادکام لکن قرکانت شیخ هب  
 الدین ابن عربی شفر کننا حروف عالیات لم نقل متعلقات بری اعلی القل  
 کنت اناخیه و تحت انت هو فالکافی هو هو فی سئل عن من وصل یعنی کبله  
 حروف یغ من هائیکه یغیا بر قنده دان بقتر کنتی دمن استنات دیا سق قوجر  
 کونیه انکلو دان کل انکلو دالمی دان انکلو ای کل سکلین دالمی ایت ای مکر  
 بر ثاک له انکلو کونیه بر غنیای یغ وصل حیه طالب مقتره یغ من عرف نفسه  
 بوکت مقتل جنیه دان فار قار دان بوکت منزل مثل کالی دان ثائن معنی  
 من عرف نفسه اداک دمن ادثر صنت اسر جو سقره کات شیخ بغدادی  
 رحمه الله علیه لون الماء ولو الانائه یعنی ورنایر ورت باجنات  
 دان سقره کات شفر لفته لقد بطنت فلنم تظهر الذی بصر فیکف  
 بدرک من بالین منشر یعنی سق کت ثله ثرنیه انکلو کل ثاد داف  
 دیهت اوله سکل مات کل بشاق دیهت اوله سکل مات کل بشاق



دلیهت اوله سلا مات کارن ای تردند؟ دنن اداک لکی کات شیخ محی الدین ۱۱۸  
ان رحمت بطلبه لم یفرض سفری ان جئت حصه وحشت فی حضری  
لا انارة ولا ینفک من بصری و فی ضمیری ولا یلقاه فی عمری یعنی  
جر فرکیله کن <sup>منتهدی</sup> ثیادله برکسد هن تستکو جک دات؟ ک کضره ای  
سیرد رقد ک ثیاد اک ملیهت دی ای ثیاد جاق در قد فقلیهت کو برمول  
ای اودا ملکودان ثیاد اک برثم قد سمرک نیله مک کات شیخ جند رحمة علیه  
وجودک ذنب لا یقاس به ذنب یعنی ادم ای دوستی ثیاد دوستی سبکی  
بر تمام انکو قوت سوات وجود حق قوت سوات وجود شریک له دات؟  
کارن حق سبحانه و تعالی و حله لا شریک له ارثیت یعنی ثیاد سکوت  
بکیث ارثیت ثیاد وجود لا لاین هات وجود حق تعالی جو سترم لاه  
دان امیر سفره فرمان الله تعالی فایتما یولو فتم وجه الله یعنی ذات  
الله دان کات مولا ناعبد الرحمن جامی رحمه الله علیه بیت همسایه  
و هم شین و هم راه هراوکت در انجمن فرقا نهان هاند و جمع بالله  
اوکت ثیاله همه اوکت یعنی سکینه سکد و دکن سکپ لانی کلین  
ایجو قد ثیلک سکل منت مکن دان قد اطلس سکل ر جراج ایقوت



ایجو قد سئل فر همثون دان فر جراین دان رومه یقربوت دان یغ بر  
 همثون ایثفون ای جو دم الله سکلینت ایجو مکر دم الله سکلینت  
 ایجو شیل سفته بیج بیج دالمث قو هنکای سقوه دغن سلقاق اصل  
 بیج ایثجو کتله منجا دکای بیج بیج ایث غایب کای جو کلکهاث  
 وریث بر بکای راسا بر بکای اصلت بیج ایجو سفته فر مان الله  
 تعالی نستین بماء واحد و تفضل بعضها علی بعض فی الاکل یعنی کام  
 نه عکن حغن سوات ایر دان کار لیهکن سفته اش سفته قد راسا مکان  
 مثل سفته ایر هو جن دالم سبوه ثمان ایر ایجو یغ لثکوق قد سکلین دان بر بکای  
 راسا قد لیهو ماسم قد تب مانس قد مهورا حث ماسعوم مهورا رسا  
 یتناق حقیقتت ایر ایجو قد سکلینت ایث سوات لاک لاک تمیل سفته  
 مکهاریا دغن فانس جکاو فانس کفد بوغا اثر کفد چندان ثیاد ای بروله  
 باو ودر قد بوج جکاو فانس قون دایکشاک جائن شک دستی کارن شک  
 این ایثوله عجاب کارن مظهر جلال دان اش مظهر جمال ثیاد بر جری  
 کل کمال تمام نام مغل ثیاد بر جری نام اللطیف القهار ثیاد بر جری  
 دان شرک قون مظهرت یهو سفته کات ساه فتمت الله قد س الله سر



ورايت الله في عيني بعينه وعيني وعينه فانظر بعينه حي عند ي غيري  
 غير عيني وبعندي عنه من حيث عيني يعني كليته الله قد كادنگو دغن  
 فظيهرت . برمول كادنگو ايت كادانك مكر مكر تيلك كفتان دغن تيلك در  
 قدان كلسيه كهكو قدسكل لاي در قدان لاي در قدان اكل برمول قدان  
 ادانك ايت دغن كادانك سوات جوا انيله صفات من عرف نفسه قد عرف  
 ربه ايت قون قمرلان جو سبرمول فرمان فرمان الله تعالى والله خلقكم  
 وما تعملون يعني بهو الله تعالى منادي يكن كام دان بارخ قمرتون كام دان  
 لك فرمان الله تعالى فامن دابة الاله اخذ بناصيتها ان رعب على صراط  
 مستقيم يعني ثياد سياق دافت هماو مليكن ايجو مقبله لا ريب دهي  
 بهو تو هنك اسي بمانت كسرت ايتقون دان لك كبد نبي حلي الله  
 عليه وسلم لاحول ولا قوة الا بالله العلي العظيم يعني ثياد مقلبي  
 دان ثياد قوة سرور مليكن دغن كو اسي الله مع ما تكلي دان ما بشر  
 دان لك كبد نبي ص الله عليه وسلم لا تشرك ذا منة الا باذن الله  
 يعني ثياد بركت سوات دة قون مليكن دغن كرت الله تعالى خيرة وستر  
 من الله تعالى يعني باكل دان چفت درو الله تعالى سفره فرمان الله



ثعالی و ما تشاءون لان تشاء الله یعنی دان ثیا بر کفند قمریکیت سورج جو  
قوت ملینکن دغن الله جو سکین دایل دان حدیث این اینشاره کفند مت  
عرف نفسه قدر عرف ربه جولاین در قداث ثیاد دان کات نتیج محی الدین ابن  
عربی قدس الله سر روحه العزیز شمر حرام علی الفساق ان یسوف  
یشهد السوی اذا کان وجه الحق متصفا ما ذا اقول وانت وحدک لم یکن  
احد سو اک فیما سوک فلا الهبا یعنی تله عمرله اش سکل بقهر هی بهو کی  
مندج لاین در قداث اقبیل ادا کا دان الله دغن چهیات کیلج کیلج بارخ سکل  
یع کلمت دان بهر نگو جو است ثیاد لاین سو انشور در قدام مکرسلارخ بارخ  
لاین در قدام ایک ستره جبار اداث ستره قرمان الله تعالی کل یوم هو  
فی شأن یعنی قد سکل هاری یایست دالم کل کونتی یعنی قد ظهورت بر یکی  
دان ثیاد بر وله کارن ای هو الاول والاخر والظاهر والباطن یعنی  
ای یقشر تام دان ای یق کدین دان ای پات دان ای تربوت اولی ثیاد کثروی  
آخر ثیاد بر کسراحت ظاهر تهرت امه تر تربوت دغن باطن ثیاد کدافان  
مندج دریت دغن دریت ملبست دیریت دغن دغن صفاث دغن افعول  
دغن انارات شکره نون نماث امث قد حقیقه است ستره کات شینج



محی الدین تخلصی بذاته فی ذاته یعنی منجسکن ادک بکرات کلک کات امام محمد ۱۲۲  
عن الی رحمة الله علیه این عالم اوست بدوست بدکه همه اوست یعنی  
عالم این در قذات دغنیله بشاق سلینت ای دیکت در می کای سعادت  
گفت بایزید و جود نامنه و فو منابه لافری بین و بنی ربی الایهذلم  
تبتین یعنی وجود کام در قذات دان قوه لکم دغنی نیاد بیت انشاک  
دان انتشار تهنکو ملینک دغنی دو مرتبت این نه عبارته من عرف نفسه  
قد عرف ربه سبر مول الله کانه و تقالی نیاد بر تمقت دان نیاد بر مثل اقی  
کن تمقت لاین در قذات نیاد مان تمقت مان مثل ورن هب قوت  
د مکیناک هذق جاتن بر تمقت جاتن بر مثل جاتن بر جهات انم کارنه  
صفت هب توهنت هذق مک دایع کفد اذ انتم الفقیر و فیه الله عینیه یعنی  
الله یعنی اخیل سمنزله فقیر مک یائت الله دان هذق دغنی  
هذق الله ستره کات مولان عبد رحمن جامی رحمة الله علیه کفد  
کاکسه یقتیاد بر ورن ایت کو کو کهنیق چه هات جاتنکو فدام کن کفد  
ورن مدد مدد هت هت هت هت بهر سل ورن در قذ نیاد بر ورن دان تمقت هت  
هات بر قیاق مقبل ورن در قذ الله ایتوله تر لیه بایک هت هت یعنی



په اصله ايت ټياد پروړت دان ټياد بروږ سکل روږ په دافټ د پښت دان  
دان دافټ دبېر اکن سکلين مخلوږ جوړه غږه بر غږياږ مېمبه مخلوږ  
پايته مېترک ستره مېمبه اورغ مات دان مني دان جنښه دان قار سکلين  
ايت برهلا جوړه کت بر غږياږ مېمبه برهلا پايته کافر فعوذ بالله منها  
والله اعلم بكل دمکين غاږي مېمبه ستره امېر دان لاوه جوړ دافټ ستره  
ستره فعول عليه لاسوه قاي نما تولا فتم الوجه منومن مکر سروږ  
کدوان دان سباکي فکر جانت مکر پښت منومن ټياد دغږن قيال دان بهو قيال  
ټياد دغږن منومن يعني ورت کا گابته دان ورت منومن کس جو ورت منومن  
دغږن کاچ قون سباکي جو ټياد دافټ دلا پښت ستره کات لمعه العين واحد  
والحکم مختلف وذاک سر لاهل العلم پښتو يعني اصله سوات پښتو  
ورنات بر ياکي م ر ح س ي ا ب ن د ک ل و ر غږي ټاټه جوړ دافټ مکر پښت برهه  
دان په برهه دان په برهه کن اين کښکات اس جو کښکات اقبيل فېرمون  
ټياد لولس مکر چرېت دمناکن دکناږ دکات کارن صفة بر غږم دان بر چرې  
دوهند قوږ عام حقيقه ټياد دوستره امېر دان لاوت اس جوړ  
قوږ ظاهره جوړ دوشا بر غږم قو ټياد بر چرې قون ټياد دالم قو ټياد




دور قوت نیاد قال لغوث الاعظم ای صلوات افضل عندک یارب فان الله تعالی ۱۲۴  
صلوة الذی لیس فیها سونی و المصلی غایب منها یعنی کبه غوث مان  
کبختین تر لبه کتدام یا ثمنکو قرمان الله تعالی کبهی یغنیاد دالمک سوات قون  
لاین در قداک دان یغ مپمبه غایب پتاله دمنبه قون ای جو یغ مپمبه قون  
هق ستره کات ما بنیغ من عرف الله لا الله ما یعلم الله لا الله ما عرف الله  
الا الله یعنی نیاد مقل الله هاک الله نیاد مشهوری الله هاک الله نیاد  
ملیه الله هاک الله دان ستره کات مولانا بنده الرحمن جامی هوجنیت  
واصل نسخته یست یارب غیب کنذار هجر خالقهاء زار ثابتود محجوب و محروم  
از وصل واقفان هجران بر رنج و ملالت یعنی اورج یغ وصل ایست  
ستره اورج دودا کیست تزلزلت دچر تراکت در قور جریت دان  
سرویت دان تا کسرت سوهکل جاد حروم در قور وصل قرحنیت لهدت  
در قور قرحنیت دان در قورفته دمن دکیست دان ستره کات سلبی  
خندو شعر انا کشفوع یسکن فی الیم ان هی ملک افاهان سکنت  
ماکت من العلم یعنی اگر له ستره کات دیم دام لاوت جل کبکاکن مولانو  
لنکو شپای دفته ایر جکر اک دیم نچنای مثله اک دام قرحنیتانکو



این شاره در قدح بستاندالین چک لاک دشت نیاد دقوله دقندخ نیاد دیست  
کارنا فعل کیت ایت سفره اثن دلاوه چک بزحنت اثن مکر امیر فوعلی کفد  
اصدک سفره قرمان الله تعالی یا ایها النفس المطمئنة ارجعی الی ربک راضیه  
مرضیه فادخله فی عبادی ودخله جنتی یعنی هر سکر کام بر پا و مطمئنه  
قولشله کام کفد ترهنگا راض کام کندهی دان راض ای کن کام مکر ملکله  
نشرکاک هی همک. اریث داتعت قوه درقد لاه قولعت قوه کفد  
لاوه جو جنة الزهدین مور او قصور جنة العاسقین فی محل کنت  
کنز مخفیا یعنی مشرک اورج ترهنگا انور بر یا داس دان مالک دان شرک  
او برهی کفد ترهنگا یقربون سناله ثقت دیم سکر عاسقین  
برهینک شرک قوه نیاد اثن تارک قوه نیاد تاکت ای کارن اورج برهی  
یع وصل جنة ایتوله یغ دکناکن فادخله فی عبادی وادخله جنتی  
قولشله ای کفد ثقت کنت کنز مخفیا دان سفره کات اهل الله من  
مرف الله فهو مشرک یعنی بالانسیاف مغل مکر یائت مشرک ایتون  
ای الفقر لا یمتار الا الله ایتون ای الفقیر سواد الفرجه فی الدرین  
یعنی یغ فقیر ایت حیثم حکات قد کد وکری ایت قوت ای شعیران العریق



بحر ماله طرف نیت فیہ عن الوجدان والعدم یعنی آن تله کارم له قدر ۱۲۶  
دعوت یفتیاد بر کسی مگر لفظی تله آن دلیلت در قدر ادا دان تیا د قون لک تیا داله  
الا اینقون ای شعیب مرر دنی بیت المنیه و المنی و جهعت الی بیت  
العنا العنایه و العنا و اخذتني لَن إِلَک فارتفت لمستوی لانت فیہ  
والا انا یعنی کبیلله آن در قدر نیست دان یقدر نیست دان بر کبیلله آن  
انتشار یغ مقرر نیا دان دکر نیای دان کامبیلله در فردا یک آدم سوات  
له یک تیا د آن دالمی دان تیا د اعلو لک کات شیخ عطار تله رخص  
له عنه در قون کبیلله شکر در قدر نیست تیا دنی تنقون دنی تار ی  
وات قون دیر یک سلسیلله ای در قدر نیست ای قون ای قون قون  
تسوکن دان قلم قون دفا تسوکن دان دعوت قون دتمسوکن دان نفس قون  
ملاک انیلله قیصر  مکر اورج بر حیه به دالم دقتر  
تیا د لولیس ای قون ای کات بیت شاع نعمت الله نیست قون ستر  
دان کهنه ای قون کسی دان وجود قون جاود درج تیا د ذاقه دقوله  
مفهمند آن دامنه دان چتایغ حضر سکر غرور نفس قون منبیا و کن  
انیله کسرا دن سکر ای نیله یغ دکنایه قال الزناء عن الفناء الفنا



انيله پندگنان عالم لاهوت قون دافت دانت دگنان وصل قون  
دافت دگنان محو قون دافت دگنان انيله کات شاه علي پسر زري  
دقاسيت بر در دار الفنا کردم مجود سر بر اوردم مراد ي نمود يعنى  
کند قوت نگري يعنى فنا سجد له ال کبلاکنله کبلاک فر تبتکنله مقام کنذاک  
کات اورخ فاسي جکر تباد کنر تباد بر ثم دغن کفو يعنى کفر بدلت  
جاو تر تو قون جکر تباد تر تو تباد بر ثم دغن کفو يعنى امرت قاد تباد  
لاک لولس يايئت يعنى هجاء سفره دهول شکال دالم کنت کنزا  
مختيا سرش دغن تو صفت سفره بيچ دالم قوهن کامي ددالم ددالم  
ددالم قوهن کامي ددالم شکله ظاهري تباد کليمان حقيقت اس  
جوسب انيله کل منصور مشتاک انا الله کتفه مشتاک انا الله کارن  
ادان ابن تبادله دليهنش لک انيله امرت اذا اثم الفقير في الله  
امريت يعنى فقير تباد سوات قون کن بکيت کل قرمان الله تعالي دالم  
حديث قدس يوم الفقير يروي ال الفقير کامي و شرب الفقير شرب  
يعنى يدر فقير ايت تباد کادان مکن فقير ايت مکن کور د ن مينم ايت  
مينم کور دان لک قرمان الله تعالي الانسان سري وان سر و صفة



۱۲۸  
بیت یعنی ماء نشی رسیان دان اکل رسیان دان صفت کات اویش  
غریب الفی حیات بهیاته الله و عیش رسیان یعنی بی فقیرانیت  
عبد حق دعت هدی الله دان نکات دعت کسکان الله سقر کات مساج  
عبد حق من عرف الله فهو مشرک و من عرف نفسه فهو کافر یعنی بر شیان  
مقل الله مکر یا ک مپشکرین دان بر عیاقه مقل دیرت مکر یا ک کافر  
سقر کات شیخ می الدین ابن عربی المعرفة حجاب و به لولا وجود  
الکونیت لظاهر العین یعنی بی معرفت ایت دنیج بر مول بکیب جل ثیاب  
وجود کات عالم نسجای پتاله اذات کات تثت دان معرفت دان  
سقر دان حبه سلینت ایت ذراعبار صفت هب جو جگوس سلین  
بن پتاله ذرات مکر لپتاله ای کای ذات دان صفتت نسبة کتاله  
بجانه و مثال جو جگوس بر حکلا پتاله ای کات صفت هب سقر صفت  
مپشقرین کتالافت ایت معنی ارجع الی اصله بهر کام درود  
الله دان کتالافت کام قورع دران معنی کُل شئی چاکر الی اوجر این  
موت ای دان معنی کُل من علیها فان و یبقی وجه ربک ذو الجلال  
الاکرام یعنی سلسلات اشق عالم این لپتاله دان کتالافت توهنم



بمع امت کبسان دان کلیات این قون ای سبر مول جکلو ادکک رسات  
دان چیات دان اندک صفت دوالک سفر مشاهد قون دوالک حکم  
دان جل لک شاهد قون هندو سفر راسایه دراس دان مدراس  
قون هندو سفر منیت دان دچت هندو سلین صفت ایت در اعتبار  
لک دوجو سفر ایت قون ابشت لوت قون لوت بلیم منی دلاوت مثالبه  
قون ثنابله مشاهده قون ثنابله انیله مباره افلا تم القیر قون الله  
دان مباره القیر لا یحتاج الی الله معنی هات قنادتن قنابور ثنابی  
جل کن قنات ایت قون جل دکتھویت بلیم برتم دتن قنات کن ام  
لک ایقنه کن قنات ایت لک صنفه دوتن قنات سنه کات  
شیخ عطار راجی وصال دوست کسین راد کاف نرین انگش ک  
دندم خردم جہان در میان نرید یعنی جان اورج برهی بیع  
واصل قنات کلا سکت ایت کن ورع ایت سوانقون ثنابله دلیست  
سک ورع بیع ملیست ایت کرد عالم ایت قون ثنابله دلیست قن  
قنات ایت لک کات شیخ عطار رحمہ اللہ علیہ قن  
اصلا



ما رت واصلی بوکت دو پعیب بر کمال شکر دان یقین ثیاد اله فداک  
صلله نماز علم الیقین پعیب مشهور دکن حارقی دان عین الیقین  
ما ملکت دکن یقین داضحق الیقین سبز دکن حارقی ادات دکن

اد توهن اسا جوک اصلت قون اساقولع قون کفر اسا

جو پعیب ارجعی الی اصله دان

انیله پعیب اذ آثم الفقیر

فهم الله والله اعلم

یا صواب تمست

الکتاب امین

م

## Appendix VII

### Alphabetical Index of the Semantic Vocabulary in Ḥamzah's mystical system.

Note. The following Index is comprehensive, although it is by no means exhaustive. The identification of the key words as such has been made possible through analysis of the semantic fields evident in the prose works here treated, and in comparison with the verses - where the same key words play similar roles - the former have been the basis for the formulation of a semantic 'system' in Ḥamzah's writings on mysticism. The numerals preceded by the capital letters A, S, M or SH set against each word refer to the page numbers of the various Malay manuscripts: A = Asrār; S = Sharāb; M = Muntahī and SH = Sha'ir(2016).



## A

'Abd	A67.
'Ābid	S13.
A'bud	A29.
Ada	A18, A20, A22, A23, A25, A26, A28, A30, A31, A32, A34, A36, A37, A38, A39, A42, A45, A46, A47, A49, A53, A56, A60, A61, A62, A63, A67, A73; S2, S5, S7, S10, S13, S16, S17, S18, S20, S22, S24; M111, M112, M113, M114, M115, M117, M118, M120, M121, M122, M123, M126, M127, M128, M129.
'Adam (tiada)	M126.
'Adam (al-Mahd)	SH35.
Af'āl (perbuatan)	A49, A53, A59, A72, A73, A76; S6, S10, S21, S23; M121.
Aḥad (esa)	A51, S16, M121.
Aḥwāl [sing. ḥāl] (pertinghah)	S8.
Ākhir	A23, A28, A46, A52, A55, A57, A59, A60; S11, S113; M121.
A'lam ('ilm)	M124.
'Ālam	A19, A22, A25, A29, A31, A35, A39, A40, A43, A46, A47, A49, A50, A52, A53, A54, A55, A58, A59, A61, A62, A73, A74; S9, S10, S13, S16, S18, S20; M112, M114, M115, M116, M122, M127, M128, M129.

'Ālam kabīr	A47.
'Ālam ṣaghīr	A47.
'Ālim	A19, A22, A24, A27, A28, A33, A36, A41, A42, A45, A57, A58; S15, S16, S18, S19; M123.
'Alīm	A18, A27, A32, A35.
'Aliyy	A19, A44, A48; M120.
Allāh	A16, A17, A19, A20, A21, A22, A23, A24, A25, A26, A27, A29, A31, A32, A33, A34, A35, A36, A37, A38, A40, A42, A43, A44, A46, A47, A48, A49, A50, A51, A52, A53, A54, A55, A56, A58, A60, A61, A62, A63, A64, A65, A67, A68, A69, A74, A75, A76, A79, A80; S1, S2, S3, S4, S5, S6, S7, S8, S9, S10, S11, S12, S13, S14, S15, S16, S17, S18, S19, S20, S21, S22, S24, S25, S26; M110, M111, M113, M114, M115, M116, M117, M118, M120, M121, M122, M124, M125, M127, M128.
Āmana (īmān)	S6.
Arṣa (tīṭah)	A30, A35, A64, A80; S17.
Anfus [sing. <u>nafs</u> ,] (diri)	S13,
Āql (buddi)	A41, A62; S23; M117.
'Aqlu'l-Kullī	A41.
Aqwāl [sing. <u>qawl</u> ] (kata)	S3.

Arāda (berkchendak)	A30, A35; S17.
Aradnā	A32.
'Arafa (mengenal)	A57, A63, A67; S19, S10; M111, M112, M113, M114, M116, M117, M120, M121, M122, M124, M125, M128.
'Arafnā	A54, S15.
'Arsh	A22, A39, A47, A53.
Aṣal	A33, A35, A39, A41, A43, A44, A52, A53, A62, A72, A77; S17; M119, M123, M125, M130.
'Ashaqa	S23.
'Āshiq	A28, A56, A57, A67, A70; S25; M123.
Aṣlī	A24, A32, A36, A37, A38, A43, A45, A53, A57; M128, M130.
Asmā'	A17, A22, A49, A59, A72, A73, A76.
Āthār [sing. athar] (bekas)	A19, A49, A50, A51, A52, A53, A59, A72, A73, A76; M121.
Awwal	A23, A27, A28, A34, A41, A46, A52, A55, A59, A60; M113, M121.
'Ayn [pl. a'yān]	A24, A29, A43, A68; S10, S19; M116, M117, M120, M123, M128.
'Ayn al-Yaqīn	M130.
A'yān khārijī	SH27.

A'yānu'l-thābitah

S15, S16.

Azīz

A39, S21, M121.

'Azm

A28.

## B

Baqā' (kekal)

S9, S14; M114.

Bāqī (baqā')

A19, A45, A49.

Barzakh

A40.

Baṣīr

A18, A24, A27, A33,  
A34, A37; S19.

Bāṭin

A28, A30, A51, A52, A55,  
A58, A59, A62, A69, A74,  
A80;  
S9, S17;  
M113, M121.

Baṭanta (bāṭin)

M117.

Bayān (menyatakan)

S3, S6, S8, S11, S14,  
S19, S23.

Bayyana (nyata)

A46.

Bekas (āthār)

A49.

Berafa'āl

A76, S10.

Berahi ('ishq)

A28, A40, A60, A63, A65,  
A72;  
S1, S4, S6, S9, S19, S21,  
S23, S24, S25, S26;  
M115, M121, M123, M125,  
M126, M129.

Berahkan

M115, M125.

Berākhir

A23.

Berawwal

A23.

Berbuddi	A69, S25, M117.
Berikhtiyar	A45.
Ber'ilmu	A22.
Berkata	A30, A32, A35, S17.
Berkawn	A27.
Berkehendak ( <u>arāda</u> )	A29, A30, A35, S17, M121.
Berma'lūm	A45, A58.
Berma'rifat	A16, A60, A69; S2, S4, S7, S9, S13.
Bernama	A16, A18, A19, A24, A27, A28, A39, A40, A48, A51, A57, A58, A66, A77; S16, S19.
Bernyawa	A69, M125.
Berpengetahuan	A37, A38, A43.
Berpenglihat	A33.
Berqudrat	A31, S10.
Bertemu ( <u>wāṣil</u> )	A26, A28, A55, A62, A63, A66, A71, A72, A73, A74, A80; S11; M118 (yulqā), M123, M127, M129.
Berupa	A16, A58, A66, A77; S11, M123.
Berṣifāt	A76.
Bersuatu	A71.
Berwujūd	A25, A30, A45, A46, A61, A67, A76, A77; S10, S16, S23.

Buddi ('aql)                      A16, A78; S6, S15, S23,  
S24, S25.

Buka (kashf)                      A43.

## C

Chahaya (nūr)                      A19, A25, A41, A43, A44,  
A51, A49, A70; S15;  
M112, M114, M121.

Chahaya Muhammad                  A41, A42.

## D

Dahulu (awwal)                      A28, A45, A49, M113.

Dhāt                                      A18, A20, A22, A23, A24,  
A25, A26, A28, A31, A32, A34,  
A36, A38, A40, A42, A45, A48,  
A49, A50, A53, A54, A55, A58,  
A62, A66, A70, A72, A73, A74,  
A75, A76, A77;  
S12, S13, S14, S15, S16, S17,  
S18, S19, S20, S21, S22;  
M114, M115, M118, M121, M122,  
M126 (ada), M128.

Diadakan                                S17, S18.

Diberahikan                            A28, S23, M123.

Diislamkan                              A59, S20.

Dijadikan                                A37, A38, A39, A44, A77;  
S4, S15, S18, S20, S21, S22.

Dikasihi (ḥubb)                      S5.

Dikehendaki (khwast)                  A29.

Dikeluarkan (kharaja, ījād)        S21.

Dikenal                                  A21, A29, A55, A63, A71;  
S2, M116.

Dikenali                                  A21.

Diketahui	A17, A20, A21, A22, A23, A60, A61, A62, A68, A71; M129.
Dīn (Agama)	A68, A74.
Dinafikan	A74.
Dinamai	A21, A24, A25, A34, A41, A52, A58, A68, A79; S3, S14, S15, S16, S18.
Dinyatakan	A46.
Dinding ( <u>ḥijāb</u> )	A71, A72, A73, A74, A75; M112 (aslār), M126, M128.
Diperoleh ( <u>wajada</u> )	S1.
Dirasa	M129.
Diri ( <u>nafs</u> )	A19, A27, A28, A30, A33, A53, A57, A63, A65, A74; S2, S3, S9, S10, S19; M112, M111, M114, M121, M128.
Diri ( <u>nafs</u> )	A30, A57, A61, A65, A67, A68, A70, A71, A73, A74; S5, S6, S9, S10, S13, S16, S24, S25; M112.
Disembah	A67, A69, A70; M124.
Ditakhṣīṣkan	A40, A47.
Ditiadakan	S17.
Dizāhirkan	A40.

## E

Esa (aḥad - Wāḥid)

A21, A25, A27, A28, A43,  
 A49, A51, A64, A67, A70,  
 A71, A72, A75;  
 S4, S10, S11;  
 M112, M113, M114, M117,  
 M120, M121, M121, M127, M130.

## F

Fān

S18.

Fanā' (lenyap - hapus)

A20, A63, A67, A68, A70,  
 A71, A72, A73, A77;  
 S9, S11;  
 M114, M126, M129.

Faqīr

A39, A63, A64, A68;  
 S1, S24;  
 M125, M127, M128, M129.

Faqr

A68, M122, M127, M129, M130.

## G

Gerak (idhn = hendak)

M120.

Ghayb (lenyap)

M116, M119, M124, M126.

Ghayr (Allah)

A23, A55, A67, S19.

Guru

A16, S1, S2.

## H

Habā

M121.

Habīb (kekasih)

S24, M120.

Ḥādīth

A30, A35, A37, A45.

Ḥāḍir

A45, M126.

Ḥaḍrat

M118.



Ḥakīm	Λ18, Λ19, Λ22, Λ38, Λ39, Λ58, Λ59.
Hapus ( <u>fanā'</u> )	Λ20, Λ67, Λ72, Λ73, Λ74, Λ75, S14.
Ḥaqq	Λ75, S14, S19, S20, S26, M115, M116, M118, M121, M124, M127.
Ḥaqīqat	Λ18, Λ20, Λ21, Λ25, Λ26, Λ36, Λ38, Λ40, Λ47, Λ48, Λ54, Λ55, Λ67, Λ69, Λ70, Λ61, Λ75, Λ76, Λ77, Λ78, Λ79, Λ80; S2, S3, S5, S6, S7, S8, S9, S18, S25; M112, M113, M114, M116, M119, M121, M123, M127.
Ḥaqīqat Muḥammad	Λ18, Λ40, Λ41, Λ43.
Ḥaqīqatu'l-Ashyā'	S15.
Ḥaqq al-Yaqīn	M130.
Ḥaqqan (Sebenar-benar)	Λ67, Λ76, S15.
Ḥaqīqī	Λ25, Λ32, Λ52, Λ77.
Hati (qalb) (dil)	Λ16, Λ20, Λ25, Λ26, Λ62, Λ65; S2, S4, S9, S21, M122.
Hawā (hati) nafsu	S3, S25 (h. nafsu).
Ḥawl	Λ44, M120.
Ḥayy (hidup)	Λ18, Λ24, Λ27, Λ34, Λ41, S19.
Hendak	Λ29, Λ30, Λ31, Λ37, Λ38, Λ39, Λ46, Λ61, Λ63, Λ68, Λ70, Λ73; S1, S16, S17, S18, S23, S24; M122, M123, M128, M129.

Hijāb (dinding)	Λ64, Λ65, Λ66, Λ70, Λ71, Λ72, Λ73, Λ74, Λ79; S9; M116, M119, M126, M128.
Hikmat	Λ22, Λ34, Λ38, Λ39; S22.
Hurūf	Λ41, S26.
Hurūf ('Alīyāt)	Λ36, M117.
Huwa	Λ22, Λ23, Λ48, M117.

## I

Idhn (firmān = kehendak; gerak)	Λ44, S22, M120.
Ikhtiyār	Λ45, Λ46.
Ilmu al-Yaqīn	M130.
Īmān	Λ44, S4, S6, S20, S21, S23.
Insān	Λ56, M127.
Irādah	Λ18, Λ24, Λ29, Λ34, Λ37, Λ48, Λ59, Λ77; S19, S22; M126.
'Ilmu	Λ18, Λ24, Λ25, Λ27, Λ28, Λ29, Λ30, Λ31, Λ32, Λ33, Λ34, Λ35, Λ36, Λ37, Λ38, Λ40, Λ41, Λ42, Λ43, Λ45, Λ46, Λ52, Λ59, Λ76, Λ79; S1, S12, S15, S18, S21, S22, S26; M111, M123.
Isti'dād (aṣlī)	Λ18, Λ29, Λ32, Λ34, Λ35, Λ36, Λ37, Λ38, Λ39, Λ43, Λ45, Λ46, Λ53; S16, S21, S22.

Islām (Muslim)	Δ16, Δ20, Δ21, Δ37, Δ38, Δ40, Δ44, Δ53, Δ54, Δ59, Δ74; S10, S1, S20, S21; M115.
Islām (dīn)	Δ74.
'Ishq	Δ28, Δ40, Δ71; S23; M123, M126, M128.
Ism	Δ48, S21.
Ithbāt (mengesakan)	S9.
'Ibādat	Δ59, Δ74, S2, S6, S13, S21.

## J

Jadi	Δ19, Δ24, Δ26, Δ27, Δ30, Δ32, Δ34, Δ35, Δ39, Δ42, Δ49, Δ65; S16, Δ17, S22; M116, M126.
Jadikan	S6.
Jabbār	Δ59.
Jalāl	Δ18, Δ38, Δ45, Δ46, Δ47, Δ58, Δ53; S20, S21, S23; M119.
Jamāl	Δ19, Δ38, Δ45, Δ48, Δ53; S20, S21, S23; M119.
Jān (nyawa)	Δ72, M114.

## K

Kalām	Δ18, Δ27, Δ31, Δ32, Δ34, Δ37, Δ47, Δ59; S19.
Kamāl	Δ18, Δ38, Δ44, Δ45; S20, S22; M119.
Kāmil	Δ65, Δ66, S9.

Kāna (dahulu)	Δ26, Δ36, S24, M111, M121.
Kanz Makhfī	Δ29, Δ30, M125, M127.
Karīm	Δ59.
Kashf	Δ23, Δ43, Δ68.
Kashf al-Kashf	Δ76.
Kasih ( <u>ḥubb</u> )	S6, S9.
Kekasih	S10.
Kata ( <u>kalām</u> )	Δ24, Δ32, S3.
Kawn	M128 ( <u>kawnayn</u> ).
Keadaan	Δ19, Δ26, Δ58, Δ54, Δ61; S18; M117, M120, M121.
Kebaktian	S19, M124.
Kehendak	Δ32, Δ36, Δ44, Δ46, Δ64, Δ70; S3, S4, S22, S23, S25; M122, M126.
Kekasih ( <u>ḥubb</u> )	S24, M114, M120, M122, M129.
Kelengkapan ( <u>isti'dād</u> )	Δ35.
Kemudian ( <u>ākhir</u> )	Δ29, Δ49, M113, M121.
Kenal ( <u>ma'rifah</u> )	Δ16, Δ23, Δ24, Δ55, Δ67, Δ76; S9, S15 (kenali).
Kekal ( <u>baqā'</u> )	S11, M114, M128.
Kelakuan	Δ38, Δ49, Δ59, Δ60, Δ72; S18, M121.
Kenyataan	Δ28, Δ49, S14, S20, M117.
Ketahuan	M121.

Ketahui	Λ16, Λ36, S1, S2, S3, S6, S8, S11, S14, S19, S23; M110.
Khādim	Λ19, Λ67, Λ70.
Khalaqa (khalagtu)	Λ41, Λ42, Λ46; S1, S18, S19; M120.
Khālī	Λ19, Λ50.
Khāliq	Λ22, Λ34, Λ35, Λ74; S11, S14.
Khalq	S15, M116.
Khaṣṣ	M112.
Khidmat	Λ16.
Khuliqa (ẓāhir)	Λ35.
Kuasa ( <u>qudrat</u> )	Λ31, Λ44,
Kujadīkan ( <u>khalagtu</u> )	Λ42, Λ48, S2.
Kukenal	Λ55, Λ76, S15.
Kun (jadi)	Λ30, Λ32, Λ34, Λ59; S16, S17.
Kunhi	Λ26, Λ49, Λ54, Λ55; S14.
Kuntu Kanzan	Λ70, S2, M111.
Kuntum (ada)	Λ56; S5, S13, S24; M112, M117.
Kursī	Λ22, Λ39, Λ53.
Kusembah	Λ29.

## L

Lāhūt	M127.
Lalu (jadi)	Λ49.
Laṭīf	S21, S23, M119.

Lawḥ (al-Maḥfūz)	Δ41, S8.
Lengkap	Δ16, Δ18, Δ30, Δ34, Δ43, Δ50, Δ51, Δ61; S13, S14, S20; M119.
Lenyap	Δ33, Δ49, Δ54, Δ55, Δ67, Δ68, Δ71, Δ74; S3, S14, S17, S18; M114, M126, M128.

## M

Mabok ( <u>maḥw</u> )	Δ75, Δ79, S25, S26.
Ma'dūm	SH35.
Maghlūbu'l-Ḥāl	S26.
Mahabbah (kasih)	Δ71, M128.
Mahatinggi ( <u>aliyy</u> )	Δ44, Δ48.
Maḥkūm	Δ19, Δ58, Δ59.
Mahu	Δ73, S23.
Maḥw (mabok)	Δ65, Δ75, Δ79, M127.
Makhdūm	Δ19, Δ66.
Makhlūq (pl. makhlūqāt)	Δ19, Δ22, Δ31, Δ32, Δ33, Δ34, Δ35, Δ37, Δ45, Δ46, Δ47, Δ48, Δ50, Δ52, Δ53, Δ54, Δ55, Δ61, Δ64, Δ72, Δ74; S4, S10, S11, S13, S14, S21; M123.
Ma'lūm (pl. ma'lūmāt)	Δ18, Δ19, Δ27, Δ28, Δ36, Δ41, Δ42, Δ43, Δ45, Δ57, Δ58; S15, S16, S18.
Ma'lūmāt	Δ18, Δ27, Δ29, Δ30, Δ31, Δ32, Δ33, Δ34, Δ37, Δ38, Δ39, Δ41, Δ43, Δ45, Δ54; S22.

Ma'nawī	S17.
Manusia	M128.
Maqām	A70.
Maqsūm	A19, A58.
Ma'rifat	A16, A17, A23, A26, A50, A54, A60, A62, A65, A66, A68, A71, A75, A76, A78, A79, A80; S1, S2, S3, S9, S11, S13, S15, S20; M128.
Martabat	M122.
Ma'rūf (yang mengenal)	A71.
Ma'shūq	A28, A56, A70, M123.
Mata (' <u>ayn</u> semata)	A60, A68, S10.
Mawjūd	A31, A33, A50, S18.
Mazhar	M119.
Meliputi ( <u>muḥīṭ</u> )	S12, M112.
Melenyapkan	A67.
Mengadakan ( <u>abraza</u> )	A38, S15, S23.
Mengasih ( <u>mahabbah</u> )	A71, S5.
Menghendaki	M126.
Mengeliling ( <u>ḥawl</u> )	M120.
Mengenal	A16, A21, A24, A57, A63, A68, A71, A76, A78; S2, S9, S10, S19; M111, M113, M114, M116, M117, M124, M125, M128.

Mengetahui	<p> A21, A22, A43, A78;  S12, S13; M114, M116,  M117, M124. </p>
Mengesakan	S9.
Mengithbatkan	S25.
Mendindingi	M111.
Menjadi	<p> A19, A26, A29, A30, A32,  A34, A35, A38, A41, A48,  A52, A53, A55, A64, A65,  A70, A71, A72, A73;  S17, S20, S23, S24, S25;  M119, M127. </p>
Menjadikan ( <u>khalāqa</u> )	<p> A16, A19, A22, A31, A37,  A39, A40, A44, A47, A52,  A54, A58; S18, S19; M120. </p>
Menafikan	A74, S25.
Menamai	S15.
Merasa	M129.
Merasai	S14.
Menunjukkan ( <u>tajallī</u> - menyatakan)	M122.
Menurutkan ( <u>murīd</u> )	A18, A36, A43.
Menyatakan	<p> A17; S1, S3, S6, S8,  S11, S14, S19, S23. </p>
Menyekutukan ( <u>shirk</u> )	M128.
Menyembah	<p> A17, A20, A22, A67, A69,  A70; S2, S3; M115, M123,  M124. </p>
Menyerah ( <u>tawakkal</u> )	S6, S25.
Menyerupai	M112.



Menzāhirkan

Mubīn

S3.

Muḍill

A59, S21, S22.

Muḥdath

S11.

Muḥīṭ

M114.

Mu'izz

A59, S21, S23, M119.

Mumkin al-wujūd

S17.

Mu'min

A67, M112.

Munkashifun (kashf)

M123.

Muntahī

A73.

Muqābalah

M129.

Murīd (irādah)

A18, A24, A27, A29, S19.

Mushāhadah (shuhūd)

M129.

Mushrik (menduakan)

A57, A67, M123, M125, M128.

Mustatir (istār = dinding)

M117.

Muta'ayyin

S16.

Mutakallim

A24.

Muṭlaq

A62, A63.

Muwāfaqat

A46, S11, S21, S22.

Muzāhir

A35.

## N

Nama ( <u>ism</u> - <u>asmā'</u> )	<p> A16, A17, A19, A20, A21,  A22, A23, A24, A25, A27,  A33, A28, A39, A40, A41,  A44, A47, A48, A57, A58,  A66, A67, A70, A77, A78;  S9, S16, S2, S21;  M112, M113, M119, M130. </p>
Nyata	<p> A16, A22, A27, A28, A29,  A34, A40, A49, A52;  S3, S11, S15; M113, M121,  M124, M128. </p>
Nyawa ( <u>rūḥ</u> - <u>jān</u> )	<p> A16, A34, A35, A42, A72;  S16, S25; M114, M126. </p>
Nūr (chahaya)	<p> A41, S15, S16, M121. </p>
Nafī (meniadakan S9)	<p> A19, A66, A74. </p>
Nafasu'l-Raḥmān	<p> A47. </p>
Nafs	<p> A57, A63, A65, S6, S10, S19,  M111, M112, M113, M114, M116,  M117, M120, M121, M122, M126. </p>
Nafs al-Muṭma'innah	<p> M125. </p>

## P

Pandang ( <u>shuhūd</u> )	<p> A61. </p>
Pengetahuan (' <u>ilm</u> )	<p> A40. </p>
Penglihat ( <u>baṣar</u> )	<p> A24, A25, A77. </p>
Penengar ( <u>sāmi'</u> )	<p> A24, A77. </p>
Perhimpunan Segala Buddi	<p> A41. </p>
Perkataan	<p> A33. </p>
Pertama ( <u>awwal</u> )	<p> M121. </p>
Pertemuan ( <u>wuṣūl</u> )	<p> M123. </p>

Q

Qadīm	Λ18, Λ23, Λ31, Λ33, Λ34, Λ32, Λ35, Λ37, Λ38, Λ46, Λ47, Λ48; S11, S19, S18, S21, S22; M112, M115.
Qadīr	Λ18, Λ31.
Λādir	Λ24, Λ27.
Qahhār	Λ59, S21, S22, M119.
Qalam	Λ41.
Qalam (al-Λ'lā)	Λ41.
Qāsīm	Λ19, Λ58.
Qawl	Λ32, Λ34, Λ35, S16.
Qudrat	Λ18, Λ24, Λ31, Λ34, Λ48, Λ59, Λ77, S19, S22.
Quwwat (kuasa)	Λ44, Λ63, S21, M120, M122.

R

Raḥīm	Λ18, Λ19, Λ39, Λ40, Λ48, Λ59, S1, M110.
Raḥmān	Λ18, Λ39, Λ40, Λ46, Λ47, Λ48, Λ52, Λ59, S1, S19, M110.
Raḥmat	Λ40, Λ47, Λ48, Λ52, S10.
Rahasia ( <u>sirr</u> )	Λ57, S11, S26, M128.
Rasa	Λ19, Λ53, Λ66, M119, M123, M129.
Rāziq	Λ34.
Rūḥ (pl. arwāḥ - nyawa)	Λ41, Λ42, M114, M121.

Ruḥ Ḥayawānī	S15.
Rūḥ Idāfī	Λ41, S15, S16.
Ruḥ Insānī	S15.
Ruḥ Nabātī	S15.
Rupa (ṣūrat)	Λ18, Λ19, Λ26, Λ27, Λ29, Λ33, Λ37, Λ41, Λ43, Λ47, Λ52, Λ53, Λ58, Λ59, Λ62, Λ63, Λ66, Λ70, Λ77, Λ78; S18, S19; M112, M113, M114, M116, M117 ( <u>shakl</u> ).
Rusūm	Λ19, Λ59, Λ60.
S	
Ṣalāt (sembahyang)	M124.
Ṣamad	S12.
Samī'	Λ18, Λ24, Λ27, Λ32, Λ34, Λ37, S19.
Satu ( <u>aḥad</u> - esa)	Λ71, Λ72.
Sebenarnya ( <u>ḥaqḡ</u> )	M115.
Sekehendak	Λ64, S20.
Semata ( <u>'ayn</u> )	Λ22, Λ24, Λ26, Λ27, Λ29, Λ36, Λ43, Λ53, Λ70, Λ75, S16.
Sembah	Λ21, Λ22.
Sempurna ( <u>kāmil</u> )	Λ16, Λ18, Λ21, Λ23, Λ24, Λ31, Λ34, Λ35, Λ38, Λ39, Λ44, Λ55, Λ60, Λ65, Λ66, Λ68, Λ75, Λ76, Λ78, Λ79; S1, S2, S4, S5, S8, S9, S22.

Sendiri	A22, A24, A25, A52, A61, A64, A67; S4, S16, S17, S22, S25; M114, M116.
Serupa	S4, M123.
Shā'a (hendak)	A45.
Shahīd	M129.
Shakk	A31, S6, M119, M130.
Shā'u	A75, S18, M115, M121
Sharīka	M118.
Sharī'at	A20, A24, A25, A31, A40, A43, A44, A45, A47, A52, A63, A64, A68, A75, A78, A79, A80; S2, S3, S4, S5, S6, S7; M114.
Shay' (suatu) [ashyā' pl.]	A26, A28, A29, A30, A32, A35, A48, A50, A61, A69, A78; S1, S4, S12, S14, S17; M110, M111, M112, M114, M116, M128.
Shirk	A63, A67, S20, S25, M119.
Shirk al-Khafī	A61.
Shuhūd	A19, A61, A62; S15, M129.
Shu'ūn (sing. shā'n)	A19, A28, A34, A36, A49, A58, A59, A60, A72, A78; S18, S22, S23.
Şifāt	A17, A18, A19, A22, A23, A24, A27, A33, A34, A38, A45, A48, A49, A51, A55, A59, A53, A72, A73, A76; S12, S16, S19, S20, S23, S25; M121, M122, M123, M127, M128, M129.

Ṣirāṭ al-Mustaḳīm	M120.
Sirr (rahasia)	Λ43, Λ56; S11, M121, M123, M127.
Suatu ('ayn - shay')	M120.
Ṣurat (rupa)	S18, S19, M114.
Suwarī	S17.
Ṣuwaru'l-'Ilmiyyah	S15.
T	
Ta'ayyun	S15, S16.
Ta'budu	S3.
Tafrīd (tunggal)	S25.
Tahu	Λ19, Λ23, Λ24, Λ27, Λ34, Λ35, Λ49, Λ60, Λ61, Λ65, Λ67, Λ71, Λ72; S1, S19; M123, M126.
Tajalliyāt (kenyataan)	S14, S19; M122.
Tajrīd (tinggal)	S25.
Takhaṣṣus	Λ48.
Takhṣīṣ	Λ47.
Tanggal	Λ73.
Taqūlu	S17.
Ṭarīqat	Λ78, Λ79, Λ80; S2, S3, S5, S6, S7.
Tashā'a (shā'a)	M121.
Taslīm (menyerah diri)	Λ74.
Tawakkal (menyerah)	S6, S8.

Tawfīq	S21.
Terbunyi ( <u>bāṭin</u> or <u>makhfī</u> )	Δ28, Δ29, Δ30, Δ51, Δ52; M113, M117, M119, M121, M125.
Terdinding	M118.
Tiada (' <u>adam</u> )	Δ67, S17, S18.
Tiada nyata	S15.
Tinggal ( <u>tajrīd</u> )	S25.
Titah ( <u>amr</u> )	Δ30, Δ35, Δ59, S17.
Tuhan ( <u>Rabb</u> )	Δ16, Δ17, Δ18, Δ19, Δ21, Δ22, Δ23, Δ24, Δ28, Δ29, Δ35, Δ44, Δ48, Δ54, Δ56, Δ57, Δ60, Δ61, Δ63, Δ62, Δ65, Δ67, Δ68, Δ70, Δ73, Δ79; S2, S8, S10, S14, S18, S19, S25; M111, M112, M114, M116, M117, M120, M122, M124, M125, M127, M128, M130.
Tuḥibbu	S5.
Tunggal ( <u>tafrīd</u> )	Δ49, S9, S25.
U	
Ugahari ( <u>rusūm</u> )	Δ59.
U'rafa	Δ29, Δ30, S2.
'Ushīqa ('ishq)	S23.
W	
Waḥdahu	M118.
Wāḥid (esa)	Δ43, S16, M123 (suatu).
Wahmī	Δ25, Δ52, Δ61, Δ62, Δ77.
Wajada (diperoleh)	S1.

Wajh (muka - dhāt)	Δ50, S10, S11, S17, S18; M114, M118, M121, M125, M128.
Wājibu'l-wujūd	Δ24, Δ25, S17.
Waṣal	Δ28, Δ37, M117, M124, M125, M127.
Wāṣil	Δ20, Δ69, Δ70, Δ71, Δ78, Δ79; M129, M130.
Wijdān (being opposed to not-being <u>ada</u> )	M126.
Wiṣāl	Δ71, M130.
Wujūd	Δ19, Δ25, Δ40, Δ46, Δ47, Δ52, Δ53, Δ55, Δ56, Δ58, Δ60, Δ61, Δ62, Δ65, Δ66, Δ70; S9, S12, S15, S16, S17, S18; M115, M118 (ada), M122, M126, M128.
Wujūd haqīqī	Δ25.
Y	
Yabqā (bāqī) kekal	M128.
Ya'budu ('abd)	S1.
Yaqīn (nyata)	Δ22, Δ68, Δ76, M130.
Yawm (hari - sekejap mata)	Δ49, Δ59.
Yuḥyī	Δ34.
Yumīt	Δ34.
Z	
Zahara (nyata)	M128.
Zāhir	Δ25, Δ28, Δ30, Δ35, Δ42, Δ51, Δ52, Δ55, Δ58, Δ59, Δ62, Δ69, Δ74, Δ80; S9, S17; M121, M123, M127.
Zuhūr	Δ59, M121.



I Manuscripts

- Anonymous: 17th century Malay tracts on Ṣūfism, Marsden Collection no. 11648, Library, S.O.A.S., University of London.
- al-Balyānī, 'A: Kitābu'l-Ajwibah. Arabic Catalogue no. DCCCCCLXXXI, ADD. 16839; Supplementary Catalogue No. 245: X, Or. 3684, British Museum, London.
- Fakhru'l-Dīn, K: Kitāb Mukhtaṣar, Cod. Or. 1712, Library, University of Leiden.
- Fanṣūrī, Ḥ: Asrāru'l-'Arifīn fī bayān 'Ilm al-Suluk wa'l-Tawhīd, Cod. Or. 7291(I), Library, University of Leiden.
- Al-Muntahī, Cod. Or. 7291(III), Library, University of Leiden; Javanese translations. Cod. Or. 5716(2) and Cod. Or. 7736; Malay fragment, Cod. Or. 1952, Library, University of Leiden.
- Sharābu'l-'Ishiqīn, Cod. Or. 2016; another Malay version: Zīnatu'l-Muwahhidīn, Cod. Or. 7291(II), Library, University of Leiden.
- Sha'ir Jāwī faṣal fī bayān 'Ilm al-Suluk wa'l-Tawhīd, Cod. Or. 2016; Cod. Or. 3372; Cod. Or. 3374, Library, University of Leiden.
- Sha'ir Perahu, Cod. Or. 3374, Library, University of Leiden.
- Sha'ir Dagang, Cod. Or. 3374, Library, University of Leiden.

- al-Ghazzālī, M; Short poem (untitled) with Persian commentary, attributed by Ḥamzah to al-Ghazzālī, Arabic Catalogue no. DCCCLXXXI, unnumbered and not entered in the list, pp. 354v. - 361r., Harley Or. 5490, British Museum, London.
- al-Rānirī, N: Ḥujjatu'l-Ṣiddīq li daf'i'l-Zindīq, Maxwell Collection No. 93, Library, Royal Asiatic Society, London.
- Tibyān fī Ma'rifati'l-Adyān, Cod. Or. 3291, Library, University of Leiden.
- Jawāhiru'l-'Ulūm fī Kashfi'l-Ma'lūm, Marsden Collection no. 12151, Library, S.O.A.S., University of London.

## II Published Works

- Abdel-Kader, A.H: The life, personality and writings of al-Junayd, London, 1962.
- 'Afīfī, A, 'A: The mystical philosophy of Muhyid Din Ibnul 'Arabi, Cambridge, 1939.
- Afnan, S.M: Philosophical terminology in Arabic and Persian, Leiden, 1964.
- Alisjahbana, S.T: Puisi Lama, Djakarta, 1954.
- Values as integrating forces in personality, society and culture Kuala Lumpur, 1966.
- Indonesia's social and cultural revolution, Kuala Lumpur, 1966.

- ibnu'l-'Arabī, M: Fuṣūsu'l-Hikam, edited by A. 'A. 'Afifi, Cairo, 1946, 2v. in 1.
- Arberry, A.J: Sufism, London, 1950.
- Aristotle: Metaphysica, translated into English by W.D. Ross, Chicago, 1952, 2v.
- al-Ash'arī, A.H: The theology of al-Ash'arī containing the Kitabu'l-Luma' and the Risālatu'l-Istihsani'l-Khawḍ fī 'Ilmi'l-Kalam, translated into English by R.J. McCarthy, Beyrouth, 1953.
- 'Aṭṭār, F: Tadhkiratu'l-Awliyā', edited and translated into English by R.A. Nicholson, London - Leiden, 1905-1907, 2v.
- The conference of the birds, translated into English by C.S. Notts from the French of Garcin de Tassy's translation of the Mantiqu'l-Tayr, London, 1961.
- al-Attas, S.M.N: Some aspects of Ṣūfism as understood and practised among the Malays. Singapore, 1963.
- Note on the opening of relations between China and Malacca 1403-1405, J.M.B.R.A.S., vol. 38, pt. I, Kuala Lumpur, 1965.
- Rānirī and the Wujūdiyyah of 17th century Aceh, J.M.B.R.A.S., Monograph 4915, Kuala Lumpur.
- al-Baghdādī, A.Q: Al-Farq bayn al-Firaq, translated into English by A. Halkin, Tel Aviv, 1935.
- Balai Pustaka: Hikayat Hang Tuah, edited and romanized by Dinas Penerbitan Balai Pustaka, Djakarta, 1956.

- ibn Baṭṭūṭah, M.'A: Travels of Ibn Baṭṭūṭah in Asia and Africa, 1325-1354, translated into English and selected by H.A.R. Gibb, London, 1953.
- Borie, H: An account of the Mantras, a savage tribe of the Malay Peninsula, in Miscellaneous Papers relating to Indo-China and the Indian Archipelago, edited by R. Rost, London, 1887.
- Brandstetter, R: An introduction to Indonesian linguistics, translated into English by C.O. Blagden, London, 1916.
- Browne, E.G: A literary history of Persia, Cambridge, 1956, 4v.
- Bruckhardt, T: An introduction to the Ṣūfī doctrines, Lahore, 1959.
- Cassirer, E: The philosophy of symbolic forms, translated into English by S. Langer, New Haven, 1953, 2v., vol. 1: Language and Myth.
- Chase, S: The tyranny of words, London, 1938.
- Chau Ju-Kua: Chau Ju-Kua on the Chinese and Arab trade in the 12th and 13th centuries, translated into English by F. Hirth and W.W. Rockhill, St. Petersburg, 1911.
- Davis, H: The Persian mystics: Jalālu'l-Dīn Rumi, London, 1907.
- Dempwolff, O: Vergleichende Lautlehre des Austronesischen Wortschatzes, Berlin, 1934-1938, 3v.
- Djajadiningrat, R.H: Critisch overzicht van de in Maleische werken vervatte gegevens over de gescheidenis van het Soeltanaat van Atjeh, B.K.I. 65, Leiden, 1911.

- Doorenbos, J: De geschriften van Hamzah Pansoeri, dissertation, Leiden, 1933.
- Drewes, G.W.J: Review of De geschriften van Hamzah Pansoeri of J. Doorenbos, T.B.G. 73, 1933.
- Review of Malay Sufism of A.H. Johns, B.K.I., 115, 3e AFL, the Hague, 1959.
- Fakhry, M: Islamic occasionalism, London, 1958.
- Flew, A: Essays in conceptual analysis, edited by A. Flew, London, 1956.
- al-Ghazzālī, M: Kīmīyā - i - Sa'ādat, edited by A. Aram, Teheran, 1933-1934, 2v. in 1.
- The Alchemy of Happiness, translation of eight sections of the Kīmīyā - i - Sa'ādat into English by C. Field, London, 1910.
- Mishkātu'l-Anwār, edited by A. 'A. Afifi, Cairo, 1964.
- The Niche for Lights, translation of the Mishkātu'l-Anwar into English by W.H.T. Gairdner, London, 1924.
- Tahāfut al-Falāsifah, translated into English by S.A. Kamali, Lahore, 1958.
- The confessions of an inquiring spirit, translated into English (The confessions of al-Ghazzālī) by C. Field, London, 1909.
- From al-Ghazzālī's book of the Ihya on the worship: Worship in Islam, translated into English by E.E. Calverley, London, 1957.
- Gibb, E.J.W: History of Ottoman poetry, London, 1900-1909, 6v.

- Goichon, A.M: Philosophie d'Avicenne et son influence en Europe médiévale, Paris, 1951.
- Guénon, R: An introduction to the Hindu doctrines, London, 1945.
- Man and his becoming, London, 1945.
- Hall, D.G.E: Historians of Southeast Asia, edited by D.G.E. Hall, London, 1962.
- ibn Hazm, 'A.A: Al-Fiṣal fī'l-Milal wa'l-Ahwā wa'l-Niḥal, Cairo, 1317-1321, 2v.
- Henle, P: Language, thought and culture, edited by P. Henle, Michigan, 1958.
- Hujwīrī, 'A: Kashfu'l-Maḥjūb, translated into English by R.A. Nicholson, London, 1911.
- Inge, W.R: The philosophy of Plotinus, London, 1923, 2v.
- Iqbal, M: The development of metaphysics in Persia, London, 1908.
- Six lectures on the reconstruction of religious thought in Islam, Lahore, 1930.
- 'Irāqī, I: Kulliyyāt-i-'Irāqī, edited by S. Nafisi, Teheran, 1956.
- Iskandar, T: De Hikajat Atjeh, dissertation, the Hague, 1958.
- Utus atau Utas?, Majallah Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, jilid IX, bilangan 2, Kuala Lumpur, February, 1965.
- Izutsu, T: The structure of the ethical terms in the Qur'an, Tokyo, 1959.
- God and man in the Koran, Tolyo, 1964.
- The concept of belief in Islamic theology, Tokyo, 1965.

- Johns, A.H: Malay Sufism, dissertation,  
J.R.I.S.M.B., vol XXX, pt 2, 1957.
- Jāmī, N.'A.R: Lawā'ih fī bayān ma'ānī 'irfāniyyah,  
text and translation into English by  
E.H. Whinfield and M.M. Qazvini,  
London, 1906.
- Jīlī, 'A.K: Al-Insānu'l-Kāmil, Cairo, 1956,  
2v. in 1.
- Junus, M: Tafsir Qur'ān Karīm, Djakarta, 1957.
- Juynboll, Th. W: Handleiding tot de kennis van de  
Mohammedaansche Wet, Leiden, 1930.
- Kalābādhī, A.B: Kitāb al-Ta'arruf li Madhhab Ahl  
al-Taṣawwuf translated into English  
(The doctrines of the Sūfīs) by  
A.J. Arberry, Cambridge, 1935.
- Kant , E: Critique of Practical Reason,  
translated into English by L.W.  
Beck, New York, 1956.
- Critique of Pure Reason, translated  
into English by N.K. Smith, London,  
1961.
- Korzybski, A: Science and sanity, Lakeville, 1958.
- Kraemer, H: Een Javaansche Primbon uit de  
zestiende eeuw, dissertation,  
Leiden, 1921.
- Langer, S: Philosophy in a new key, Cambridge,  
1942.
- van Leur, J.C: Indonesian trade and society, the  
Hague, 1955.
- Lings, M: A Moslem saint of the 20th century,  
London, 1961.
- Maimonides, M: The guide of the perplexed, Chicago,  
1963.

- Mead, J.P: Hikayat Raja-Raja Pasai, romanized by J.F. Mead, Raffles MS. no. 67, Catalogue of the Royal Asiatic Society, London, J.R.A.S.S.B., March, 1914.
- Munshī, 'A: Hikayat pelayaran Abdullah (Dari Singapura ke Kelantan), Singapore, 1838
- Mustawfī, H: Ta'rikh-i-Guzīda, E.J.W. Gibb, Memorial Series, vol. XIV, 1, London, 1910. Translation into English by E.G. Browne and R.A. Nicholson, London, 1913.
- Nicholson, R.A: Studies in Islamic mysticism, Cambridge, 1921.
- Translations of Eastern poetry and prose, Cambridge, 1922.
- The idea of personality in Sufism, Cambridge, 1923.
- Mystics of Islam, London, 1963.
- Nieuwenhuijze, C.A.O: Samsu'l-Dīn van Pasai, dissertation, Leiden, 1945.
- Ni'matu'llāh, S.'A: Kullīyyāt-i-Dīvāni Shāh Ni'matu'llāh Walli, edited by M. 'Ilmi, Teheran, 1954.
- Ogden C.F. and Richards I.A: The meaning of meaning, London, 1923.
- Pigeaud, Th: The romance of Amir Hamza in Java, Bingkisan Budi, Leiden, 1950.
- Java in the 14th century, the Hague, 1962, 5v., vol. 4.
- Pirenne, H: Muhammad and Charlemagne, translated into English by B. Miall, London, 1940.



- Plato: Dialogues, translated into English by B. Jowett, Chicago, 1952.
- Plotinus: The Six Enneads, translated into English by S.M. MacKenna and B.S. Page, Chicago, 1952.
- Poerbatjaraka, R.Ng: Arjuna Wiwāha, romanized and translated into Dutch by R.Ng. Poerbatjaraka, B.K.I., 82, 1926.
- Popper, W: Egypt and Syria under the Circassian Sultans, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1957.
- al-Qushayrī, A.Q: Risālatu'l-Qushayriyyah, Cairo, 1900.
- Rabino di Borgomale, H.L: Coins, Medals and Seals of the Shahs of Iran, Hertford, 1945.
- Radhakrishnan, S: The principal Upanishads, London, 1953.
- Rassers, W.H: Pañji, the culture hero, the Hague, 1959.
- Rinkes, D.A: Abdoerraoef van Singkel, dissertation, Freisland, 1909.
- Rūmī, J: Dīvān-i-Shamsi Tabrīz, translated into English and selected by R.A. Nicholson, Cambridge, 1898.
- Mathnawī, edited and translated into English by R.A. Nicholson, London, 1926, 2v.
- ibn Rushd, M.A: Tahāfut al-Tahāfut, translated into English by S. van den Bergh: The Incoherence of the Incoherence, London, 1954, 2v.
- Sa'dī, M: Gulistān, translated into English by E.B. Eastwick, Hertford, 1852.
- Sapir, E: Language, and introduction to the study of speech, New York, 1949.

- al-Sarrāj, A.N: Kitābu'l-Luma' fī'l-Taṣawwuf,  
edited and partially translated  
into English by R.A. Nicholson,  
London, 1963.
- Schrieke, B: Indonesian sociological studies,  
the Hague, 1955-1957, 2v.
- Shabistārī, S.M: Gulshan-i-Rāz, translated into  
English (The mystic rose garden)  
with text by E.H. Whinfield, London,  
1880.
- The secret rose garden of Sa'du'l-Dīn  
Maḥmūd Shabistārī, selected and  
translated into English by F.  
Lederer, London, 1920.
- Shikūh, D: Majma'u'l-Baḥrayn, translated into  
English by M. Haqq, Calcutta, 1929.
- Shuon, F: Understanding Islam, London, 1963.
- ibn Sīnā, A.'A: Risālatu'l-'Arshiyyah, selected and  
translated into English by A.J.  
Arberry in Avicenna on theology,  
London, 1951.
- al-Sinqilī, 'A.R: Tafsīr al-Qur'ān, Cairo, 1901, 2v.  
in 1.
- Sirāj Ed Dīn, A.B: The book of certainty, London, 1952.
- Situmorang, T.D: Sejarah Melayu, edited and romanized  
by T.D. Situmorang and A. Teeuw,  
Djakarta, 1958.
- Smith, M: Readings from the mystics of Islam,  
London, 1950.
- Spinoza, B: Ethics, translated into English by  
W.H. White and A.A. Stirling,  
Chicago, 1952.
- Stenius, E: Wittgenstein's Tractatus, Oxford, 1960.

- al-Taftāzānī, S: A commentary on the creed of al-Nasafī, translated into English by E.E. Elder, New York, 1950.
- Thomas, E.J: Bhagavad-gīta, translated into English by E.J. Thomas, London, 1948.
- Ullman, S: Principles of semantics, Glasgow, 1959.
- Semantics, an introduction to the science of meaning, Oxford, 1962.
- Voorhoeve, P: Twee Maleise geschriften van Nuruddin ar-Raniri, Leiden, 1955.
- Watt, M: Freewill and predestination in early Islam, London, 1948.
- Wensinck, A.J: The Muslim creed, Cambridge, 1932.
- Wheatley, P: The golden Khersonese, Kuala Lumpur, 1961.
- Whorf, B: Language, thought and reality, New York - London, 1956.
- Wier, H: Kitābu'l-Ajwibah of al-Balyānī, translated into English by H. Wier, J.R.A.S. London, 1910.
- Windelband, W: A history of philosophy, New York, 1953.
- Winstedt, R.O: A history of classical Malay Literature, J.M.B.R.A.S., vol. 31, pt. 3, 1958.
- The Malays, a cultural history, London, 1956.
- Wittgenstein, L: Tractatus logico-philosophicus, translated into English by C.K. Ogden, London, 1962.
- Philosophical investigations, translated into English by G.E.M. Anscombe, Oxford, 1963, 2 pt.

- Yūsuf'Alī, 'A: The Holy Qur'ān, translated into English with texts and notes by 'A. Yūsuf'Alī, Lahore, 1938, 3r.
- Zeller, E: Outlines of the history of Greek philosophy, London, 1950.
- Zoetmulder, P.J: Pantheisme en monisme in de Javaansche Soeloek litteratuur, dissertation, Nijmegen, 1935.

### III Works of Reference

- Abinal, R.P. and Malzac, R.P: Dictionnaire Malagache-Français, Paris, 1939.
- Brockelman, C: Geschichte der Arabischen litteratur, Leiden, 1898-1942.
- Freeman-Grenville, G.S.P: The Muslim and Christian calenders, London, 1963.
- Gibb, H.A.R: The encyclopaedia of Islam, edited by H.A.R. Gibb, J.H. Kramers, E. Levi-Provencal [and others], Leiden, 1960, vol. 1, (A-B).
- Hastings, J: Encyclopaedia of religion and ethics, New York, 1955.
- Houtsma, Th: The encyclopaedia of Islam, edited by Th. Houtsma, T.W. Arnold, R. Basset and R. Hartmann, Leiden, 1913-1938, HV. and supplement.
- al-Muqaddasī, 'I.Z.F: Fathu'l-Rahmān li Tālibi Āyāt al-Qur'an, Beirut, 1323.
- Steingass, F: Persian-English dictionary, London, 1957.

- Wehr, H: A dictionary of modern Arabic,  
New York, 1961.
- Wilkinson, R.J: A Malay-English dictionary,  
Singapore, 1903.